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2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

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7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

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11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

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THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. V. Part I.

HENRY VIII.

1534-1535.

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CENTRAL

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PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S. .....Archivo General de Simancas.
L. .....Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel. .....Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.....Patronato Real.
T. c. I. .....Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus. ...Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont.....Tratados con Pontifices.
E. .....Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C. .....Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A. .....Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N. .....Corona de Navarra.
F. .....Flandes.
A. .....Alemania.
Po. .....Portugal.
I. .....Inglaterra.
R. .....Roma.
Na.....Napoles.
Si. .....Sicilia.
Mi.....Milan.
V. .....Venecia.
Ge.....Genoa.
To.....Toscana.
Pr. d. It. .....Principes de Italia.
Var. De.....Varios Despachos.
L. Suelt. .....Legajos sueltos, or bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz.....Libros de Berzosa.
Se. de Guer. .....Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T. .....Mar y Tierra.
H. .....Hacienda or Finances.
M. .....Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist. .....Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar .....Coleccion de D^{n}. Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz .....——— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var. .....Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac. .....Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B. .....Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G. .....Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp...Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P. .....Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist. .....Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. } Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy^{me}. de Belg. Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist.....Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang. Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^{ta}. Mar. d. Naj. } Archivo Central *at Madrid:* Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de Najera.

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CENTRAL

INTRODUCTION.

WITHIN the short period of time embraced in the present volume, the fifth of the series,—from the 1st of January 1534 to the 31st of December 1535,—important events, more or less closely connected with English history, took place. No sooner were the conferences of Marseilles between pope Clement and king Francis I. at an end, than, at the pressing solicitation of the Imperial ambassadors at Rome, the former gave his unreserved attention to the divorce suit instituted since 1529. After a monitory breve exhorting Henry to lead a marital life with his repudiated Queen, a second and more astringent one was issued declaring the marriage to have been valid, and the dispensation of pope Julius legal. Should king Henry fail in obedience to this judgment, he was to be considered as excommunicated from the fellowship of the Church, and as having forfeited the allegiance of his subjects; in other words, if within four months of the promulgation of the sentence—which was to be posted at the door of certain churches in Flanders—Henry did not obey the injunctions of the Holy See, he was to be deposed, and the Emperor entrusted with the execution of the sentence.

However desirous Charles may have been of the Papal award in this particular case, it is evident that he reluctantly accepted the charge imposed upon him. After trying, though in vain, to induce Francis to work conjointly with him for Henry's deprivation, alluring the former with the prospect of the recovery of Calais and other towns in Picardy, the Emperor promised his aid, though in such general and vague terms that Clement himself was dissatisfied, occasionally signifying his discontent to the Imperial ambassador in rather angry terms. In January 1534, count Cifuentes wrote to Covos: "Out of spite at my not answering in more "explicit words his repeated questions as to the way "and manner in which his Majesty intends helping "toward the execution of the sentence, his Holiness "of late has attempted to negociate directly with his "Majesty through the viceroy of Naples (Don Pedro de "Toledo). Last week Don Pedro sent his nephew, who, "since his arrival in Rome, has visited the Pope every "evening, and transacted with him State business of some "kind, which I strongly suspect is concerned with the "sentence and its execution. Your Lordship ought to "try and put a stop to that, without, however, letting "the Viceroy know that I am the informer and have "complained of it; for he is my friend, and I would "not for the world offend him."

Clement died on the 25th of September 1534, and a few days after, on the 13th of October, cardinal Alessandro Farnese was elected pope under the name of Paul III. Of this Pope's vacillating politics, of his unremitting exertions for the aggrandizement of his family, as well as for the increase of the temporal power of the Church in Italy, sufficient proofs are given in the pages of this Calendar. It is enough to say that by courting Francis'

friendship, at the same time that he showed great affection for Charles by conciliating the Venetians, and, like his predecessor in the pontificate, delaying, as much as he could, the meeting of the General Council, he became, as it were, the balance of power in Italy. On the first application made by the Imperial ambassador for the "executory letters," pope Paul showed unwillingness to issue them, on the plea that Henry would thereby become exasperated, and that he still hoped that Henry, through the influence of his friend and ally Francis, would return to the obedience of the Holy See. It was not until after the proclamation in June 1534, declaring king Henry head of the Church in England, the execution of the Carthusians in London, that of Chancellor More on the 6th of July, and one month after that of Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, recently raised to the purple, that his hesitation ceased, and that he appointed a number of cardinals to reconsider the matter, and draw out the "executory letters" of the sentence, a draft or rough copy of which was submitted to the Imperial ambassador for approval. As the letters, such as they were, have not been published in full, it is difficult to say what their express wording was, but it appears from Cifuentes' despatch of the 8th of October, that some words, equally objectionable, nay, injurious* to the Queen, to the Princess her daughter, and to the Emperor, or to their dignity and rank, were found in them, and were, at Cifuentes' request, either changed or modified.

Charles, however, was not so eager for the "executory letters" now as he had been at one time. During the first month of Paul's pontificate he had been working

* No. 209, p. 547.

seriously for a reconciliation, first with Francis, and afterwards with Henry. In order to detach the former from the English alliance, he had offered him, through Mr. de Nassau, the investiture of Milan for his son Charles duke of Angoulême, besides the hand of princess Mary with the brilliant prospect of the succession to the crown of England. The negociation proving unsuccessful, Charles turned towards Henry, and tried to persuade him to forsake the French alliance, and, if unwilling to side with him in the approaching contest and deadly war (the Emperor was at that time contemplating the invasion of Provence), to remain at least neutral.

And yet both Katharine's party and the clergy in England were daily pressing for the execution of the sentence. On the 30th of June 1534 Chapuys wrote to Granvelle: "You should remind the Emperor, our "master, that the advice of all sensible and worthy "people in this country has been, and is still, that if "in virtue of the 'executory letters' the intercourse of "trade with the Low Countries and Spain were to be "interdicted, all classes of society here, in England, "would at once rise rise in rebellion, and would of "themselves apply a remedy to the evil, whatever our "present differences with France may be. If the 'executory letters' were made out and published, Lord Hussey "assures me all the rest would go on smoothly, and the "English clergy would gladly furnish the funds required "for the undertaking in the first instance. Indeed, I "know, as a fact, that at this very moment means to "win over king Henry to the Church, equally injurious "to the Queen and the Princess, as well as detrimental "to Christian morality, are being tried, and that the "bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) is going to Rome "to get them accepted by the Pope."

During the above period, when Charles had not yet lost all hope of reconciliation with Henry, and had instructed his ambassador at Rome not to press too much for the "executory letters," and, if already made out, to procure a draft of them, and keep the thing secret until it should be convenient to have them published, the excessive zeal of Dr. Ortiz, that warm devotee of the Apostolic See, was on the point of defeating all his plans. It was not to be expected that a politician of the stamp of Charles, who was at that time courting Henry's friendship, and who, in order to obtain, as for a time he effectually did, a better treatment of Katharine and Mary, had promised Cromwell, through the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys), that, should the respective rights of that Queen and Princess be recognised, and Henry's reconciliation with the Holy See effected, he would use all his influence at the future General Council so as to prevent any injury being done to his (Henry's) honor and reputation, and, if necessary, would ask Paul's permission for Henry to retain and apply to his own use a good portion of the property taken from the English Church, would, under such circumstances, endorse the "bull of deposition," and become, as it were, the executor of it. Just at this critical moment, when Cromwell's repeated assurances to Chapuys of Henry's favorable disposition, and of his own attachment to queen Katharine and princess Mary, as well as to the Emperor—from whom he had received a holograph letter expressing his warmest thanks for his exertions in their favor—some cardinals at Rome asked Dr. Ortiz how it was that the "executory letters" were not applied for when the clauses and words objected to had been altered or entirely removed at the request of the Emperor's officials. Ignoring that Cifuentes, the ambassador,

had received positive orders from the Emperor to delay the issue as long as he could, or perhaps thinking that Katharine, with whom he was in private correspondence, might be better served through their publication, the fact is, that during that ambassador's temporary absence from Rome, having accompanied Paul to Perugia, he and Anguiano, Katharine's proctor, took the letters out and would have published them had not Cifuentes returned in time to stop the mischief. On the 8th of October 1535 that ambassador wrote to the Emperor: "Had I "been at Rome then, I do not think I should have been "able to detain the letters much longer without making "your Majesty's wishes publicly known, which would "have been highly impolitic. As it is, the executory "letters are quite ready; nothing is wanted but the "Pope's seal to them. They shall remain in my pos- "session until I hear what is to be done with them; "but I consider it my duty to inform your Majesty "that matters are so far advanced that it will be im- "possible for me to delay their issue for many days, "unless I let these people know that your Majesty does "not choose to have them published just now." (p. 457.)

The term of four months allowed to Henry in the "bull of deposition" to return to the obedience of the Holy See had not expired when Katharine breathed her last at Kimbolton on the 7th of January 1536, and therefore there was no longer question of the "executory letters;" all the attention of Charles, and of his ambassador in England, being from that moment rivetted upon detaching Henry from his French alliance, and, after Anne Boleyn's death, ensuring the Princess' right to the succession.

Such are the events of a short period of two years, which, apart from the threatened Turkish invasion, Paul's

vacillating policy, Francis' ambitious designs on Italy, England's fluctuating relations with Scotland, and disquieting state of discontent at home, besides the Irish rebellion and the spread of the Reformation, and so forth, afforded ample field for the display of that science called Venetian diplomacy, which, taking root during the XVIth century, developed itself and grew rapidly among the conflicting elements of European policy. Of the English actors in the drama then being enacted, and which later on had its "dénouement," the editor needs scarcely take any notice, that task having already been filled in a most satisfactory manner by Dr. Brewer and Mr. James Gairdner, both of the Public Record Office; his observations, therefore, such as they are, will be limited to Charles' statesmen, ministers as well as ambassadors, whose despatches, official notes, or private letters, are abstracted in the present volume. Among the former, Nicolas Perrenot stands prominent. Soon after the death of cardinal Mercurino Gattinara, whose secretary he probably was (June 1530), Perrenot was appointed *Guardasellos* or keeper of the Imperial Privy Seal. He seems to have resided some time in France as Charles' ambassador, for after Francis' return, and subsequent challenge to have their questions decided by single combat, he was confined to the castle of Vincennes, in retaliation for the arrest of the French ambassadors in Spain. After that, Nicolas Perrenot, better known as Monsieur de Grandvelle or Granvelle, from the name of a village in Burgundy, now in the modern department of France known as "La Haute Saone," which he bought soon after his entering the Emperor's service, conducted, conjointly with Covos, the complicated State affairs of the Empire until his death in 1544. One of his sons, named Antoine, who became bishop of Arrás, in Flanders, at the age of 23, arch-

bishop of Malines (Mechlin) and afterwards of Besançon, president of the Council of Italy (1556), and lastly cardinal (1561), must already in 1534 have held the important office of Secretary of Requests (*Secrétaire des Requêtes*) in Flanders. That he was about that time in private correspondence with Chapuys, his father's intimate friend and "protégé," appears evident from their correspondence, which, though familiar and intimate, will materially help the reader to grasp certain important events of Henry's reign. Chapuys' letters to him—all of a semi-official character—are but few, and yet they are so interesting, and so full of detail, that it makes us regret that no more have been found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna. There is, however, a peculiarity in those of Antoine Perrenot to Chapuys, which has forcibly called the attention of those who have seen the originals, and remains yet unexplained. All are signed "*Perrenin*," instead of Perrenot. Is that the diminutive of the family name, or, as one might presume, a sort of familiar and childish term jocularly applied to him in his youth? and, if so, how is it that the Emperor's secretary in Flanders, and the son of so high a personage as Charles' lord Privy Seal, should, in an age of ceremonious and almost fastidious etiquette, sign his letters, however confidential, with a rather depreciative nickname? No clue to the mystery is to be found in the Belgian historians; neither in Gachard—to whose numerous works on the ancient history of Flanders and the Low Countries, both English and Spanish scholars are so much indebted,—nor in Weiss (Charles), who in 1841–51 published at Paris, under the auspices and at the expense of the French Government of that time, *Papiers du Cardinal de Granvelle* (9 vols. 4to), is there any key to the mystery, if, indeed, there exists any.

Of Don Fernando de Sylva or Silva, count of Cifuentes, who arrived at Rome in April 1533 as Charles' resident ambassador, enough has been said in the Introduction to the volume immediately preceding this. His disagreement and frequent quarrels with cardinal Merino have likewise been noticed (p. 266). Some time before Clement's death the feud between them became so violent, and their mutual recriminations so high, that they could no longer both remain at Rome as representatives of the Emperor's interests. Whilst the latter was instructing Silva to use the utmost diligence, and to employ all manner of persuasive arguments in order to obtain a full sentence on the divorce suit, as well as the formal convocation of the Council, cardinal Merino, out of gratitude for his elevation to the purple, was undoing the work of his colleague, and helping Clement in his shifting excuses to delay indefinitely the one and the other. In June 1534 that high dignitary of the Church wrote to the High Commander of Leon (Covos);—" It behoves us to " treat his Holiness with greater consideration and re- " gard than we are now doing, and not show such sus- " picion of him and his acts, because if ever he becomes " aware of his having lost the Emperor's confidence, he " is sure to lean to the side of France. And inasmuch " as I perceive that the ambassador (Sylva) pushes him " to the wall and mistrusts him, I am afraid that one " of these days his despatches to the Emperor may " provoke measures unsuitable for the present times. " The Pope may have made promises, or taken engage- " ments with our opponents, but still, in my humble " opinion, he is far from declaring openly against the " Emperor. If treated considerately, and if fair words " are used, he may yet repent and be a good friend to " us. That is supposing that he has done wrong; for

" if he has not, as I believe, our treatment of him ought " to be one of implicit trust, since there is no earthly " excuse for our dealing with him otherwise."

Merino ends his letter by requesting that another ambassador be sent soon to conduct pending negociations in a manner more congenial with Clement's temper, and the engagements he himself might have taken elsewhere, or, in other words, that king Francis should be gratified respecting the matrimonial cause of England, and the meeting of the General Council, the two pivots on which the political machine of that day seemed to turn!

Such a jarring element in the Emperor's councils could not exist long. Shortly after the death of Clement, and the elevation to the pontificate of Farnese under the name of Paul III., Merino, who, according to Sylva's own despatches, had been intriguing with Cornaro and other cardinals for his own election,* was either recalled or quitted Rome of his own accord.

Sylva accompanied Clement to Marseilles in October 1533, and although he did not attend the conferences between that Pope and Francis I., yet his diplomatic sagacity enabled him to unravel part of the mystery of that celebrated interview, at which, according to his own views, more mischief was brewed than could ever possibly be imagined. As his predecessor in office, Miçer Miguel Mai, Sylva openly spoke his mind about Clement. His despatches to the Emperor, and principally his letters

* The fact of his having aimed at the pontificate is recorded in an inedited and anonymous work preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, written before 1547, in which, among various anecdotes concerning Rome, Flanders, and Spain, it is said that there was in that capital a prophecy announcing that after Clement's death an *angel* would be appointed Pope, and that in consequence of that, Gabriel Merino, who was called by derision *Gabrielillo*, and Fr. Francisco de los Angelos, by other name cardinal Quiñones, both Spaniards, had been working, though without success, to be elected.

to Covos, wherein he speaks with greater freedom, prove that he had no great confidence in him. His relations with Paul were carried on in a more straightforward manner, although at times he seems rather inclined to doubt his sincerity.

In France, Jean Hannart or Hannaërt, sieur of Lidkerke and viscount of Lombecke, a native of the Low Countries, was Imperial ambassador. His first despatch in this volume bears the date of the 31st January 1535, but he must have been appointed much earlier, for in a letter from Miçer Mai to the Emperor, dated Rome, 30 April 1532,* he is already mentioned as "Juan Anart;" and on the 6th of November of the same year he signs a letter at Amiens, whither he had, no doubt, repaired by the Emperor's express commands *en route* for Marseilles, the scene of the interview between Clement and Francis. At any rate, during the year 1535 he took a principal part in the negociations, which Charles had first entrusted to Henri, count of Nassau,† with a view to detach Francis from the English alliance, offering him as a bribe the investiture of Milan for his son, after the death, without male children, of its then possessor, the duke Francesco Sforza,—negociations, which, as is well known, came to nothing.

Of Charles's agents in Venice (Soria), in Genoa (Figueroa), and in Savoy (Hurtado), occasional notices have been given, and therefore there is no need to trouble the reader with repetitions of the same information. The

* Vol. IV., Part II, p. 436.

† Nassau was the nephew of the chivalrous Philibert de Châlon, killed at Gavignana, between Florence and Pisa, during the siege of the former city (3rd Aug. 1530). He was the eldest son of Jean de Nassau, of the Dillemberg branch, and of Elizabeth of Hesse. In 1504 he married, 1°, Louise de Savoie, daughter of Jacques comte de Romont; 2°, in 1517, Claude de Châlon, sister of Philibert, who died in 1521; and, lastly, Maria de Mendoza, marchioness of Zenete. He left a son, named René, who, upon the death of his mother Claude, became prince of Orange.

same thing may be said concerning Noircames, D'Andalot, Cornelis Scepper, Tello de Guzman, Gutierre de Padilla, and other minor agents of the Emperor employed on missions of lesser importance.

In England Eustace Chapuys continued after the end of August 1529 to be Charles's ambassador. Having already mentioned him in the Introductions to preceding volumes, the editor might have well dispensed with the task of again referring to him, had not his despatches during the year 1534, and, above all, the new information acquired and set forth by Mr. Gairdner in the Introduction to the eighth volume of his Calendar, rendered it necessary that a few more words should be said about him and his correspondence. The above-mentioned author has diligently procured from Annecy in Savoy direct information, which, though not exactly contradictory of that furnished by the present editor in Vol. IV., Part I., is well worth transcribing as complementary. It appears that Chapuys was born in 1499, and was therefore only 30 years old when he was first sent to England, in 1529. On the 24th of July 1517 he was elected secretary to Jean Louis de Savoie [bishop of Geneva?], and took the oath of his office on the 17th of August following. He then became dean of Vullionex on the 11th of August 1521, and after that privy councillor to the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), who employed him in various missions. The Emperor Charles V., struck by his eloquence and manners, took him into his service, and sent him as his ambassador to Francis I.* and Henry VIII. He died at Louvain in Belgium on the 16th of January 1556.

* So stated in the account of the Mayor of Annecy, although there is every reason to suppose that Chapuys was never sent to France as ambassador. I must also observe that his name is therein differently written—Chappuis instead of Chappuys or Chapuys.

By his will, made five years before his death, and dated the 13th of December 1551, he bequeathed a sum of money (2,500 gold crowns) to found two colleges, one at Annecy for children, another at Louvain for bachelors of arts, civil and canon law, and medicine.

There is no need to repeat here what has already been said about his correspondence. With the exception of a few preserved at Simancas, all his letters are in the Imperial Archives of Vienna; but, the want of proper scribes in that capital, perhaps also the imperfect classification of the papers, have been the cause that one of Chapuys' despatches—a most important one, dated the 30th of September 1535,—came to hand too late to be inserted, and that three more of no less importance were never received.*

There is still another remark, or rather excuse, to be made in this matter by the editor. Some of Chapuys' letters are duplicate; besides the original ones there are at Vienna copies and decipherings made in Brussels at the beginning of this century. These last have occasionally side notes explanatory of the text; and sometimes, though rarely, the names of the persons alluded to, whenever they happen to be designated by their dignity, title, or office, are explained. Frequently this information is erroneous, and therefore great care and discrimination are required not to be misled by it. Thus, for instance, in his despatch to the Emperor, dated the 25th September 1535, Chapuys speaks of a *Monsieur Leonard* bringing to London as prisoner the earl of Kildare (lord Thomas FitzGerald),

* The former will be found in the supplement, pp. 608–11; as to the other three, bearing respectively the dates of the 28th January and 9th February 1535, as well as one from Chapuys to Granvelle, of the 11th July, they have already appeared in Mr. Gairdner's Vol. VII. under Nos. 122, 189, and 1018.

and on the margin is written in a modern hand, "i.e., *Leonard, le fils de Scheventon,*"—which is decidedly a mistake,—for although Sir William Skeffington, then commanding the Royal forces in Ireland, had a son named *Leonard*, it was not the latter, but Lord *Leonard* Grey, brother of the marquis of Dorset, who on the surrender of the Earl had the commission of conducting him to Henry's presence.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HEN. VIII.

1534.

3 Jan. **1.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C. *Fasc.* 229, No. 1.

The small tract *(livret)* published by this King's Privy Councillors, a copy of which I lately forwarded to Your Majesty, is nothing but a long preamble and introduction to other more important treatises now being printed, among which is the one entitled *Defensorium pacis*, once written in support of the emperor Louis of Bavaria against Apostolic authority; which book no one here formerly dared have in his possession or read, on pain of death by fire, whereas now it has been translated into English that all people may see and understand its contents. Another book is that bearing the title, as I am told, "Of the Royal and Sacerdotal Authority;" in which the author maintains that, putting aside all privilege of precedence and rank in the Church, the bishops are on equal footing with the rest of the priesthood, and that kings and princes are to exercise sovereignty over priests according to the ancient law, *which is, after all, the point to which this King adheres most, and the object he has been for some time back aiming at,** as likewise to have the administration of the temporalities himself so as to spend the revenues of the Church just as he pleases, and according to the position and wants of the persons he chooses to favour. *Which point, it is to be feared, this King will do his utmost to carry out, considering his hatred of the Clergy, his own covetousness, and the pressing requests of his mistress and of most of his privy councillors. With regard to the first article, and in order that he may the better establish his sovereignty over the clergy* [*of his dominions*], *a plan has been proposed, which is to give the archbishop of Canterbury the seals of the Chancery, that he may, under those seals, pass bulls, dispensations, and ecclesiastical provisions of any nature whatsoever. Had the Pope been as wary as these people have been in playing him this trick, there would have been no occasion for the disorderly acts that we*

* The words in italics are in cipher.

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*are now witnessing. Your Majesty may consider and believe that since God has so abandoned these people as to allow them to commit such execrable misdeeds, and that He has, as it were, taken away their senses, it is to be feared that the Queen and Princess may suddenly be in danger of their lives, under the impression their persecutors have that, once dead, they themselves will be safe from all molestation on the part of Your Majesty.** *Everyone here is of the same opinion, so much so, that, seeing no other remedy, I was seriously thinking of letting Cremuel (Cromwell), the duke of Norfolk, and some of the Privy Councillors, know through a third person, or by some other suitable means, that although Your Majesty might be pressed by your Spanish subjects to declare war against England, (of which, however, there is no question at present,) there could be no doubt that, as long as queen Katharine lived, Your Majesty would not adopt any such measures. That the Queen herself was continually sending me messages to request you in her name for God's sake not to make war on her account, for she would rather suffer death than be the cause of such misery. This much I intend telling them through the means above alluded to, as well as intimating my suspicions and fears of danger threatening the Queen and her daughter, the Princess.* I have not yet carried my project into execution, for want of an opportunity, principally too that I may hear first the Queen's advice, pleasure, and will on so important a step.

The King's chief purpose in having the said tract written and published is that he may the better justify himself in the eyes of his people, and gain their favour; but, if so, he is very much mistaken, for, instead of conciliating them, he has stirred up even those among his subjects who were a little contaminated by Lutheranism. Cremuel gave one copy of the said tract to the Scottish ambassador here, who declared to him, after he had read it, that, had his master's councillors done as much, they would inevitably have been burnt alive, and for good cause. Three great personages from Scotland, two bishops and one count, are shortly expected here as ambassadors to treat for peace. *And it is thought that they will bring a commission to ask for the hand of the Princess [Mary] for their King. However, if the Scots intend making that condition the foundation of the peace they wish to conclude, they will find themselves much mistaken, for that is a thing to which this King will never agree. The ambassador, who resides here, must have already heard something to this effect, for he says that even if she were a bastard daughter of this King, as they wish her to appear, she is so*

* "Et peut vostre majeste considerer et croyre que puisque Dieu a tant habandonne ceulx-cy que de leur permetre fere si execrables choses, et quil leur a oste le sens, quil est a craindre de la salut de la reine et de la princesse, pensant mesmement leur persecuteurs que icelles mortes, il[s] seroient delivrez de toutes molestes de vostre maieste."

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virtuous, and of such high descent, that Kings would make no further inquiries into the affair.

The bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) has not stayed here as long as was expected at first. He left [for France] the day after the Innocents. *His business cannot have been very important; he has only had at parting, as I am told, half the present which the King at first thought of giving him; which, in my opinion, is a proof that either he brought not the good news the latter expected, or else has spoken too freely against the above-mentioned tract.*

The Doctor* about whom I wrote last to Your Majesty has not yet departed on his mission. They say that he is to leave to-morrow for the continent; but I have been unable yet to learn anything about his errand; indeed, the only conjecture I can make about it is that expressed in my last despatch. *I have, however, been told that this King is about to send another doctor into Germany for the purpose of creating disturbances there, promoting dissension and quarrels between the princes and cities who have adopted Lutheran doctrines and those who remain faithful to the Church, and giving Your Majesty and your allies so much to do in those parts that you will be unable at any time to come down on him;—which is the thing he fears most,† knowing very well that when that comes to pass he will no longer be absolute master of his subjects' lives and property, as he is at present. For this reason the King will never cease plotting against Your Majesty.*

I have lately heard a piece of intelligence, which, though it may seem improbable and without foundation, I cannot omit referring to, inasmuch as it comes from one of my informers, a man of worth and trust. It appears that this King is wishing to stir up against the Pope the Lutheran princes and cities of Germany, and make their armies go down into Italy. Hearing of this, the king of France, on the plea of defending the Pope and protecting the Church, would also send his army thither, and at the very first opportunity join his forces to those of the invaders, and attack that part of Italy where he could best play out his game. There is also a rumour afloat that this King has been secretly negotiating with the duke of Ferrara and other princes, who are by no means on good terms with the Pope. I do really believe that anything this King can do without much expenditure of money he will most certainly attempt, for he is not generally fond of spending his substance, and has now become more stingy than ever, though they say he will not

* Perhaps Montaborinus, or Vaughan, though more likely Dr. Thomas Leigh. See *vol.* iv., *part* ii., pp. 818, 823.

† "Pour brasser quelque facherie et broillis (*sic*) avec les princes et citez Lutheriennes, afin de donner tant daffaire a vostre maieste et allieurs que icelle nayt moyen de luy courrir sus, quest la chose du monde quil craint le plus." The Doctor alluded is Nicholas Heath. See Gairdner, vol. vii. p. 7.

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be able, as it is, to pay the cost of a war, unless he seizes the property of the Church, and increases taxation.

I have, moreover, been told that he *is thinking of again sending a deputation to the Queen for the purpose of having her removed from where she is now, to the house which, as I said in a former despatch,* had been chosen for her future residence. The Queen's advice, however, is for me not to speak to the King on the subject; for, were I to make any sharp remark about it, the King might be offended, whereas, if I spoke moderately and in mild terms, he might perhaps take courage and relent in his persecution; and if luck would have it that the personage whom Your Majesty is about to send came soon, it would be a regular Godsend, not only to obviate in some measure the ill treatment of the Queen, but also to confirm the subjects in their good-will towards her, since, as I hear from various quarters, they are very much astonished at the delay in the coming of some personage or other as extraordinary ambassador from Your Majesty.*

The Princess, as I have lately written to Your Majesty, *has only with her one chamber-maid (chambelliere), and occupies the very worst room in the house. It is indeed the most pitiful thing to see how badly both mother and daughter are treated, to the great regret of the people, who seem so incensed at it that the least help and favour from abroad will make them rise in rebellion,† as the majority of them say in public to whomsoever will listen to them. And there is no man of judgment here, at court or elsewhere, who does not consider himself as good as lost.‡*

The King's Vice-chancellor (Sir John Gage), who was also a member of the Privy Council, and one of the wisest and most experienced men in this kingdom as regards military affairs, has lately resigned his office, and retired to a Carthusian convent, where he intends (previously to the consent of his wife) to take the frock, and become a Carthusian friar. The Bishop of Lincoln, who was from the very beginning one of the principal promoters and agents of this divorce, has many a time since last Christmas declared to a worthy man who repeated it to me, that he would rather be the poorest man in the world than be a Privy Councillor and King's confessor.
—London, 3rd January 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Partly in cipher. pp. 6.

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* Je crois que tout ce quil pourra faire sans gaster beaucoup argent il le fera, mais pour despendre ce dit roy nen a grand tallant, pour estre devenu plus estroit quil ne soullait, aussi a ce que lon dit il na pas bonnement de quoy le fere, si les biens de leglise et les impotz quil veult mectre ne luy aydent."

† "Au grant regret du peuple le quel semble estre a lescharguet (l'œil au guêt?), pour soy remuer a la moindre faveur que pourroit luy survenir."

‡ "Et ny a home de iugement, ny a la court ni allieurs, quil ne se tienne esperdu."

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S. E. Rom., L. 861. f. 28.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 107.

2. Count de Cifuentes to the Same.

Wrote last on the 13th ult., and also on the 19th, to the High Commander [of Leon], respecting the affairs of Switzerland. His Holiness has ordered the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo) to go immediately thither, and work in common with the Imperial agents.

Antonio de Leyva writes that the Papal Commissioner, abbot Nero, was threatening to quit and come to Rome, and that he was doing all he could to retain him. At Leyva's request he (Sylva) called on His Holiness, and represented the case to him. His answer was that he had not recalled Nero; he would forthwith write and tell him to remain at his post.

The duke of Milan (writes prothonotary Caracciolo) had already collected 13,000 crs., and hoped to make up soon the 15,000 of his principal deposit. His own share in the 25,000 he could not pay at present, owing to his expenses in Switzerland for the raising of troops, &c.

The Sienese excuse themselves (as the duke of Amalfi says) on account of a promise which they say the Emperor made to them at Bologna, exempting them from all payment. He (Sylva) has written to say that if the Emperor really made them such a promise he himself has no knowledge of it.

(*Cipher :*) Resuming the other day a conversation with the Pope on German affairs and the Diet to be held at Augusta (Augsburgh), His Holiness told him (Sylva) that the German Lutherans were in secret intelligence with the King of France, and that, with a view to secure their services, the latter had lately sent to them Langes,* the brother of the bishop of Paris, with a large sum of money to distribute among them, so that they might raise troops for him, &c.

The Pope says that, according to letters of Micer Filippo Strozzi from the court of France, king Francis is now seeking an interview with the duke of Lorraine (Antoine), which is upon the whole considered a very bad sign. The same Strozzi (they say) had written to the Pope that among other commissions of the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) one was to bring about an interview somewhere between his master and the king of England. A Venetian secretary in that country confirms the statement, and says that the place of meeting is already appointed; but on his (Sylva's) calling on the Pope to ascertain the truth of the report, his answer was that he knew nothing about it.

The archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) said the other day to a friend that in a conversation with His Holiness respecting the marriage of the duchess of Florence (Margaret) and the duke Alessandro, his nephew, the Pope inquired of him (Schomberg) whether he (Sylva) had any powers or

* Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeais, brother of Jean bishop of Bayonne (1525–29), and afterwards of Paris till his death in 1560.

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mandate from the Emperor to have the wedding effected, as the Duchess had already attained her twelfth year, which was the age stipulated in the treaty. "Perhaps (said the Pope to him) the Emperor is in no hurry about it, for the French at Marseilles said they knew for certain that after king Francis had married his son, the duke of Orleans, to my niece (Caterina), he would not consent to his daughter (Margaret) marrying the duke Allessandro. That, in consequence of this, king Francis had sent to offer one of his own daughters as a wife to the duke [Alessandro]. The archbishop [of Capua], moreover, adds that the Pope soon after that sent one don Tristan de Beamonte to visit the Duchess, and that he brought very good accounts of her, &c. He also relates that in conversation with His Holiness on the subject of the daughter of the duchess of Camarino, and of her marriage, he (Schomberg) happened to mention the name of the son of the duke of Urbino as a suitable husband for the girl (Giulia). The Pope, however, would not hear of that; but on the Capuan mentioning other names he stopped short at that of Don Leopoldo de Austria, and therefore he (Sylva) has reasons to think that, if proposed, the Pope would not object to him.

Respecting the Nuncio, who is to go to Spain, the Pope said to him (Sylva) that he thought at first of appointing the archbishop of Manfredonia,* a nephew of cardinal Monte, but then Carniseca came in and recommended Poggio, the collector, who, it appears, is a friend and relative of his. Wishes to know whether the son of cardinal Campeggio, now bishop of Bologna, would not be acceptable, because in that case he (Sylva) would speak to His Holiness and propose him.

Letters from Germany of the 5th Dec. state that a son of the duke of Vitemberg (Wurtenberg) had arrived at Augsburgh, accompanied by four ambassadors of the Lutheran princes, but had been forestalled by the ambassadors of France, England, and Gheldres. The Diet was to take into consideration the restitution to the duke of Gheldres of all his estates, though his partisans were very much afraid that many of his nobles, who had been much oppressed and illtreated by his father, the Duke, would oppose the measure. If so, as the estate is heavily mortgaged, it is thought that the Duke will not succeed, but will turn Lutheran, and seize at once five or six churches or monasteries in his estate, and with that, and the help of France, England, and the Lutherans, give some annoyance to the king of the Romans.

Heard that the doge of Venice moved lately in the Senate that Cannaletto should be put in irons, and sent to the Turk as a sort of hostage. Most of the elders, however, opposed the motion, on the plea that he (Andrea Gritti) was somewhat

* Giovan Maria Monte.

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influenced by the fact of his two sons being at Constantinople. They alleged that it was not just to punish him (Cannaletto) for what he had done, and the victory he had gained over a vessel believed to be a privateer; for, after all, the subjects of the Signory could at all times, and without infringing the treaties with Turkey, fight a corsair.

The Sienese write that Pirro de Xippiçano (Cippiçano) was molesting them, and that he had intelligences with *the cardinal de' Medici.* The report must be true; for, since his arrival in Rome, Pirro frequents so much the Cardinal's palace that people say there must be some secret understanding between them.

In proof of this, Gianpaolo da Ceri, the son of Renzo (Lorenço), sent him (Sylva) word the other day that, although he had a "condotta" under His Holiness, henceforwards he would no longer serve him, but the Emperor, inasmuch as he found that those who followed his banners got easy promotion and riches; and that, the better to carry out his purpose and offer security for his fidelity, he intended to marry in Naples. Gianpaolo further said that he would try to attach his father Renzo to Your Majesty's service. His (Sylva's) answer was that he would write home and ascertain the Emperor's pleasure, but that on no account would his services and those of his father be accepted unless His Holiness agreed to it first.

Four or five cardinals, among those who profess to be friends of the Empire, have called at the embassy, and asked for permission to export corn from Sicily to the amount of 500 salmas,* on condition of their paying the duties, &c. As they ask for nothing more, I beg that letters for the viceroy of Sicily be sent in favour of each of the cardinals, who have made the application, among whom are Minerva, Anquifort (Enckvoërt), and Sanctiquatro.

Enclosed is the copy of the letter, which His Holiness caused to be written to Luigi Gherardi at Constantinople in answer to his.

(*Cipher:*) He (Sylva) knows from a very good source that Carniseca has in his possession the copy of a letter written, as it is said, by the Papal Nuncio in Germany to His Holiness, purporting that the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) had lately received one from His Imperial Majesty, stating the conferences of Marseilles to have been held decidedly against the Emperor and against the King, his brother. As a proof thereof the Pope had recalled the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo) from Switzerland, and an agreement had been entered into both by Pope and King to oppose the meeting of the General Council. Many other resolutions, all to His Imperial Majesty's prejudice, had been taken at the interview. The

* *Salma* is an Italian, or rather Sicilian measure, equivalent to about a ton weight.

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Nuncio added that he had seen and read the letter, &c. Will take no notice of this until he hears from His Imperial Majesty.

In consequence of His Holiness' often-repeated assurances that he is desirous of pronouncing sentence in the English matrimonial cause, he (Sylva) has summoned all the Imperial lawyers and advocates to a meeting at the embassy, for the purpose of deliberating as to the best means of obtaining justice for Her Highness, the queen of England. It was resolved to petition His Holiness to have sentence given in the principal cause at once, without any previous reference [to the Rota], because as Capisucci remains at Avignon, and will not return to Rome until after the winter season, and the process is already in the hands of Simonetta, some time would be lost, and the Queen's case admits of no delay. Went, therefore, to His Holiness, and begged him to issue orders to that effect. His answer was, that he would, with great pleasure, and believed that all the cardinals would also agree. He (Sylva) visited them all, one by one, and most of them said that in their opinion there was no necessity of again referring the process in Consistory. (*Cipher :*) Must, however, observe that since this step His Holiness seems to have relapsed into his habitual coldness and hesitation, so much so that he (Sylva) begins to be afraid that a new delay is being prepared ; for he said, the other day : " Now it is urgent for His Imperial Majesty to decide what steps he is to take in view of the execution of the sentence."

On the eve of the Epiphany His Holiness did not go to vespers, as he is in the habit of doing. Inquired the reason of it, and was told that he had had a fit of gout. Since then he (Sylva) has heard from a good source that it was not gout that caused the Pope's illness, but the Nuncio's letter above alluded to ; for on the very day that the missive was received, His Holiness was taken ill, and was in very bad humour the rest of that day and the two following. Possessed of this information, he (Sylva) called on him on the 6th, and again besought him to order the determination of the cause. Found him colder than he ever recollects having seen him, for he answered : " It is needful to appoint a person on behalf of the king of England, who may answer in his name in order that the proceedings in the principal suit be continued according to law. " I am no lawyer," was his (Sylva's) reply, " but it strikes me that it is neither customary nor requisite to do so in a case of this sort, especially when there has been so much disputation on the subject, and when it has been over and over resolved that the King's excusator could not be heard. I confess that I marvel much that your Holiness intends to introduce such an innovation." After carefully consulting over the matter with lawyers, concludes from all they tell him (Sylva) that, judicially speaking, the appointment of such a person is quite unnecessary.

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On the following Friday there was a Consistory, and it appears that not only no resolution whatever was taken as to the sentencing of the case without reference to the Rota, but His Holiness moved whether it would not be desirable to appoint some person to answer for the King. As the cardinal of Jaen (Merino), who was present, cannot fail to inform his Imperial Majesty with more detail concerning what passed in that assembly, he (Sylva) will drop this disagreeable subject, and pass on to another.—Rome, 12 January 1534.

P.S.—Has just heard that it has been resolved in Consistory not to pass sentence in the cause of Her Highness, the queen of England, without first referring it again [to the Rota]. Will most certainly complain to His Holiness of this breach of promise, but will not insist upon the decision of the College being amended or revoked, for, in his opinion, it would be time lost. *Since the justice due to the Queen and the King's appeal to the future Council, are not sufficient motives to urge the Pope to action, another tack must be tried.* All he (Sylva) can do is to request the auditor (Simonetta) to make all possible haste in again abstracting the process and referring [to the Rota]. Happening some days ago to complain to Carniseca about this, he answered inadvertently that His Holiness was well disposed to forward the suit, and to have it sentenced at once, but that *he was waiting for the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay) to find some means of bringing back the king of England to the obedience of the Church, and that he had great hopes of his being* able to accomplish that. Perceiving, however, that these are only pretences to delay the sentence, and that *no good can come out of such delays and shuffling*, he (Sylva) made him a suitable answer, telling him all his mind about it.

At this moment His Holiness sends a verbal message to say that he never dreamt of having a person appointed to answer for the king of England: he (Sylva) had misunderstood him; he never said so, nor did it ever cross his mind. His (Sylva's) answer was, that he was delighted to hear he had not thought of it.—Rome, *ut supra.*

Signed: Conde de Cifuentes.

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 16.

12 Jan.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 97.

3. Paragraphs of a Letter from the Same to the High Commander of Leon.

In my despatch to the Emperor I mentioned the fact of the Sienese having refused to deposit their share of the 25,000 cr. on the plea that the Emperor at Bologna had relieved them

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of all payments. I have written to the duke of Amalfi, who now resides there for the Emperor, to say that I have no orders to that effect.*

I also advised that Filippo Strozzi had written to His Holiness about the interview which king Francis was seeking with the duke of Lorraine, &c.,† and related what Capua (Schomberg) said to me with respect to the Duchess (Margaret), the Emperor's daughter. As the matter is of importance, I request your Lordship to forward me instructions as soon as convenient.‡ Would likewise like to hear how I am to act, and what to say in the Camarino business,§ and what is to be done respecting the Papal Nuncio about to be sent to Spain, or with regard to the German affair and the Diet.‖— Rome, 12 January 1534.

P.S.—The Pope, no doubt out of spite at my not answering him as he would wish, has attempted, and is still attempting, to conduct certain negotiations with his Imperial Majesty, by means of the viceroy of Naples (Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis de Villafranca). The Viceroy himself, through Don Francisco de Toledo, who is now here, is equally negotiating State business with him. Don Pedro not being present, and Don Francisco not knowing in most instances what the Emperor's wishes are, it follows, as Your Lordship may well imagine, that our master's affairs do not improve through their interference. Your Lordship should try and put a stop to this without letting the Viceroy suspect that the information comes from me. Many laugh at what is going here on every day, and His Holiness is pleased at my discomfiture. I have hitherto dissembled, and will go on dissembling, as I am in duty bound to do, having no other aim but the Emperor's service. At the same time I wish to keep on good terms with the Viceroy, who is my personal friend. Those who witness this peculiar state of things, fancy that he and I disagree, and that we are at daggers drawn, and therefore it is important to dissipate the rumours spread by our enemies For this purpose I have asked and obtained the Emperor's

* The Count was right. The Emperor made no promise. He only said that, should war break out again in Italy, he would try that the expence should not fall upon them. That is a different thing; and the Count, therefore, is to insist upon the Sienese depositing their share.—*Note by Covos.*

† Should the interview take place, no harm can come of it. The Duke is wise and prudent, and not likely to mix himself up in matters that do not concern him individually, and thereby receive injury, his own estates being close upon the lands of the Empire, of which he himself is a vassal. Though the Duke's brethren have resided in France until now, he himself has always remained faithful, and professed obedience to the Emperor. Should, however, count de Cifuentes hear anything to the contrary, he had better let us know as soon as possible.—*Note by Covos.*

‡ Let the negotiation be suspended until he hears from His Imperial Majesty.

§ On this point the Count will soon receive instructions.

‖ According to information here received, the Imperial Commissioners are now discussing the affair pending between the king [of the Romans] and the duke of Würtemberg. As soon as the Diet ends, and we know what has been decided, the Count shall hear from us.

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leave to go to Naples, see Don Pedro there, and come to an understanding; but I will not move from hence until I hear from Your Lordship, for, perhaps, seeing the Viceroy and me together, people might become alarmed.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

17 Jan. 4. EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 6.

This King went a few days ago to see his bastard daughter, who is at a house 20 *miles from hence, the Princess (Mary) being also with her, as I have already written to Your Majesty; and although one of the principal causes for the King's visit was evidently to persuade or force the said Princess to renounce her title, yet the Lady (dame Anne),* considering the King's weakness or instability (who would dare say this?), and that the great beauty, virtue, and wisdom of the Princess might lead her father to forget his anger, and out of pity be induced to treat her better than heretofore, and allow her to bear her title, sent hastily to the King, first of all, Cremuel (Cromwell), and after him other messengers, to prevent him from speaking to or seeing the Princess. For which reason the King, before arriving at the house occupied by the Princess and by his bastard daughter, sent orders that the former should not be allowed to come to the room where he was, or appear before him. While at the house, and in the apartments of his bastard daughter, the King sent to the Princess, Cremuel, the treasurer and the captain of his body guard,† the three chief people he then had with him, again to press (la represser) and solicit her to renounce her title of Princess. Her answer was that she had already on a previous occasion declared her resolution as to that, and that it was mere waste of time to come again and press her to do that in which she would never acquiesce. They were very much mistaken (she said), if they thought that ill-treatment, rudeness, or even death, could change her determination; and she went on telling them many things to the same purpose, all equally wise and discreet.*

Whilst the King was in the apartments of his bastard daughter, the Princess sent to beg and entreat to be allowed to kiss her father's hand; but the permission was refused, upon which, just as the King was about to mount his horse, and go away, she went up to a terrace at the top of the house to see him off. The King having been told so, or perhaps by a mere chance, turned his head towards the terrace, and saw her on her knees, with her hands clasped together by way of supplication. The King, however, took no notice, except that he nodded his head, and put his hand to his hat;

* "Toutesfois considerant la dame la facillite du roy ou ligierete (qui losseroit dire), et que par la grande beautte, vertu et prudence de la dite princesse," &c.

† That is, Cromwell, Fitzwilliam, and Sir William Kingston.

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upon which all those who stood by, and who before that time would hardly have dared lift their heads to look at her, glad and rejoiced, as well as encouraged, by what the King had done, bowed to her reverently, expressing as well as they could their good will and sympathy for her.

Since the King has not said a word, that I know of, to the Princess about marriage, I conclude that the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) could not bring, as was supposed, the proposition of having her married to the marquis de Saluzzo (François), nor is it to be believed that the King, her father, will marry her to him, or to any one else out of his kingdom, unless he first has a reconciliation with the Queen, her mother; for he knows very well that, were he to marry her out of England, he might be considerably annoyed afterwards; whereas, having her by him, prisoner as it were, she cannot raise her head or go against his will. Besides which the King is sure to put off any decision of that kind in the hope of temporizing with the pretenders to her hand, and seeing how his own affairs will turn out in the meantime.*

Parliament commenced its sittings the day before yesterday, and, as far as I hear, no measures of any importance have yet been submitted to its deliberations; *for, before bringing under discussion those against the Pope, the Queen, or the Princess, as well as those relating to the supplies of money, it is necessary to win the votes of its principal members; for which the King and his Lady are straining every nerve. Nothing, indeed, can surpass the affability, graciousness, and cordiality with which both are treating just now the lords of this realm. The better to obtain his aim, the King has countermanded the greater part of those who might oppose him, and I hear that many of those who are now here are of opinion that, should any high personage come here as your Majesty's ambassador, things would not come off so easily as the King thinks, for when the English see that Your Majesty takes this affair of the Queen and Princess to heart they will immediately take the bit between their teeth.*†

Bad weather has hitherto prevented the English ships sailing for Belguez (Berghes). The merchants to whom the ships and cargo belong curse those who hindered them from sailing at the beginning of December last, *that is to say the Privy Councillors, who would not let them risk the* 400 *or* 500,000 *ducats, which may be the value of the whole cargo. Some fancy that God has delayed the sailing of these ships in order to give time for the executory letters to be issued at Rome, and the property of Englishmen to be sequestered in consequence. In that case, the value of the merchandise would make it worth while for your Majesty to lay your hands*

* Francesco, brother of the late Marquis (Michel Antoine), who died in 1528; unless it be Giovan Luigi, who, after the usurpation of his estate by Francesco, retired to France, where he was still acknowledged as such marquis.

† "Ils prendront le frain au dens."

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on the goods, and employ the amount for your own wants, giving, however, your imperial word to the merchants to repay them with interest in time. This would encourage the merchants to put their good will into execution. This much I am actually obliged to represent to Your Majesty, at the instigation of many here, without having seen the wording of the executory letters, which have not yet been forwarded to me, and without knowing whether the seizure of property belonging to this King's subjects is comprised in them or not, as it has always been in other similar letters.

I have just been told that *the day before yesterday the Lady, after hearing of the Princess's wise and discreet answer* [*to the King's deputies*], *complained most bitterly to the King of his not holding the Princess tight enough to prevent her from getting counsel and advice from outside, as she had hitherto done; for (said she) it could not be believed that such answers as she had given really originated with her: they were, no doubt, suggested by other people. The King promised Anne to see to this, and that in future no one should see the Princess, or speak to her, without his knowing who he was. Indeed, about xx. days ago the King said to the Marquis* [*of Dorset?*] *that it was only the trust the Princess placed in Your Majesty that made her obstinate and difficult to manage, but that he would soon bring her to book; he was not at all afraid of Your Majesty, nor of any other prince in the world. He (the Marquis) and other high vassals of his Crown had better take care what they were about, and be loyal, as he had no doubt they would be; for if they hesitated or wavered in the least, they would all lose their heads. He would keep such a guard on the Princess and her servants that no letters should be written to her or received from beyond the sea without his being previously informed of it.*

Besides the hope the King has of his subjects remaining faithful to him, he has undoubtedly that of the Queen's death in the meantime; for he said, the other day, to the French ambassador, that she could not possibly live long, as she had dropsy. Now, as the Queen, to the best of my knowledge, never complained of such a disease, I have my doubts, as I have already written to Your Majesty, whether such rumours are not spread for the purpose of producing in her, one of these days, some artificial dropsy, of which she may die (God preserve her!). It is Sir Gregory de Cassel (Casale) who has related to me the King's words to the French ambassador. He (Casale) has likewise told me that before his leaving England he intended renouncing the King's service, and setting up the white banner.†*

* "Il a aussi grant [espoir] sur la mort de la royne, laquelle il a dit encoires de nouveaul a lambassadeur de France ne pouvoir viure longuement a cause quelle est ydropique, de la quelle maladie elle ne fut oncques attaincte; dont est a doubter, comme jai çi deuant escript a vostre maieste, quilz sement telles choses pour luy fere venir une ydropisie artificielle."

† "Quil pensoit auant que partyr dyçi, de renuncer au seruice de ce roy, et dresse[r] la banniere blanche."

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Another piece of intelligence, received this very morning, though proceeding from a quarter not quite so authentic, is *that the earl of Quildra (Kildare), the governor of Hirlande (Ireland), has gone to Scotland; which, if true, would be a great blow (bastonnade) for this King, since the Earl happens to be the subject from whom he could receive greater service or annoyance at times than from any other, as I am given to understand.* We shall soon hear the exact truth of the whole affair, and I will let Your Majesty know by the next post.

During the last two days the King has sent to the Tower a large number of bows (arcs), and I am told that he has ordered as many as 30,000 *more to be made. He is likewise attending to the rest of the ammunition, and provisioning of that fortress, and has given orders, to what purpose it is not known, for certain pieces of ordnance to be placed on the very top of it. I must add that, as the guns are pointed towards this city, it has become a matter for serious thought among the citizens.*

As no opportunity has occurred for some days of returning the Scotch ambassador's visit by a person in my confidence, I have deferred until this morning sending one of my secretaries to him. His return message has been that he was here for the purpose of negotiating a peace, of which these people seemed very desirous, if their fair words and the general good treatment he has had till now received at Court are to be believed. Yet it seemed as if God, or some other obstacle, stood in the way of that peace; for during the last ten days the English had made several raids into Scotland, and not later than yesterday the King sent Cremuel to him (the ambassador) to say that he was exceedingly sorry and angry at what had happened, and that he would make such an example of the trespassers (entrepreneurs) that king James should be content. That, however, said the message, would be no impediment to the negotiations being carried on, nor would it retard the peace in the least. The Scottish ambassador also sent me word that, although this King and his Council will certainly not be pleased at his visiting me, he wished to come whenever I should be disengaged and ready to receive him. I wonder how he (the ambassador) dares do such a thing; but since the offer comes from him, and I myself am not to be blamed for it, I will try that the interview take place as soon as possible, for fear he should repent. Of what I may learn at the conference which is to take place I will not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

The Doctor, who was to have gone to Lubeck, as I informed Your Majesty by my despatch of the 3rd, thinking that he might make a shorter and surer journey to that town by sea than if he went by land, has remained in town until to-day; but perceiving that the weather is foul, and the wind unpropitious for sailing, has at last decided to take the land route in three or four days. *I am told that he is to leave at*

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the same time with other agents of this King for various parts of Germany, and that the reason which he (the King) had for wishing the Doctor to go by sea rather than by land is that he carries a large sum of money with him.

Ever since the duke of Suffolk called on her, the Queen has not left her bedroom, except for the purpose of hearing mass in a gallery close to her apartments. She has refused to eat or drink anything that her new servants bring her. The little food she takes in this time of tribulation is prepared by her maids-in-waiting within her own bedroom; so that, in point of fact, her sitting-room, bed-chamber, and kitchen are all in one; —so poorly lodged is she. Lest Your Majesty should be inclined to think that the above account is somewhat exaggerated, and that she is not so ill-treated as she imagines, the Queen proposes, as she informs me, to write to Your Majesty concerning her present position and the treatment she receives. —London, xvii. January xv^{c} xxxiiii.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 7.

21 Jan. **5.** Captain Aponte to the Same.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 115.

Wrote from Genoa advising his arrival in that city. Left on the 10th, and arrived in Rome, Wednesday, the 14th, on which day a courier was despatched to Naples and Sicily. The next two days, the 15th and 16th, were taken up with visiting the Count of [Cifuentes], and deciphering the despatches he (Aponte) had for him, and his own instructions. On Friday* the Count and he (Aponte) called on His Holiness, and delivered the Emperor's letter, *reciting in appropriate words the whole of their credence,* and giving him both explanation and satisfactory answer to all and every one of his questions according to their nature and importance, and thanking him besides for the good-will he had shown, the advices sent, and the demonstrations offered.† *Coming afterwards to the three points, namely, the general welfare of Christendom, the peace of Italy, and the Emperor's own interests,* a long conversation ensued, in adequate and proper terms, which ended in His Holiness declaring that he would again re-consider the matter carefully, *promising the Count and him (Aponte) never to be in fault in what concerned the Emperor personally.*

The ambassadors then took their leave, but as the Count thought that he [Aponte] could not well quit Rome [for Naples] without first calling again on His Holiness, it was decided that he should stay a few days longer. This was on

* "El dia dupues de Reyes."(?)

† "Y a cada cosa se le satisfizo de parte de V. M. muy bien, [á] cada cosa segun la calidad della, á lo uno rengraciando mucho la buena voluntad de su Sd. *y avisos y demostraciones.*"

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Friday. Saturday and Sunday, by command of the Count, he (Aponte), accompanied by the archbishop of Capua, visited no less than eight of the cardinals, in all of whom he found much good-will for the Emperor's service,* as well as the perfect assurance that they will undertake great things for him wherever they happen to be. Their names are, Medici, Frenesis (Farnese), Campeggio, Grimaldo, Naples, La Vala (La Valle), Sanctiquatuor, and Capua, besides (Schomberg), with whom he (Aponte) had great dealings. The latter says that the Emperor *ought to pay great attention to the affairs of Germany,† for there the matter principally lies.* As a proof of this he (Capua) exhibited a letter received from those parts, and begged him (Aponte) to put it into the Count's hands, which has been done since. Capua is in soul and body the Emperor's man. This is quite evident from his words, and, indeed, he shows it well by his acts. He is very desirous of becoming a cardinal. Saw at once by his conversation that he wanted to find out whether he (Aponte) had brought instructions to that effect. Answered him in general terms, as he has been instructed to do.

The above are the names of the cardinals visited. Has nothing to say of Sancta Croce (Quiñones) or Jahen (Merino), because, as was proper and just, they were *the first* visited. Each of these *works separately,* and promotes with his friends the Emperor's interests, *faithfully reporting* to the Count every step they gain in their various negociations.

Yesterday, Monday the 20th, the Count and he (Aponte) called again on His Holiness; and repeated the statements made on a previous occasion. His Holiness answered as before, assuring the Imperial ambassador of his perfect good-will, and going still further in his promises. The resolution taken was that he would appoint *three cardinals* to meet the Count, and deliberate on all matters relating to the *maritime armaments;* on which point His Holiness lays, as it would appear, much stress, as well as to the land expedition against the Turk; which point being discussed and settled between them with all possible help, His Holiness maintains that he will not *be a defaulter either with the Emperor or with the undertaking.*‡ Certainly, to hear the Pope speak in this manner, and with so much warmth, one must believe him to be exclusively the Emperor's staunch friend!

His business being now despatched, he (Aponte) will leave for Naples to-night or to-morrow morning before sun-rise.

Reminds His Imperial Majesty that it will not be amiss for him to write a few lines to each of the above-

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* "El sabado y Domingo *yo visité* por ordern del conde a ocho cardenales con el arçobispo de Capua, en los quales," &c.

† "*Tenga gran cuydado en las cosas de Alemaña, que alli es donde se* [*de*]*bate la cosa, y un aviso que él ha havido nuevamente me lo dio en esto,* [*para*]*que*[*lo*] *diesse al Conde.*"

‡ "*No faltará en nada á V. Mt. ni á la empresa.*"

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named cardinals by the first post, thanking them for their good-will and friendly answers to the overtures which the Count and he (Aponte) made them. Capua (Schomberg) particularly deserves a gracious letter from the Emperor, and if a few words were added expressive of his regret at his not having been made a cardinal, which is the thing he (Capua) desires most of all, everything would go on well, for he happens to be just now a very influential person here.—Rome, 21 January 1534. Francisco de Ponte (*sic*).

Addressed: "To the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

23 Jan. **6.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, f. 1–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 117,

Wrote on the 12th by Portilla, the courier. On the 14th Captain Aponte arrived with the Emperor's despatches of the 15th ultimo. Called on His Holiness, and explained the object of Aponte's mission. The Pope's answer was conceived in general terms. He praised much the Emperor's solicitude for the welfare of Christendom and the defence of the Apostolic See. Promised to do what he could against the Turk, but said that it seemed a very hard thing for him to have to spend so much treasure merely in defensive measures, without going to attack the lion in his own den. The sums demanded from him were (he observed) yearly, not once for all. Besides which, the determination of the king of France not to help in the undertaking, inasmuch as he considered himself injured by the treaty of Cambray, made the case still more grave and almost desperate.

His (the Count's) answer was that, even should the French king refuse his help against the Turk, the Pope and the Emperor would nevertheless be bound to undertake the protection of Christendom. How much injury king Francis might inflict upon the Christian world at large, and the Apostolic See in particular, by withdrawing his help,—nay, by encouraging the Turk, as he is known to have done, and prompting him to invade Christendom, and especially the Emperor's dominions, —was a matter which required no demonstration at all. It was evident and manifest. His Holiness assented, and said, "I recollect once telling the king of France that, should the Turk invade and take possession of Sicily, neither he nor any other prince in Italy would be able to stand against him; for, once there, the Turk would soon become master of the whole of the Peninsula; and that king Francis answered, 'Yes, yes, but if the Turk takes possession of Sicily he will appoint a Christian to govern the island in his name.'"

It is very remarkable that the Pope should never have mentioned this at Marseilles; which circumstance, coupled with the emphatic hint implied in the King's answer, which, by-the-by, he (the Pope) did not sufficiently condemn, makes

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him (the Count) suspect that everything is not right in that quarter. Took occasion from this to point out the wicked intentions of the French king, and strove to convince His Holiness of the necessity of at once providing for the wants of threatened Christendom. He (the Pope) ended by recommending that Aponte should at once start for Naples and Sicily, and see that the cities and towns on the coast, and especially Messina, were placed in a state of defence.

The interview, and the affairs of Germany.

Coming to the subject of the English matrimonial suit, His Holiness said distinctly that his wish was to do justice therein, and that he had lately received intelligence that the King had proclaimed himself in open disobedience to the Church, and filled up all the vacant benefices throughout England. Having asked him what he knew about the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay), and his mission, the Pope answered, "I have heard that all the time he was in that country, he did nothing else but convey the congratulations of his master, and receive in return those of the King." The Pope then asked: "Why does not your Emperor think of the execution of the sentence 'super attentatis?' Were I to pronounce sentence on the main cause, as he wants me to do, it would not be so profitable for him as the other, since by that one alone the king of England might at once be declared as having forfeited his kingdom." Replied, that the sentence "super attentatis" was not considered a final one in England, at least such was the report of the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys), and that the reasoning of the English came to this: "Since the Pope and the College of Cardinals hesitate to pronounce sentence in the matrimonial cause, it is evident that they have doubts of the justice of the Queen's cause." The King, therefore, who not only has doubts of it, but believes it to be the other way, may remain married to Anne, especially when he has in his favour the opinions of several Paris doctors and others.

To follow up his argument, Sylva continued, "His Holiness knows very well how such opinions have been obtained from people of very scanty learning in such canonical matters; besides which, bribery has been openly used; therefore it is for Your Holiness to determine the principal cause at once." His Holiness again promised that he would, and that justice should be done in the case, immediately after which he gave order for auditor Simonetta to be released from all other legal duties and engagements, that he might look over the process and report.

He (Sylva) had just finished writing the above paragraph when some one called to inform him that the English ambassador* at the court of France had addressed a letter to the Baron del Borgho, late Papal Nuncio in England, saying that the King of that country actually had refused obedience to

* Sir John Wallop.

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the Apostolic See, and was giving away the ecclesiastical benefices of his kingdom without his approbation or consent, on the plea that by so doing he could and would derive a larger revenue, and have more authority; and that the very moment His divine Majesty disposed of the Queen—who by the last post was reported to be in a very precarious state of health—he (the King) would remain with one wife only. Even then king Henry would not for that return to the obedience of the Apostolic See, or relent in his enmity towards His Holiness, having, as the letter said, written to the duke of Saxony (George) and to other Lutheran princes that he wished to become their ally and confederate, &c.

The Pope (the writer added) had the above letter of the English ambassador read in Consistory for the cardinals to deliberate at their next meeting, as to what was to be done in this emergency. The English ambassador's letter further states that Anne is again in the family way.

He (Sylva) cannot say whether all these things will be sufficient to induce the Pope to give sentence in the principal cause; but the report is that the cardinals having inquired of him what were His Majesty's intentions in the event of the sentence being pronounced, His Holiness answered that the Emperor *had very lately, in his letters brought by Aponte, promised to stake his life and estate on the execution of the sentence.* Cannot say for certain what were His Holiness' express words on that occasion; all he can say is, that, as regards himself, he has hitherto been anything but explicit in his declarations on that subject, following on that point the letter of his instructions; and as to Field Marshal Aponte, that he has never made use of such words in his (Sylva's) presence.

At this juncture a message comes from the Pope saying that he has received letters from France in date of the 12th, advising that the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) had arrived at Court. Nothing was known of his negociations in England, only that king Francis would soon send him here (to Rome) on a mission. *It seems as if the Bishop has left in England traces of his mistakes, as he (Sylva) had occasion to remark when His Holiness first announced to him the Bishop's departure for England, for certainly he is rather an unfit messenger to be sent to a country contaminated by Lutheran opinions.

A message had been despatched by the Pope to Count San Segundo† summoning him to appear at this Court, and the

* "Paresceme que dexo en inglaterra señal de su hierro (?) como habia dicho á su Santidad quando me dixo hiva (*sic*) el dicho obispo en inglaterra, que no era buen mensajero para tierra que estava tocada de opiniones luteranas." *Hierro* in the above passage is a blunder for *yerro*; the former word meaning iron, from *ferrum*, whilst the latter is an "error," a "mistake."

† About count San Segundo (Secondo), whose proper name was Pietro Maria Rosso, *see* vol. iv., part ii., pp. 532–3, 538–9.

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Count has written a letter excusing himself, and alleging reasons for his non-appearance at Rome. The same messenger who brought the Count's letter to the Pope was the bearer of another private one for Cardinal de' Medici, wherein the Count says that he dares not come to Rome, because he is afraid that His Holiness wishes to punish him for certain offences. He (the Count) further begged the Cardinal to advise him as to what he ought to do, and the Cardinal's answer has been that *the Count must come at all events to Rome.* If he does, it will be seen what all this is about.—Rome, 23 January 1534

Signed: " El Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 10.

28 Jan.
Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 8.

7. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

The day before yesterday, the Scottish ambassador, of whom I have written in former despatches, disregarding all the scruples and suspicions to which he knows by experience these people are very prone, even in the present state of things, came to see and dine with me. We talked till a late hour of various matters, which would take too much time to relate, and therefore will only refer to the principal one. Among other subjects of conversation, one was the good-will and affection that (said he) the King, his master, bore Your Majesty, he (the ambassador) having formally declared to me that *the thing in this world his master desired most was to be united by close alliance and affinity to Your Majesty. Not only (said he) is the King, my master very desirous of such an alliance, but all his subjects are also. There is nothing in this world the king of Scotland wants so much as to be married, owing to the importunities of his people, who are continually requesting him to do so; and as King Henry himself wishes for it, he is actually soliciting Francis to give him (James) a wife, provided she be not one of his own daughters; for this King would be much offended at that, as much, perhaps, as if he married into Your Majesty's family. This is the reason, continued the ambassador, why this King fancies that my master cannot marry too soon. Yet the latter, knowing the intentions of the English king, and what he is aiming at, is not at all in a hurry to take a final step in the matter.***

After this the Scottish ambassador declared to me that his instructions were, as I have already informed Your Majesty, to try and ascertain whether this King was inclined to war, or to peace and amity; not to ask him for one or the other, but leave the thing entirely to his choice and

* Ou quil ne preynne allyeurs (allyence?) avec vostre Maieste, quest la cause quil ne semble à ce roi que celle (?) descosse soit assez tost marie, mais que congnoissant le dit roy, son maistre, lintencion et fantaisie de cestuy yçi auroit plus daduis et regard de non soy haster.

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pleasure. He added that he had found the King and those around him not only inclining to peace, but actually wishing for it. The King had said many good words, and frequently shown regret at his not having sooner recognized the virtues and good-will of his nephew of Scotland. So great was his wish for peace that he complained daily of the delay of the other ambassadors, whom he expects from Scotland, to treat of peace between the two countries. About three days ago, after offering excuses for the *raid lately made by his border troops into Scotland*, about which I wrote lately* to Your Majesty, *this King said to the Scottish ambassador that he was really sorry at his colleagues in the embassy not coming in greater haste to discuss and settle the preliminaries of a peace whilst Parliament was still sitting; for, peace once made between the two countries, he would have a bill passed therein to this effect, that upon failure of the issue he now has, or may have in future, from the Lady he has married, the succession to the English crown shall devolve upon king James. The ambassador made much of this royal promise, and seemed very much pleased; but I made him feel† that what this King proposes is not only a thing against conscience, since he tries by such means to deprive the Princess of her right, and contravene the Papal sentence and censures, but is besides (I said) very inconsiderate on the part of the King, his master, to renounce the expectations he may have,* on the death of the Princess, an only daughter, *of succeeding to the Crown of England, and agree to the condition proposed by the King,—a most preposterous one after all, since he has already one daughter, and Anne de Boulans is now in the family way again, and in a state of health and of an age to have many more children. He (the ambassador) must also be aware that whatever bill Parliament might be made to pass on that score would be of no value, since it was, as he could well see, forced upon its members. The ambassador then owned that my remark was just and fitting. He said that his master, the King, would take good care not to fall into such a snare, and concluded by stating his opinion that, whatever countenance was put on either side, no peace would be made. He further assured me that, unaccustomed as he was to go on missions, where he saw no probable chance of success, he had for a long time refused to accept this one. Many of the Privy Councillors in Scotland thought that, instead of preparing embassies like the present, what king James ought to do was to commission officers and make levies of men. Every day there was (he said) less inclination [on the part of his countrymen] to negociate a peace with the English, considering the bad and detestable government, likely*

* "Il y a environ trois jours que apres auoir excuse les courreries derniere-ment faictes sur les escoussois."

† "Au quel iay faict toucher *avec le duc*" says the copy, *avec le doigt?*

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to end in their total ruin and perdition, especially if Your Majesty seemed in the least indignant against them. Indeed, that it seemed as if the time had come for the Scotch to revenge the injuries received from the English, or make their profit by war. My reply was, that, as far as I had been given to understand, it had not been in Your Majesty's power to grant his master the affinity and alliance to which he alluded, and that the excuses addressed by Mr. de Rosinboz, in your name, had been considered sufficient by his master, the King, who had accepted them willingly.

The ambassador having owned that what I said was perfectly true, we went on conversing, and I told him, "*I have no doubt that the Emperor's love for the King, your master, and his almost paternal affection for the Princess, his cousin, would have made him desire a marriage between her and him.* I am the more inclined to think and say so, that I know that one of the things the Emperor desires most is the perfect union and amity of all the Christian princes, *which would thus be effectually promoted, for many considerations, which I then and there proceeded to expound, and which seemed to him very good and reasonable. "But," replied the ambassador, "there is no chance of the king of England ever agreeing to that, unless compelled by force of arms, though, as far as I am given to understand, the English would like it extremely. If Your Majesty was only pleased to assist thereto, and favour a little the King, his master, he (the ambassador) had no doubt the thing could be done. The king of Scotland, he said, had not yet allowed his ambassadors to make overtures respecting that marriage, for fear of the French king cavilling and reproaching him hereafter with his having tried to contravene the treaties and promises which bind them together as to intermarriages. He (the ambassador) had, however obtained a safe-conduct for an abbot and a secretary,* who were going straight to France for the purpose of ascertaining king Francis' views in this respect, that he might, after that, shape his conduct accordingly, and proceed with the negociations in London, without which requisite neither he nor his colleagues could conclude anything. I told the ambassador that if he had charge from his master to speak about the marriage of the said Princess, he could very well do it now, without fear of the inconvenience to which he alluded, the advice and pleasure of the French king always reserved. His reply was,* "Unless I am called upon to speak about that, I am determined not to broach the subject *until the rest of my colleagues arrive from Scotland. When they come I will let you know through a third person what their charge and commission is, and partly also that of the ambassadors who are to go to France. Were this King as desirous of peace as he professes to be, he*

* "Et quil avoit obtenu sauf conduyt pour ung abbe et ung secretaire."

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would send his ambassadors to Scotland, without allowing the Scotch to come here; since, whatever their wish to visit this Court and treat with the King's Privy Council, when they see the state in which the affairs of this kingdom are, they might lose all desire of negociating a peace with England. Indeed, if those who ought to have come for that particular purpose are as well informed of the state of affairs in this country as those who came before, they will take care not to arrive at any understanding; and if they do, should the Pope's mandate come in the meantime, or some equally legitimate occasion intervene, as *the ambassador very properly remarked to me, they are sure to use it as these people deserve.* The ambassador further told me that the English were boasting that Your Majesty was just now soliciting closer alliance with them, and that this King accused James's principal secretary (Erskine) of being too much of an Imperialist, on which account he was not considered loyal towards his own master or the king of France.† He also said to me that the earl of Douglas, the King's uncle, and his brother, both emigrants‡ in England, were trying all they could to make their peace with the King, his master. Lastly, on taking leave, he promised that King James would not take a wife in a hurry, but would still wait a little for his "bonne fortune," and that in future, to guard against suspicion, he would not personally visit me, but inform me through third persons of the progress of the negociation.*

Besides the cordial welcome which this King and his Privy Councillors, especially Cremuel, are giving to the Scottish ambassador, Cromwell is almost daily inviting him to most splendid banquets, and they have all promised him the freedom of the gentleman who was going to Rome to procure a commission from the Pope to proceed against the archbishop of St. Andrew, and who, as I informed Your Majesty in one of my despatches, was taken prisoner at sea by an English privateer. The Archbishop was not sorry for the capture of the said gentleman, inasmuch as he had been his denunciator and accuser. The Pope, however, has refused the King's application, for in reality there was no cause for the prosecution. The charge brought against the Archbishop was, as the Scottish ambassador tells me, that he had written to the duke of Albany (John Stuart) to come to Scotland, and put order in State affairs, which, he said, were getting worse and

* "Et si ceulx que ont de venir pour traicter sont si bien abbreuvez des affaires dyci comme telle que y est, ils nont garde de riens conclure et quelque conclusion quil y ayt venant mandement du pape ou autre legitime occasion, comme ma dit icelluy ambassadeur, ilz ne laysseroint den user comme ceulx-ci meritent."

† "Que ceulx-cy se vantoient que vostre maieste les requeroit de plus intrinseque amytie, et que ce roy chargeoit fort le principal secretaire du roy, son maistre, destre trop bien imperial, et que a ceste cause il nestoit leal au roy de France ni a son maistre propre."

‡ "Bannez (?) d'Angleterre, that is, *bannis* or emigrants.

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worse, owing to the bad government of the King and of those who surrounded him.

I hear that measures against the Pope are in contemplation in the Parliament now sitting. A treatise, the third in order, has been lately published against him (the Pope), under the title of "Difference of the Life and Doctrine of God, and that of the Bishop of Rome," as they call him; which treatise is only a reproduction of the principal errors of the Lutherans; and I am told that other similar books are now being composed.* *Yet, though these people are doing their utmost [against the Pope], they still fancy that, either through fear of losing entirely the allegiance of the English, or at the intercession of the French king, His Holiness will give in, and finally grant their wishes. Indeed, Cremuel has during the last four days affirmed, nay, sworn over and over again, to one of my secretaries, that pope Clement had declared at Marseilles that had this King duly sent his powers to be represented at Rome, sentence would certainly have been given in his favour. He (the King) had refused to send in those powers, not to impair, as he said, the privileges of his kingdom, and the general prerogative of princes. Cremuel went so far as to offer my secretary to show him the letters where the above declaration by the Pope was contained; and yet I am under the impression that, whatever they may bring forth against the Pope, they will attempt nothing before the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) returns from Rome, or sends a report of what he has accomplished there.*

Parliament, as I hear, has done away with certain revenues which the Clergy derived from all house rents. *This has been done apparently for the people's gratification; but that is nothing in comparison of what this King himself intends doing, which is to usurp part of the ecclesiastical property altogether, distribute the remainder to gentlemen, and even bestow the ecclesiastical benefices on laymen, as Cremuel himself said to the Scottish ambassador the other day.*†

About five days ago this King, *having received despatches from his ambassador in France, sent for the French one resident in this Court, and kept him till three o'clock in the morning. I have heard that since then the King and all his Privy Councillors have been exceedingly sad and annoyed at the news brought by the said courier. The French ambassador, I am told, was writing all night; and when morning came, his secretary, who had to copy all the despatches, said to a friend of his, who related it to me, that English affairs were speedily going to ruin, and that there would soon be*

* "E a este le dit livre tire des capitales erreurs des lutheriens et dit lon que encoires en y a y pluseurs autres a la forge."

† "Et du surplus en distribuer aux gentilhomes, voire donnera les benefices a gens daiz, comme Cremuel le declaire aux dits ambassadeurs descosse."

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a disagreement between this King and his master: which agrees very well with what I wrote to Your Majesty in my last despatch.

Just at this moment I hear from a good source that king Francis has declared to the bishop of Vinchestre (Gardyner), and to the other English ambassador resident at his Court, that this King might be sure of king Francis employing both person and property in assisting, helping, and supporting him against his adversaries, whoever they might be, provided his own honour and conscience permitted him to do so; but that he (Francis) was not called upon to go against the authority of the Apostolic See, to the defence of which he considered himself duly bound, as a Catholic and most Christian king, following the example of his predecessors on the throne of France; and that God's commandments, as well as the promises and oaths of obedience which he had made, came before their mutual alliances, over which he was bound to give precedence to the Apostolic See and its authority. He (Henry) was not to place too much reliance on the German princes; he ought to take example by him, for, as he well knew, notwithstanding their fair words and promises, after his spending considerable treasure at the time of the election for the Empire, they had played fool with him. Which advice and declaration on the part of king Francis must have been the substance of the Bishop's last despatch, and the cause, as I said before, of this King's bad humour. Indeed, one of the Bishop's servants, who says he was present when king Francis spoke to him in that tone, related this to a worthy citizen, who came and told me himself.

I cannot say whether the above message from the King, or the perplexity in which these people are just now, is the cause of the departure of a certain doctor-at-law, who was to go to Lubeck, being delayed; but certain it is that he, and those whom this King destined for Germany, are still in town. It is said, however, that all of them are to take their departure three days hence. Some say that the Doctor, after fulfilling his commission at Lubeck, is to go to the king of Poland (Sigismond), or to the duke of Prussia, which I do not believe. The other two,* who are destined to Germany separately, are men of small importance and position; one was once a priest in the diocese of Canterbury and the secretary of the Archbishop (Cranmer),† when the latter went to Your Majesty; the other a clerk of this King's secretary, who went last year to Germany, *in the suite of Master Elyot, as I then informed Your Majesty. The former, the priest of Canterbury, has charge of collecting all the books and writings composed in*

* Vaughan and Montaborinus, about whom, *see* vol. iv., part ii., pp. 754, 841, 877, 996.

† "Lung estoit prestre de larchevesque de Conturbery pendant quil fust ambassadeur devers vostre maieste, lautre est ung clerc du secretaire de ce roy, que desia lannee passee fust en allemagne *conduit par ung serviteur de maistre elyot.*"

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favour of this King's divorce, and taking them with him [*to Germany*], *for what purpose I cannot say.* As soon as I hear particulars of their individual missions, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.—London, 28 January 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 9.

29 Jan. **8.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 10.

Having yesterday written to Your Majesty at full length the news of this kingdom, this will be in answer to the official letter of the 24th ultimo, which came to hand this very day.

With regard to the high personages whom the Queen desired Your Majesty to send here, as I have had the honour to state in several despatches, I own that I was never sanguine as to the effect they might have on the King's mind. I always doubted whether *any persuasions of theirs could influence him, or whether they themselves could get his permission to appear before the assembled Parliament, and then and there make such representations as would further and promote the Queen's business.* I was moved to make the application by the considerations I mentioned in several of my despatches, *as well as by the commands of the Queen herself, and likewise at the suggestion of many worthy persons of this kingdom, including Mr. Elyot, who certainly has not been the last to ask for them in his own name, and in that of several others highly placed here, as he has given me to understand. Although the said Master Elyot does not rank among the principal lords of this kingdom, yet I have named and singled him out because Your Majesty knows him well. Even members of this Parliament have sent me messages this last week to the effect that should any one come to England on behalf of Your Majesty, thus giving them occasion and excuse* [*to oppose the King's measures*], *they will hold out, they being in hopes that a large majority of good Christians, indignant at the way in which the Pope is treated in this country, will vote with them.* Yet it must be said that the means used by the King for the election of members, chosen entirely at his pleasure, as I have already informed Your Majesty; *his having countermanded all those whom he thought were likely to oppose his views in this present Parliament, such as the archbishop of York, the good bishops of Durham* (*Durham*) *and Rochester, Monseigneur d'Arcy, and others innumerable, make me fear that by dint of such like practices, promises, or threats this King will carry any measure he chooses,* as Your Majesty has in your great wisdom imagined. I shall this very night send a messenger to the Queen to inform her of the paragraph in Your Majesty's letter bearing on this particular point, and, in pursuance of the instructions received, announce to her your resolution

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respecting the said personages, *adding on my own account, and as proceeding entirely from myself, such observations and advice as will effectually put a stop to any further applications, and make her take the whole in good part, affording her at the same time the consolation which she so much needs. I will do the same with the Princess, to whom not later than yesterday I sent certain consolatory books (liures consolatifs) she had asked for, and which have given her much pleasure.* As soon as I get an answer from the Queen, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty, *as well as of the object for which the duke of Norfoch (Norfolk) and Brianturc (Brian Tuke) are now going to visit the said Princess.*

I some days ago informed the latter that there was a talk in France of marrying her to the Marquis de Saluce (Saluzzo), and that she must be on her guard not to consent to that or other equally unsuitable marriages, if proposed to her, nay, to none at all, however advantageous, without the will and consent of the Queen, her mother, and Your Majesty's sanction if possible; which she has since sent me word shall be punctually executed. The King's mistress had from the very beginning resolved that the Princess should act as her train-bearer, and that she would cause her and her mother all manner of annoyances; but considering that her singular beauty, goodness, and virtue, might possibly induce the King to change his purpose, and that if the Princess were to attend Court, and be seen there continually, she might daily gain the hearts and favour of the courtiers, she has not allowed her to come; so that there has been no need, nor do I think there will be in future, of further remonstrances or appeals on that score, nor of the protests mentioned in Your Majesty's letters, since the date of which several despatches of mine must have been received, confirming my former statements respecting the prudence and wisdom of the Princess, who is sure not to do anything to the prejudice of her mother's or Your Majesty's interests.

With regard to maintaining the lords and others of this country faithful to Your Majesty's interests, and to those of the Queen as well, I have done as much as was in my power; but whether it be my unlucky star that causes it, or the weather, which is very bad and unseasonable here just now, the fact is that I have neither the opportunity nor the means to render Your Majesty the services that I should otherwise have wished, such being my regret at this state of things, that had Your Majesty a knowledge of my situation there would be no need of my making any further apologies or excuses. *Your Majesty may easily understand that one of the chief grounds for the preservation of that devotion, which the English in general manifest towards Your Majesty, depends in a great measure upon their seeing and believing that Your Majesty really intends pursuing to the end, and in every possible way, the*

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Queen's cause. Many of them, who perhaps have no knowledge of your affairs, nor of the political considerations by which Your Majesty's conduct must necessarily be regulated, perceiving that you do not proceed so vigorously as they expected in the Queen's business, seem to be rather cooling down in their affection. On the other hand, those on the King's side are sedulously spreading the rumour that Your Majesty cares naught for all these things. Such like rumours, when once circulated, are not easy to contradict, especially when no opportunity is afforded for Your Majesty's ambassador to go to Court, and when, as I have said in former despatches, *few, if any, here dare come and frequent my society, just as if I were already a prisoner, and war had actually been declared between the Empire and England.*

Respecting this King's views and ideas of what passed at the conferences of Marseilles, I have many a time before this written to Your Majesty. *I now learn that he is becoming every day more and more satisfied at their issue, and this I gather from the fact of his having had translated into English, and printed, certain Latin verses which I once sent to Mr. de Grantvelle, written in favour of Your Majesty and against the Pope and the king of France, on the occasion of the Marseilles meeting, as this King believes. True it is that he has caused the expressions against the king of France to be somewhat modified (raducies), and that quite lately Cremuel's secretary, recently returned from Germany,* visited the *houses of many Spaniards residing in this city, to ascertain whether there were also any verses in Spanish against the conferences of Marseilles, in order to have them also printed,* which could not well be done without order or commission from his master (Cromwell), and *at the King's own bidding.*

With regard to St. Peter's pence for Rome, I must say that I have always got people here to contribute, whenever I received notice thereof. I have thus been able to remit to Messire Colardy 800 ducats in two bills, as will appear from his own letters, which I have lately forwarded to Count Cifuentes that he may see and verify how the said sum has been spent, and give quittance to the heirs of the said Colardy, at the same time telling him (the Count) that if he wants money he may draw upon me, and that his bills shall be honoured. *Though, to say the truth, the Queen is scantily provided with funds just now, yet this must be said of her, that for such an object she will not mind suffering still greater privations.**

As to the secretary *of the Count Palatine (Frederic), the only thing I have been able to discover about him is that of which* I have informed Your Majesty. I have been told to-day *that one of those whom this King sent to Germany was intended for the Count's court; but, as I wrote* in my despatch of

* "Toutesfois pour telle cas, elle na si bonne vacelle quelle ne face voler (?)."

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yesterday, *the people whom this King is now sending to Germany are not fit for such missions; they will probably spoil any negociation in which they are concerned. Perhaps the King, as I imagine, wishing to justify himself with German Princes, may have sent an agent to the Count, whom he considers as his great friend for the last two years. I must, however, observe that my informer is not a person to be relied upon implicitly. I have also been told that one of the King's agents is to go to Hungary.*

With respect to the restitution of the property taken by the Lubeckian ships, this King has already received an answer that it will be duly restored to its legitimate owners. Yet, as during this winter the navigation to those parts had been interrupted, the merchants here have put off sending for it. That they may not suffer in consequence, I have applied to Cromwell for letters patent in the King's name, requesting the Lubeckians to restore the whole of the merchandise, and at the same time indemnify the merchants for their losses, which the said Cromwell has promised to do with perfect good-will; and I may assure Your Majesty that not only in this affair of the Lubeckians, but in the almost numberless Flemish and Spanish claims in which I have had to interfere daily, the said Cromwell has always until now behaved most handsomely, showing himself on all occasions favourable and well inclined towards Your Majesty's subjects. *Would to God that he had behaved as well towards the Queen, and towards the Pope, whom he pursues and attacks more fiercely than any other man in this kingdom?*

I will do my utmost, according to Your Majesty's desire, to ascertain the quality, suite, power, means, and authority in Ireland of the earl of Desmond, and what relation he is to the earl of Quildra (Kildare), the governor of Ireland, and whether that relationship, whatever it may be, ought to be made use of for gaining over that Governor, who is said to be just now on the eve of rebellion, being, as I wrote in a former despatch, the most important vassal this King has in Ireland.

The convocation of Lords mentioned in Your Majesty's letter has not yet taken place. I cannot say what its object may be, unless it is to treat of the affairs *of the Queen and Princess*, or have some plea and excuse for summoning the said Governor of Ireland without arousing his suspicions. —London, xxix. January 1534.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 7.

* I have purposely suppressed a long paragraph of this letter touching the ambassador's private affairs, who frequently complains to the Emperor and to Granvelle of want of funds for his personal expenses.

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4 Feb. **9.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 2.

These people cease not in their intrigues against the Pope. Every day new tracts and books are published against the authority of the Apostolic See, as Your Majesty has, no doubt, already learned by the copy of the one I sent by the last post, and the one herein enclosed; the substance and aim of the said tracts being to sap and destroy the authority of the Holy See, and raise discussion on several inconvenient points, such as the marriage of priests, and *the bestowing of ecclesiastical benefices on laymen, which this King is aiming at, that he may by that means attach to himself a portion of the nobility, and prevent their finding fault with him for his obstinacy in pursuing his design, which is nothing short of doing away altogether with part of the ecclesiastical benefices, usurping their entire revenues in some cases, and in others taking possession of the temporal fruits.*

Were it only a question, by such books and writings (*escripteaux*), of defying (*blasonner*) the Pope and the authority of the Holy See, the measure after all would not be so important; for the English people, knowing, as they do know, that all this proceeds from passion, malice, and revenge, do not attach much faith to it, but are, on the contrary, very angry with the King for doing so. The worst is that some preachers from the pulpits—wherefrom nothing should be said that is not absolutely holy and edifying—are, under cover of religious charity and devotion, inculcating on the minds of simple persons the theories propounded in such writings; whence it is to be feared that, unless the venomous root be promptly pulled up, everything here will go to ruin and perdition. *And inasmuch as the doctrines propounded in the book which this King has caused to be published are in open contradiction with those of the other one which appeared once under his name, he has now printed in English a letter from Luther to him, in which he informs us that the book in question was not composed of his own free will, but that he had written it at the instigation of the cardinal of York (Wolsey) and other prelates.* Your Majesty may judge from these facts how obstinate and pertinacious this King is.*

I have been unable as yet to obtain such positive and reliable information as I should have wished respecting the estate and forces of count Desmond; yet I am told that he has two or three very strong castles, that he is powerful, can at any time enlist 15 or 20,000 men among his own vassals, and that he has greater power and more strongholds from which to do harm to the English residing in

* "Et pour ce, Sire, que ce que cestuy roy fait est droictment contre le livre compose au nom du dit roy, il a fait imprimer en anglois une lectre que Luthere lui escripuit de ce temps la, par la quelle Luthere luy escript le dit liure nestre procede de son franc vouloir, ains quil avoit ete seduit a ce fere par le cardinal diorch et autres prelats."

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Ireland than any other lord in that island. He is, besides, closely allied to the count of Quildra (Kildare) and to other lords of the country, and it is reported that his uncle was once on the point of marrying the sister or daughter of King Edward. As to his personal appearance, I am told that he is well made, bold, nay a terrible man in warfare, and has besides that plenty of good sense. Will go on with my enquiries, and, should I learn any thing more, shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

Only to-day will the agents whom this King is sending to Germany leave town. Each, I am told, is the bearer of a quantity of letters to people in that country. He who goes to Lubeke carries at least 40 of them, with the King's great seal. To whom addressed, or what the agent's particular errand, I have as yet been unable to ascertain. I have, though carefully, informed Madame the Governess of the Low Countries, and will do so again, of the departure of these people, and the route they intend taking, in case she should wish to have them stopped on the road, and prevent their journey and commission; for, in my opinion, there would be more plausible and indeed righteous cause for this than was alleged for the arrest of Don Iñigo [de Mendoza] by the French, when he was coming here from Spain, considering that the agents I speak of go to solicit and seduce Your Majesty's subjects against God and you.*—London, 4th February 1534–5.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, almost entirely in cipher. pp. 2.

11 Feb. **10.** The Same to the Same.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 13.

The queen of Hungary, Your Majesty's aunt, having heard and well considered (*rumine*) the very prudent and most urgent reasons you had for not sending the personage from your realms, who was to come here on her behalf, and at her own particular request, the latter has adhered to your opinion, and agreed that it is far better for her interest that Your Majesty should depute some one to Rome than send anyone here, according to her request. And presuming that the said queen of [Hungary], your aunt, will write to Your Majesty on the subject, and that Monsieur de Granvelle will also report on what Madame has been pleased to write to me on thesubject, I will abstain from further comment.

Your Majesty's letter of the 11th ult. has come to hand. I immediately proceeded to inform the Queen and the Princess of its contents for their mutual consolation and comfort; but I have not yet received an answer from them, owing, no doubt,

* On Don Iñigo's arrest in June 1526, *see* vol. iii., part i., pp. 763, 1015, 1039.

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to the great difficulties which the one as well as the other finds in writing or sending messages to me by trusty persons. With regard to the recommendations contained in Your Majesty's last letter to me, *namely, that this is no time for attempting anything like rigorous action or movement of any sort, I can assure Your Majesty that I have already avoided, and will in future avoid as much as possible, giving offence by words or deeds.* I have since lost, and will lose, no opportunity in future to persuade the Queen to have patience, and do nothing likely to lead to the *inconveniences* pointed out in Your Majesty's despatch.* For although it be true that I have frequently alluded in my despatches *to the necessity there was of Your Majesty beginning to try strong measures with these people,* that was only said as a confirmation of the reasons and considerations contained in my said despatches, of which I scarcely need now make a repetition: *which reasons and considerations moved, nay compelled me, to write as I then did.* Wherefore, I humbly beg Your Majesty to believe that neither in this nor in any other thing shall I ever disobey Your Majesty's commands, and that I will *take good care not to say, do, or counsel anything from which disorderly acts, or violence, might be anticipated.*†

The French ambassador said to me, the day before yesterday, that this King had shown great regret at hearing of the death of his own ambassador at the Imperial Court, and that he had on the occasion praised and extolled your humane behaviour towards him in sending your own physicians to attend him, and making offers of help. *I am sure the King fully acknowledges the kind attentions used towards his deceased ambassador;* yet, at the same time, *I fancy that in thus praising Your Majesty's humanity and courtesy, his object is to make the French feel that, whatever may be the cause of the quarrel existing between you and him, Your Majesty has still much regard for his friendship, and that, were the French to abandon him, he could settle his differences with you in two hours' time, as, not later than the day before yesterday, Briantucke said to a gentleman, who came and told me.*

The said ambassador further related to me that the King, on his return from a visit to his new daughter, had said to him that "he would not see or speak to the Princess, on account of her stubborn and obstinate disobedience to his commands, which, he said, she had inherited with her Spanish

* "Et au regard davoer de mon coste advys et soigneuse consideration quil nest temps ne saison convenable dintenter chose tendant a rigueur ou esmotion quelconque, iadverty et asseure vostre maieste que cest la chose du monde ou iay autant de soing et regard, et que ne tasche riens plus que denfouyr toute occasion dont a mon endroit que den persuader la royne tant quil mest possible tout ce quest aliene et desvoyant a tels inconvenients."

† "Me gardant de dire, fere ou consailler chose dont puist naistre occasion de desordre ou rigueur."

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blood; and that upon the Ambassador remarking that the Princess had been very well educated (*nourrie*), *tears rushed to the King's eyes, and he could not help praising her many virtues and accomplishments. Anne* [*Boleyn*] *is well aware of the affection which the King bears his daughter, the Princess, and on that account she does not cease plotting against her. Not more than six days ago, the earl of Nortambellan* (*Northumberland*) *said to a gentleman, who came and told me, that he knew for certain that Anne had been thinking of having the Princess poisoned; and I must observe that the earl must know something about it, owing to his intimacy and credit with the said Anne. The Princess, however, has been well warned to be on her guard; but, unless God comes to her aid, there will be great difficulty in her escaping the danger I speak of.* Indeed I know of no other remedy for the present *than to persuade the Scottish ambassador to tell expressly the King and his Council that on no account will the king of Scotland, his master, consent to a final peace being concluded between the two kingdoms unless the right of succession to the Crown of England be secured to him on the death of the Princess* (*Mary*). *To make the Scottish ambassador adopt this plan,* I have carefully put down in writing, for his use, a number of allegations and reasons, which it would take me too much time to reproduce here. He has promised me to do his utmost in that line; *and no later than yesterday he sent me word that he would call on me to-day, without minding the suspicions these people might form if he was seen entering my lodgings.* If he comes, I will not fail to remind him of his promise.

*I had likewise thought of another course to adopt in the Princess's case, namely, that after again making the most solemn and strong protests against the violence used towards her, and the apparent danger to her life in the place where she is now made to reside, she should write to the King, and offer to relinquish the title of Princess, provided she were allowed to live with the Queen, her mother. But I have since thought that by doing so Anne might be further encouraged to execute her wicked design, for fear of the daughter being ultimately reconciled to the father; or that she might think that it would be easier for her to accomplish her end, under cover of friendship, much better than at present, when there is mutual hatred and enmity between them; besides which it might happen that the feelings of those who now favour the Princess, ignoring her reason for yielding, and the protests she has made beforehand, might cool down, and cease to have the same interest for her safety.**

* "Jauoye aussi pensé pour autre remede que la princesse apres avoir fait solempnes et suffisantes protestacions de la force que lui est faicte, et du danger apparent ou elle estoit, quelle ouffrit au roy destre contente de non estre appellee princesse, pourveu quelle fust en liberte daller resider avec la royne sa mere. Mais ce faisant il seroit par adventure danger[eux] que la dite Anne print alors

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A worthy gentleman of this place has told me *that Anne had sent a message to her father's sister, in whose keeping the Princess * now is, that she ought not to tolerate her using that title; should she continue to do so she was to slap her face as the cursed bastard that she was. And because the said Princess has hitherto been in the habit of breakfasting in her own room, and, when obliged to go down into the hall, has refused to eat and drink any thing, the said Anne is in despair, and has for this reason given orders that no food or drink should be served to her in her chamber.*

The first Thursday in Lent the said Anne purposes to go and see her daughter, and stay with her two days. Please God that it may not be to the cost of the good Princess! We must place the whole in the hands of God, who will by His divine clemency know how to order and provide for the whole as will best fit His service, *giving Your Majesty time and opportunity as well as the means of repairing the mischief done.*

The French ambassador told me also *that he was surprised to hear that there was not a good and strong guard near the Princess, to prevent her being carried away from where she is; for it would be to the total destruction and perdition of this King, if she ever found herself beyond the sea.*† This is in conformity with what I once wrote to Your Majesty, namely, *that it never crossed this King's imagination to have his daughter married on the other side of the sea.*

The same ambassador has incidentally related to me that this King had told him he had spent two million of gold on Your Majesty's behalf, including in that sum his own landing in France, and many other expenses, which certainly ought not to have been put to Your Majesty's account. He has likewise affirmed to me that the King is continually watching and waiting for symptoms of war in Germany, and that he will spare no money or trouble in promoting an intelligence, and helping any hostile movements in that quarter. There is here a German in Cromwell's service, who left this city eight months ago, as I then informed Your Majesty, and has been all that time residing at the *court of the duke of Saxony, or thereabouts, to watch any dissensions*

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plus dardyment dexecuter sa maulvayse volonte craignant la reconciliation avec le pere, et penseroit que a lheure a moindre soupçon elle pourroit ce faire soulz umbre damytee, que maintenant ou la haynne et inimite est ouverte, et dailleurs pourroit estre que ceulx qui fauorizent a la princesse non saichant les causes et protestacions se refroidiroient."

* "Quelle ne deust souffrir que la dite princesse usat dicelluy tiltre (*sic*) et que le faisent (*sic*) quelle luy donnait (donnat) des buffes comme a une maul-dicte bastarde telle quelle estoit." The governess was Alice Boleyn, widow of Sir Thomas Clere, of Ormesby, in Norfolk. Her husband died in 1529; she herself in 1538. *See* above, pp. 13 and 33, and Gairdner, vol. vii., p. 69.

† "Quil estoit esbay que lon ne tenoit bonne et grosse garde auprez de la princesse pour la garder destre amblee (*sic*), que seroit la totale destruction et perdicion de ce roy si une fois elle estoit dela la mer, quest conforme a ce quay par çi devant escript a vostre maieste que ce roy navoit garde de la marryer dela de la mer."

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that might arise among the German Princes, to which chance, if there should be any, this King joins the hope of the Turk landing in Sicily,—which seems likely enough, if the report of the Grand Master of Rhodes as to great military preparations being made at Constantinople turns out to be true, as the Grand Master himself has told the ambassador.

Nor is this the only piece of information obtained from the Frenchman. He has declared to me that the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay,) had gone to Rome for the purpose of finding out if there was any means of making Pope and King agree; which, he says, is of all things that which this King desires most, and to attain which he would make the greatest efforts; *for otherwise, he said, the friendship and alliance between France and England cannot continue, which will be an irreparable evil for both Kings.* I find, moreover, that the ambassador is by no means partial to this King; he no longer praises his government of the country, as his colleagues did in former times, and he suspects that one of these days there will be some riot, outbreak, or revolution, which, as he tells me, was prepared for the day of the Epiphany, and would have broken out then had it not been prevented some way or other.† His only hope of safety in such a case, added the ambassador, would be to take refuge in my house, which he knew would be safe under the circumstances, though I know not how far in a popular rising of the sort, he (the ambassador) could feel safe under my roof.*

The deputies from the Commons have brought forward and passed an act in this Parliament to the effect that in future the Pope shall have no interference or cognizance in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom; that the filling up of benefices shall be made here in England; and that whenever a bishopric becomes vacant the King shall appoint whomsoever he pleases, the new bishop to be elected and accepted by the Chapter, and then confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury. The charges to be 20 ducats for the Archbishop, four for the King, and one noble for the clerk who draws out the bull. The act has not yet been passed by the Lords, but it is thought that in the present state of public opinion there will be neither difficulty nor opposition, and that the measure will ultimately be carried, That is the reason why the King is in no haste to forward it until he hears from the bishop of Paris whether the Pope is more tractable; for in that case he not only will go no further, but will do his best towards atoning for the past, or at least simulating to do so, though I do really believe that after some time he will do even worse against the Church, owing to his great covetousness, and his desire

* "Car autrement il seroit impossible que lamytie entre le dit roy son maistre et cestuy çy dure, que comme il disoit, seroit grande desplesir et mal pour lung et pour lautre."

† "La quelle mutinierie, comme yl me dit, pensa de commencer environ la feste des roys, quil ny eust obvié."

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of appropriating the Church lands, of which he has already applied a good portion to his own patrimonial estate. In order to undermine the bishop of Paris's practices at Rome, I have written to Your Majesty's ambassador [count de Cifuentes] that if he deems it opportune, he may acquaint His Holiness with the above facts, and assure him boldly that this King aims at nothing short of making His Holiness prevaricate in this affair of the Queen, principally in order that Your Majesty may *have just cause and occasion for withdrawing your friendship from His Holiness, and then, being relieved from the fear of that very friendship, which is the thing he dreads most, he will be free to do his worst against the Church, even to the making up his quarrels with Your Majesty.*

*To the many practises and threats which this King has lately indulged in to induce his people to be hostile to the Pope, he has added this lying statement, that there, in Spain, a large work has been composed hostile to the Pope and his authority; hence the rumour has originated and been circulated that Your Majesty wished to appoint a new Pope. Cremuel (Cromwell) on the other hand goes about preaching that the king of France, knowing the Pope's wickedness, has repented of having made a friend of him, and will in future exert all his power against him. Thus, by means of such fables and inventions, the people are being deceived and seduced.**

Four days since, the bishop of Norwich, an old man of ninety, and entirely blind owing to his great age, was sentenced by a lay judge to have all his property confiscated, and his person placed at the King's mercy. The cause of it all is, as I hear, that about two years ago he (the Bishop) condemned to the stake as a heretic a certain doctor,† companion and sworn friend of the present archbishop of Canterbury, and had him executed without waiting for the King's writ (*placet*). *Though this latter circumstance has been made the plea for the Bishop's condemnation, it is quite evident that the real cause is no other than his having once burned a heretic, and principally his being a very rich man, since as well in silver plate as in hard cash he is said to have possessed upwards of* 70,000 *ducats.*

It very often happens that in order to add something more to what I have said in former despatches, or to be the better certified as to the information obtained, and able to quote my

* "Oultre les practiques et menasses que le roy a use pour induire ses gens contre le Pape il y [a] adiousté nouvelle ruse, car il dit que en Espaigne sest composé ung bien fort gros livre contre le Pape et son auctorite, et doys la sest respendu le bruyt que vostre maieste vouloit faire un nouveaul Pape. Et Cremuel va preschant de lautre couste le roy de France ayant cognu la mechante [intention] du Pape, se repputoit (*sic*, reppentoit?) de lamytie, et vouloit faire merveilles contre sa Sanctité, de sorte que par telles fables et inventions ce peuple est mene et seduict."

† The Bishop's name was Richard Nixe; the Doctor's, Thomas Bilney.

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authority for such information, I am guilty of repetition, thinking that in that way I may better obtain my aim, which is to let Your Majesty have as correct an idea as possible of the state of things in this country.* I beg to be forgiven.

This very morning, just as I was about to close this despatch of mine, some one brings me intelligence that a motion has been made in Parliament for taking away from the Queen all the landed property she has had from the King, and allowing her only to retain those estates which she was entitled to as widow of Arthur, the prince of Wales. I will not fail to inform Your Majesty of the resolution.

The wearing of silks and foreign furs has been forbidden to any but nobles and privileged persons, and the price and quality of cloth has been fixed according to the rank of such persons; but these measures are so unpopular that it is hoped they will not last long.† There is also some talk of forbidding the importation of serges, worsteds (*demy hostades*), and other stuffs, from beyond the sea.‡—London. 11 February 1534.

French, Original. pp. 8.

11 Feb. **11.** Eustace Chapuys to Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 15.

By what I write to the Emperor, you will be able to judge of the state of affairs here. Matters have not mended in the least since your departure from Flanders; but are, on the contrary, getting every day worse and worse, without the least appearance or hope of improvement, unless God take the whole affair in hand. Of what may happen hereafter I shall not fail to apprise your Signory. In the meanwhile be pleased to have compassion on me, bear in mind the losses I have sustained through the last fire at my hotel, and enable me to serve the Emperor here as I wish.—London, the 13th of February 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To Monseigneur de Grandvelle."

French. Holograph. 1 *p.*

11 Feb. **12.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 16.

Were I to live to the age of Nestor and of the Sybils, and were I to do nothing else all the rest of my life but pray God for your prosperity, since I cannot render you any other service,—were I to thank you all that time for the great

* "Pluseurs foys yl aduient que pour adiouster qulquechose a ce quay par avant escript, ou pour en estre mieulx certiore et alleguer laucteur ie use de repetition et redicte, pensant estre plus seur ce faire quaultrement, pour quoy," &c., &c.

† "Lon a icy prohibe le portaige des soyez et des forreurez estrangierez saufx aux personnes privilegiesez, et hauxe le pris des draptz selon lestat des personnes, chose si estroicte quel ny a espoer de longue duree."

‡ "Il se traite aussy de fere deffendre les sargez, demy hostades et autres telles choses que viennent de dela de la mer."—Sarge (serge), in Span. "sarga;" *hostade* is, I believe, worsted, but what is *demy hostade?*

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favours and benefits you are daily bestowing on my humble person,—I certainly could not, as fully as I wish, acknowledge and repay the thousandth part of those you have conferred on me, nor sufficiently praise and extol the kindness and benevolence of your observations and representations, as contained in your letters of the 11th ult., according to which I will in future shape my conduct.

Nor can I forget sending you my very humble thanks for the flattering words you were pleased to convey to me in your letter of the same date on the death of this King's ambassador; which letter I immediately forwarded to Cremuel (Cromwell) that he might give cognizance of it to this King, who has thus had the pleasure of hearing its contents, though he already knew them all. I have, moreover, been thanked for my good offices in recommending to you the said ambassador, and have been requested by Cromwell to renew the declaration made at other times, namely, that this King is willing to own that in every respect I have behaved as an honourable man towards him, inasmuch as neither from his own ambassadors in Spain or Flanders, nor from the spies (*expiez*) he has about, had he ever heard of my having made any false reports, or of his Imperial Majesty or the Queen Regent of Flanders having spoken words to his disadvantage, or otherwise indicative of a diminution of their good-will towards him. Although the said Cromwell has expressly told me that the King, his master, had such spies about, I fancy that he has only made that assertion for the purpose of proving to me that this King's ministers are awake and vigilant.*—London, 11 February 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

12 Feb.

S. E. Rom., L. 862. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 122.

13. Summary of Letters from Paris.

Having, on the receipt of letters of the 17th January, gone to the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) and thanked him for the good work he had done against the Lutherans, His Excellency answered that he had acted in the affair as the good Christian that he was, and a good servant of Our Lord, and that he would not fail to prosecute his task, though he had by so doing laid himself open to suspicion from several, and principally from the king of England.

Having replied to His Excellency, and again assured him as well as the Most Christian king, his master, both verbally

* Here follow two lines in cipher, the deciphering of which was most likely omitted by the clerks. The cipher itself being different from that used by Chapuys in his official despatches, I conclude that he had another to correspond with Granvelle. Immediately after the ciphered lines follow the words: "comme de vostre grace vous a pleu de faire dont, Monseigneur, ne vous "sçaurais onq[ues] assez humblement remercier"; and therefore I am inclined to think that the ciphered passage alludes to some ecclesiastical benefice or some other pension lately conferred on the ambassador.

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and by letter, that the Emperor on no account would consent in anywise to alter the treaty of Cambray, even if it should be in his power to make an agreement with the Turk and pacify Germany, His Excellency observed that the affairs of that country were going on prosperously [for the Lutherans], and that religious opinions had taken such a root in the country that the Emperor would find in time that he had been deceived, &c.

When after this the Nuncio, at the request of the Grand Master (Montmorency), was introduced to the presence of the Most Christian King, the first thing he did was to thank him for the orders given and provision made with respect to Lutheran affairs; and the King answered that he had no doubt that Germany would be thereby purged from that most venomous heresy, &c.*

That king Francis after this began to discourse on the affairs of England, and say how important it was for the Holy Apostolic See to preserve, or at any rate not lose entirely, the obedience of that country; and that he (Francis) trusted entirely for that to the prudence and wisdom of His Holiness.

His Majesty owned that the king [of England] had an understanding with the German princes, and therefore considered it highly expedient for His Holiness to consider the means of withdrawing from the Lutherans that help and credit which that circumstance was likely to afford them.

His Most Christian Majesty believed that the contempt and defiance of His Holiness, displayed in England, were only a feint on the part of the King of that country, who, the more opposed he affected to be to an agreement, the nearer he considered himself to be towards attaining it; which manner of thinking His Most Christian Majesty could not in anywise applaud or countenance.†

The landgrave [of Hesse] had certainly come to see him at Baclacher (Beauclaire), together with Melanton (Melancthon), and told him that most of the German princes were ill-disposed towards the king of the Romans and the house of Austria, and assured him also of their strong inclination towards him. He (the Landgrave) in particular assured him (the King) that if they (the Princes) had known that he would make a longer stay at Baclacher (Beauclaire) they would certainly have gone there to meet him.‡

To test such a disposition and understanding on the part [of the German princes], His Most Christian Majesty had helped as much as he could towards the confirmation of the Suabian League. The Imperial ambassador was to meet his own to pro-

* "Che senza alcun dubio seria quel regno purgato di tal veneno."

† "Crede la dirisione et ludibrii fatte contra S. S^{ta} in Inghilterre esser fatte artificiosamente da quel Re, il quale quanto si mostra piu alieno de la concordia, tanto più spera gli deba esser facile il conseguirla."

‡ "Aveva offerto a S. M^{ta} che senza molto discostarse di Barlach una gran parte di quelli Principi sarian venuti a trovarla."

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mote a satisfactory arrangement of the duke of Wurtemberg's affairs, though the settlement proposed was rather in favour of the Duke and against the king of the Romans, now in possession of his estate, whence it was to be presumed trouble and disagreement between the parties concerned might arise.*

That having observed to the King that His Imperial Majesty could not have worked better and with less expense than he had done in the settlement of affairs in Germany, the Most Christian King replied that it was just the contrary, for that hitherto the Emperor had spent his treasure in Germany to no purpose, without having been able to pacify it; whereas he himself had achieved far greater things without any cost.

The conversation between the Most Christian King and the Landgrave was most secret and confidential, there being no one present at the time but the Legate and the Admiral of France (Brion). The writer, therefore, is unable to relate what passed at the interview, except that the Landgrave had offered the King as many infantry as he would like to have, and said that he had a hoard of 200,000 crs. for that purpose.

The Imperial ambassador then told him that he knew from an authentic source that, whilst discussing the matter of a future Council, the Landgrave had told the Most Christian King that Germany wished the place of meeting to be some town close to its frontiers, where the German princes might consider themselves secure, and that they wished it to be Ginebra (Geneva).

That the same ambassador informed the writer that the Suabian League had not yet been confirmed, though he thought that it would be soon prorogued, &c.

That having inquired from the Grand Master (Montmorency) whether it was true or not that the Landgrave had spoken to the King about the Council, he said that he had, but that nothing of importance was said, except that the German princes did not approve of Mantua for the place of meeting.

That Mons^{r} de Lange (Langeais) was then at Augsburgh, and hoped to finish the negociations for which he had gone in about a fortnight or so, and then return to France. What those negociations were about no one knew.

Mons^{r} de Labrit was also at court, expecting funds to return to Helvetia (Switzerland), and there make certain payments, which he (the writer) had been told would not exceed 100,000 crs.

A proclamation has been issued, enjoining all those who hold fiefs from the Crown to be ready for May next with

* "Dubitando che con tale occasione non siano travagliate di lei tutte le cose loro."

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their men and horses; and although there are no other signs of war, yet it is evident that His Most Christian Majesty is preparing his forces in case of need.

Indorsed: "Advices from France received by the Pope."

Italian. Contemporary copy.

14 Feb. **14.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 125.

Your Majesty must have heard by letters from Count Cifuentes and Eustace Chapuys, your ambassadors [here and in England], the great storm of tribulation with which it has pleased God to visit Her Highness, the queen of England; which, all things considered, must not be looked upon as an adversity, but on the contrary as a singular favour, for which infinite thanks ought to be given to our Lord, permitting, as he does, Her Highness, your aunt, to become such a pattern of constancy and virtue for future generations, worthy of being imitated by all the world. Indeed, we ought all to be thankful if God in His infinite mercy and wisdom allows the good Queen to die a martyr to the persecution instituted by the King, her husband. And since this martyrdom is slowly being worked out, and we can do nothing to prevent the catastrophe, it is desirable that at any rate the Princess, her daughter, should be removed from England; for I and the rest of Your Majesty's servants are much afraid that a like cruelty such as that of Herod, who killed his own sons, may be practised on her, and that she may be put to death, or shut up in a nunnery, or compelled to marry some low-born fellow, although neither such religious vows nor such marriage would be valid.*

The bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) arrived here from Marseilles the other day, sent by the king of France. Count Cifuentes having ordered me to visit him in his name, I went thither, and paid my respects to him, and to the bishop of Macon (Charles Hémard Denouville), the other ambassador. On my asking for English news, and for the health of Her Highness, the queen of England, who, as the report goes, is very unwell, the Bishop asked, "Which of the two queens do you mean?" And on my replying, "You know well whom I mean, she who is the only true queen;"—"As Anne (retorted the Bishop) happens just now to be in all her triumph and glory, I thought that you inquired after her."† "Not at all

* "Gozarame yo mucho si la serenisima Princesa pudiera estar fuera de aquel Reyno, por que mucho nos tememos aqui que con crueldad de Herodes (?) que mato á sus proprios hijos, no la maten ó fuerçen á entrar en religion, ó casarse con alguna persona baxa, aunque la tal religion ni casamiento no valga nada."

† "Y respondiendo yo que bien sabie él por que Reyna yo demandaua, y que yo demandaua por la que era verdaderamente Reyna, me respondió: como está con tan gran triumpho y pompa la Ana, crei en verdad que me preguntabais [por ella]."

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(said I); you must know that I am queen Katharine's servant, and cannot ask for any other." Then the Bishop related to me that at the time he left England Her Highness, queen Katharine, was very ill indeed, and that the physicians despaired of her life. Having further inquired how long she had been in that state, he told me that she fell ill four days before Christmas. "How very strange" (said I); "Count Cifuentes and myself have received letters from the Emperor's ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) dated the 27th January, and yet no mention is therein made of the Queen's illness!" I also observed to him that I was really astonished at the archbishop of Canterbury's insolence and wickedness, and that I wondered much how the English could bear with him, and how the King could have gone so far in his disobedience to the Church as to incur its censures,—he being at the time openly excommunicated. "The Archbishop (replied Bellay) is held in England in the light of a saint; and as to the ecclesiastical censures, the Emperor's Flemish subjects have been the cause of their being so little attended to; they themselves were the first to tear the placards from the gates of the churches whereto they had been fixed; they had trodden them under foot, and thrown them into the mud, to the great contempt of the Holy See. No sooner (the Bishop continued) was this behaviour of the Flemish known in England than the people were delighted, and since then had cared not a straw for the Papal censures." I asked him where in Flanders the very scandalous act to which he referred had occurred, for we (the Imperialists at Rome) had no knowledge of it at all. This he could not say, though I am told that when he related the same facts to His Holiness, he mentioned a town or village called Merlenga (Marlagne?). I replied, "You must be misinformed, for both count Cifuentes and myself are in receipt of letters of the 9th ultimo from Her Highness, the queen of Hungary, Governess of Flanders, stating that the censures had been properly intimated, but that a second intimation would soon take place in consequence of the first having been made during the time that His Holiness had suspended the execution of the said censures. Her Highness the Governess (Mary) has besides sent us by this last post a number of printed briefs against the King, and it is not likely that if such a thing had happened in Flanders, as he (the Bishop) said, that the Governess would not have punished the guilty parties, or at least mentioned the fact in her letters. "Ten to one," said I, "that if anything of the sort has occurred, it was the doing of Englishmen themselves at night, not of Flemish subjects." Upon which, and in order to make his assertion good, the Bishop remarked that some Englishmen had certainly been imprisoned in Flanders, and that it was a well-known fact that certain secret agents had been sent from England for the

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purpose of ascertaining whether the Flemish would really stop the intercourse of trade, or not; they had been received with great joy and feasting, and had been told that, far from suppressing trade, they (the Flemish) wished to go on with it as before. From which (said the Bishop) the English plainly saw that the Flemish cared but little for the Papal censures. My answer was that I had no doubt the deputation had been received with proper courtesy; I also believed that the Flemings had answered that their intention was not to stop commercial intercourse, because though a declaration forbidding it had been made in the Low Countries, and the kingdom of England had, by virtue of the Papal briefs, been placed under interdict, yet communication and commerce between interdicted persons and nations was allowed, except in cases of excommunication. Only the King and Anne, the King's privy councillors, as well as all those who have favoured or are favouring the King in this cause, are excommunicated, and therefore trade with the English might well continue.

When the bishops of Paris and Macon saw that their arguments proved nothing, and that they could not show the Apostolic censures to have been contemptuously dealt with in Flanders, they quietly abandoned their position and kept silence. I then called upon the Count, and related to him what had occurred, and the substance of my conversation with the two bishops [of Paris and Macon]. It appears that he (the Count) had received the same or similar intelligence from other quarters, and heard also of the Bishop's (Jean du Bellay) conversation with His Holiness, but, as he has, no doubt, informed your Imperial Majesty by this time, I will say no more about it.

Next day, the 6th of February, there was to be a Consistory, at which the Bishop was expected to explain his mission. Whereupon the Count sent me word that he wished me to accompany him thither. We spoke first to His Highness and to several of the cardinals, and prepared them sufficiently, so that, should the Bishop bring forward any of his arguments, they will know how to defeat them, and deny entirely the fact of any irreverence to the Holy Apostolic See having taken place in Flanders.

The Count must have informed Your Imperial Majesty of the desire the Pope and cardinals have of proceeding "super attentatis," as well as of going on with the principal cause, in which auditor Simonetta is working very hard, so as to get his report ready for the first or second week in Lent. The Count thinks that I (Ortiz) ought not to report to the cardinals until the Auditor has begun his task. I agree with him; it would be a very hard thing if, after my sending in a second report, couched as I fully intend it to be, no sentence should after all be pronounced, &c.

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Money is wanted to pay for the costs (*derechos*) of the sentence, which they say will amount to a considerable sum. —Rome, 14 February 1534.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

— Feb. **15.** High Commander Cobos to Count Cifuentes.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 97.
B. M. *Add.* 28,686, f. 129.

Your despatch of the 12th ult. to the Emperor, and private letter to me, have been duly received. I hasten to reply to some of its most important paragraphs, having already done so with regard to the former, after consulting with our Emperor and master.

What you say about the king of France having sent Langeais (Du Bellay) to Germany, for the purpose of gaining over the Lutheran princes, and obtaining levies of men through their means, has not taken the Emperor by surprise; nevertheless, you are to thank His Holiness for the information. Your answer was certainly very discreet, and you did well to let us know all about it; I beg you to continue reporting. His Imperial Majesty will follow His Holiness's advice, and so shape his conduct in this, as well as in other affairs, that the service of God, the upholding of the Faith, and the support of the Church may be accomplished, trusting that the more the Emperor works in that direction, the more will His Holiness favour him in this and other affairs, since he must now clearly perceive what the French practices with the Lutherans mean, and what he (King Francis) is aiming at.*

With regard to the Duchess's† marriage, you must be careful not to let the Pope know that you have written to the Emperor on the subject. Should the affair be again mentioned in your presence, or should any questions be asked, let your answer be vague and in general terms, and let information come directly to the Emperor at once. You may avoid entering into particulars by saying that you know not what the Duchess's answer may be, &c., until we hear what the Pope will say to the propositions taken by Aponte.‡

The same silence and discretion to be observed with respect to the Camarino marriage. Let the negociation drag on until you hear from His Imperial Majesty, and let the king of the Romans know of it also.

Your answer to His Holiness concerning the archbishop of Manfredonia (Sepontino) was wisely shaped, since it would

* "Confiando que tanto mas su Santidad favorescerá en esto, pues que vee tan claramente los medios que el Rey de Francia (como el mismo dice) usa con los lutheranos y otros, desviando y apartando esto mismo."

† By the "Duchess," Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, is here meant. She had been, in 1530, betrothed to Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Florence.

‡ Aponte had been sent to Rome in 1533. His instructions on that occasion are in Vol. IV., Part II., No. 1162.

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appear that, with the help of Carneseca, he has already commenced to take a hand in Poggio's business, and tried to persuade His Imperial Majesty to write and approve of his nomination. The Emperor, however, as you must know by this time, refused to take part in the matter, and referred entirely to His Holiness. But since you yourself (Sylva) are Carneseca's friend, let Ortiz watch that archbishop's proceedings, and see how he comports himself, and what regard he is entitled to, because, should another appointment be made, he may perhaps not be so acceptable or trusty as the former one was. Thus warned as to the Emperor's intentions and wishes, you may act in this matter with caution, and altogether leave to His Holiness the appointment of the person most fit for the charge.

With regard to Germany, the Emperor is daily expecting news from thence, as none has yet come of what has been done at the Diet. The correspondence must be first examined, and afterwards it can be seen what must be done. Some letters have been received, advising that the Imperial commissioners were already examining the case pending between the king of the Romans and the duke of Würtemburg; the Diet had not yet terminated its labours. The king of France had sent thither M. de Langeais (Guillaume du Bellay), once his ambassador in England, and one of the greatest enemies the Queen ever had, as well as the King's warmest supporter. He (Langeais) was to act as intermediary between the king of the Romans and the Duke, without the former being in the least aware of it, or as if France had anything to do in the affairs of Germany.*

The result of the Cannaletto affair, and the rejection by the Venetian Senate of the motion brought forward by the Doge Gritti, were already known to the Emperor by Soria's despatches; but it is highly advisable to keep the whole matter a secret, in order not to lose the channel through which this information was conveyed to us.

You would do well to speak to His Holiness about Pirro de Cippiçano, as proposed, but let it be without prejudice to the Cardinal De Medici, who seems to be so good a servant of the Empire.† As to Gianpaolo da Ceri, and his offers of service, you are to temporize, and amuse him with general words until we can see more clearly into these present affairs, informing the Emperor if he persists in his determination, and what chance there is of his bringing the father (Renzo) to the Imperial service, but let this be done without giving or taking pledges from father or son, and acquainting us with whatever is done or said in the matter.

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* "El rey de Francia ha enviado a esta Dieta un Langres (*sic*), que ha estado en Ingleterra contra la Reyna, como medianero entre el Rey [de Romanos] y el Vitemberg, sin saberlo el Rey, y [eso] que no tocaba al de Francia entremeterse en cosas de Alemania."—*Note by Cobos on the margin.*

† "Que procureis remediarlo respetando al Cardinal, pues se muestra tan servidor de su Mag^{d}."

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The application for Sicilian wheat made by the cardinals cannot be granted. The Viceroy (Monteleone) writes that so many licences to export have been granted within the last three years, that, should they all be attended to, he believes the island would be left entirely without grain. Yet, after obtaining correct information as to the quantity now existing in Sicily, His Imperial Majesty will see what can be done in favour of those cardinals, to whom he wishes to be agreeable.

Respecting the information which you are told His Holiness has received from his Nuncio in Austria, of a letter written to him by the Emperor, our lord and master, wherein he accuses the Pope, &c., you must affirm that nothing of the sort was written from hence except what Aponte himself took with him in the shape of a memorandum. If necessary, you may say so to His Holiness, and assert that the information he has received is incorrect.

For your endeavours to bring the English matrimonial cause to an issue, I am commanded to thank you in the Emperor's name. You must go on soliciting the determination by the Pope of the main cause. Since, as His Holiness assures you, the intervention of a third person to answer for the king of England is out of the question, and there remains nothing to do save to examine the process and pronounce sentence, His Holiness has acted prudently in keeping back the executory letters, and not giving them publicity. Let it be so, and the determination of the principal cause be persisted in until you see that it is decreed. I fancy that by this time the Imperial ambassador residing in England has advised the formal declaration of the King's Privy Council against His Holiness's authority, and that of the Church, a copy of which is enclosed. Were not the Queen's just claims sufficiently strong to move His Holiness to determine the case, I should say that the indignation caused by the King's insolence and want of respect would be enough to stir His Holiness to action.

You were right in presuming that the viceroy of Naples (Don Pedro de Toledo) was not authorized to treat directly or indirectly of State affairs with the Pope. The Viceroy shall be written to in a confidential manner, and without letting him suspect that the information comes from you. It was very prudent and wise of you not to make any demonstration on this point. ——— February 1534.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

14 Feb. **16.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, f. 576.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 129.

Wrote last on the 24th, advising that His Holiness had appointed certain cardinals to report on the best means of resisting the Turk. Notwithstanding all his efforts, it was only yesterday, the 13th instant, that he (Sylva) got an answer. The Pope told him that, although the news lately

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received did not make things quite so bad as before, nor the danger so imminent, he would take care that fourteen galleys should be prepared; namely, *four* of the Order of Rhodes, three more of his own, and seven of prince Andrea Doria, entirely equipped at his (the Pope's) expense, with 300 light horse, and some infantry from Ancona on board, in the same manner as when that captain (Doria) started for the expedition of Coron. The Pope further said that, for the sake of resisting the Ultramontanes, he considered the 1,000 Spaniards Your Imperial Majesty had in Lombardy quite sufficient, and that, if necessary, auxiliary Italian levies might be made. He (Sylva) remonstrated, and said that the case of the "Ultramontanes" was not so light as His Holiness imagined, and as to the sea-forces, they seemed inadequate for the undertaking.* Also suggested that permission might be given for the sale of certain lands of the Church in Naples and Sicily, the produce thereof to be applied to the expenses of the armament. This the Pope objected to, on the plea that those countries were very much exhausted, but begged him (Sylva) to write to Andrea Doria, and inquire whether the seven galleys he intended to furnish could be fitted out at Genoa or elsewhere. If so, he would at once send thither an agent of his with the money, &c. Has written to the Prince about it, and will do his utmost to have the seven galleys increased to ten.

The Verulan (Ennio Filonardo) is still at Milan, and, in his (Sylva's) humble opinion, it will be rather difficult to make him move quicker than he does. Unless his salary for the next six months be insured, His Holiness's debts to private people in Switzerland paid, and the matters of Zurich previously arranged, the Bishop (Ennio Filonardo) declares that he cannot leave Milan, as his life would be in danger were he to go to Switzerland empty-handed. Has many a time spoken to the Pope about this, urging him to send on the Verulan to Switzerland. His answer has always been that money for his mission will be ready. As to debts in Switzerland, he says he has none; the largest he had, he recollects very well having paid; the others, if there are any, he has nothing to do with. With regard to the canton of Zurich in particular, he is willing to deposit at Milan the sum that is owed to them, but to be paid only in case of their returning to the obedience of the Apostolic See, otherwise he will not give his money to Lutherans, and thus help them to make war on Christians.

Has written about this to prothonotary Caracciolo at Milan, that he may do his best to meet the objections of the Verulan, and urge him to set off for Switzerland at once. Has also written to the said Prothonotary that the Pope proposes

* "Y que para los ultramontanos no habia su Beatitud de pasar asi sucintamente por ello, que lo mirase y lo pensase mejor, y que para lo de la defensa por mar contra el Turco, me parecia poco lo que su Santidad ofrescia."

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sending to Switzerland a nephew of that Bishop to precede him whilst the money is being procured, and matters arranged; but that he (Sylva) has refused, insisting upon the Verulan going thither as soon as possible.

The bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) arrived here about 12 days ago. Great suspicion has been raised at his coming, not only with regard to the English business, but in other respects. For His Holiness having told him (Sylva) that he really did not know what the Bishop's mission could be, unless it were to inform him of what had been done in England, and the Bishop having written to him describing the King's highly offensive and disrespectful behaviour, the news was received by His Holiness with great coolness and indifference. Respecting the former (the Pope) showed no concern at all; as to the other he dissembled, and said that he came for no purpose, unless it were to make Your Majesty jealous at his coming to Rome.*

The Bishop himself said to His Holiness that he had gone to England, and related to the King what had been said at the conference of Marseilles concerning the means of bringing matters between him and the Apostolic See to a satisfactory issue. He (the Bishop) had complained in his master's name of king Henry's want of courtesy, since, whilst the Pope was his guest [at Marseilles], and living as it were under his roof, he had appealed *ad futurum concilium*. He himself had tried all manner of means to prevent matters coming to a rupture; but he had been unsuccessful, and had left England under the conviction that king Henry would never return to the obedience of the Holy See, much less be persuaded to lead a conjugal life with queen Katharine.

The king of France, duly bound as he was to His Holiness and to the Apostolic See, had sent him (Bellay) to inform him and the Sacred College of Cardinals of these facts, inasmuch as he knew for certain that his brother of England was in treaty with several princes and kingdoms to become Lutheran, and be appointed their chief and head against the Church. "The King my master (continued the Bishop) does not presume to judge of the justice or injustice of the case; he only wishes to warn His Holiness and the College of Cardinals that some righteous means might and ought to be found without running the risk of such damage, as is likely to be inflicted on the Church and Apostolic See."

Such was the Bishop's reasoning in Consistory. The Pope answered, as he himself says, that he thanked the most Christian King of France for his kind interference in the affair; he himself had much pondered on the best means to be employed, and had on that very account delayed sentence as long as he could; at which the Queen was greatly

* "En lo uno no se alteró nada y en lo otro dissimuló diciendo que no venia por ninguna cosa, si ya no fuesse por poner gelosia con esta su venida á S. M^{d}."

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offended, saying that he (the Pope) was the cause of all the King, her husband, had done against her and the Apostolic See. "If the most Christian King (said the Pope) has any means to propose, let his ambassador bring them forward; I have none, and, therefore, cannot delay sentence any longer."

Having further heard that the bishop of Paris,—no doubt the more to intimidate His Holiness,—had told him that at the time the edicts for the King's excommunication were affixed at Gravelinghes by the command of queen Mary of Hungary, the people of that town had torn them down with contempt, and trodden them under foot; that, moreover, when the English, for fear of the Flemings putting an end to the intercourse of trade, had sent messengers to Flanders to ask whether they intended or not to go on trading, the messengers had been very well received, and assured that there would be no interruption of trade at all—which answer had led the English to give out that the Flemings seemed to share their opinion, and were inclined to disobey the Church, —he (Sylva) determined to call upon His Holiness, and explain the whole matter, the more so that letters have come from queen Mary, as well as from the ambassador Your Imperial Majesty has in London, purporting that the king of England has actually cast off his obedience to the Holy Apostolic See, and given permission to a clergyman, once imprisoned and exiled as a Lutheran, to preach that he who calls himself Pope is no such Pope, but only the bishop of Rome, and several other heretical and disrespectful propositions of that kind.

The same ambassador (Chapuys) sent him (Sylva) certain printed papers in English, with their Spanish translation appended, which he supposes His Imperial Majesty has received by this time. They contain such abuse of the Apostolic See, and particularly of His Holiness, that he (Sylva) dared not read them to him in Spanish, but gave him only the English ones, that he may have them translated, if he chooses, and not doubt of their authenticity, as he might otherwise have done. Among other assertions one is that he (the Pope) is a bastard, and there are others equally injurious and abusive. Queen Mary's letter to him (Sylva) he read to the Pope in full, for it contained a paragraph to this effect: that not only had she put up edicts excommunicating the King and all those of his Privy Council, but fully intended to have the same thing done again, as he (Sylva) had written to her from Marseilles after the suspension ordered by His Holiness.* Took advantage of this to remark to him how futile the arguments of the contrary party were. What the bishop of Paris had said about

* "Que no solamente havia puesto la descomunion contra el Rey de Inglaterra y sus consejeros, mas que tornaria otra vez á ponerla, como yo se lo avia escrito de Marsella por causa de la suspension que Su Santidad alli havia dado."

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the edicts of excommunication having been torn off in Flanders, to the great contempt of the Holy Apostolic See and its injunctions, was only a hoax invented for the purpose of delaying the cause. He (Sylva) knew nothing about it; if it ever happened, it was secretly done by the command of the King himself, that he might have occasion to say that the Flemings themselves had done it. The contrary might be gathered from the queen of Hungary's letter, since she declares that *not only had she caused the excommunication edicts to be affixed at the proper places, but would have them affixed a second time, as he (Sylva) had written to her.* As to the interruption of trade, the Flemings were quite right in saying there was no cause for it. The excommunication only attainted the King, his councillors and abettors, not his subjects, because, though there was interdict, that was not a sufficient reason to forbid the intercourse of trade.

Ended by entreating His Holiness to consider the affliction in which the queen of England was; the need she had of his support of her cause, and the King's behaviour to the Princess, his daughter, who by his commands has been removed to the house where the daughter of his concubine is being nursed, deprived of her title of princess of Wales, &c.," as they have done with her mother, who no longer is called by the people "Queen," and treated as such, and whom, some time ago, they tried to remove to a most pestiferous place. The Queen having stoutly refused to go thither, they dared not force her without first consulting the King; and yet it is feared that at this next Parliament, which is to meet on the 20th, it will be decided to have her removed, whether she will or not, to the above-mentioned most insalubrious house; for in fact her enemies will not rest until they have taken away her life. All this had been caused by His Holiness's continued delay in sentencing the cause, which was equivalent to a sentence against her. Since it was evident that the king of England had done his worst, and the Queen's calamitous and dangerous position admitted of no further delay, he (Sylva) again begged and entreated him to determine the principal cause, and issue sentence, &c.

After the Consistory, in which the bishop of Paris, in virtue of the credentials he brought from the King, his master, addressed the cardinals in the manner above related, His Holiness received the Bishop in private, and said to him, "I cannot conceive how you, who are a man of judgment and good sense, can have come to this court without having first thought of some expedient in this business of the divorce." The Bishop answered, "I have none to propose, for the King is so bent upon this marriage that nothing else can avail. Perhaps your Holiness in your innate prudence and wisdom will find some expedient in a case of such paramount importance. Should none be found, I fear that not only the whole of England will be irretrievably lost to the Holy Apostolic

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See, but likewise many other lands and provinces (many of them* larger than Italy) from which the King of that country has received frequent messages asking him to become their leader and chief."

The Pope then said that he had answered the Bishop in these words: "I can find no expedient whatever, as I said the other day in Consistory, and therefore I must needs pronounce sentence;" and went on speaking in favour of the Queen's cause. On this occasion he (Sylva) addressed the Pope in the following terms: "Though the king of France has promised Your Holiness not to interfere, or in anyway impede or prevent the course of justice, it seems to me as if he were doing it in an indirect way, and that the coming here of the bishop of Paris has not been for the purpose of finding or proposing means of conciliation between Your Holiness and the king of England; far from it, since it is quite plain that the latter has been and is doing all he can against Your Holiness. Since he cannot intimidate Your Holiness through his own subjects, owing to the smallness of his kingdom, yet, determined as he is to disobey the Apostolic See, he is now trying to do that by means of foreign nations, over which he has no influence at all; nor can he expect that they will follow his steps in such disobedience. If, contrary to the Emperor's expectations, Your Holiness still delays the sentence, the King may thereby gain a shadow of authority, and see some probability of turning against the Holy See the people of those kingdoms and lands of which the Bishop speaks, who, perceiving that the king of England has not been punished for his attempt, nor has otherwise been proceeded against, may perhaps be induced to follow his lead," &c. Ended by again requesting His Holiness to determine the principal cause; "for this disobedience to the Church is merely an act of the King's, not of his own people, and by delaying longer the affair Your Holiness will not only give occasion for the Queen to lose her life in the meanwhile, but will be the cause of that kingdom being for ever forfeited to the Holy See. I am certain that, though the bishop of Paris pretends not to have any expedient to propose, he has one, which he dares not disclose, preferring to have the sentence delayed."

Again did His Holiness declare that he is quite ready to pronounce sentence. But he (Sylva) has been told by some cardinals that his wish is to proceed "super attentatis," believing that to be a better course to follow, as he says he can all the same deprive the King of his kingdom, and invoke the assistance of the Emperor's secular arm. Yet, for the reasons specified in former despatches, he (Sylva) will

* "Porque sino la tomava no solamente era en peligro del acabar de perderse aquel reyno mas otras mayores tierras y provincias que significó ser mas [grandes] que Italia, de las quales el Rey de Inglaterra tenia mensajeros que le querìan tomar por caudillo."

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not ask for that, nor consent to it not even conditionally on the approval and in the name of Your Majesty's ministers, but will prevent it as much as he can until further instructions.

Has been rather long and explicit, not only on account of the importance of the matter itself, but because the peculiar bias which this affair is taking will show His Majesty what may be the intentions and aim of the parties concerned, *los unos y los otros*, and because he is told that Miçer Sixto, once cardinal Ancona's auditor and a good Imperialist, is now about to be despatched to Your Majesty with a message from the Pope, purporting that it is unreasonable for him to pronounce sentence before knowing first how far Your Majesty wishes for its execution, and at the same time report what has occurred here since the arrival of the bishop of Paris.

Cardinal de' Medici sent him the other day a message by bishop Gambaro, and then by his own secretary, to say that the Pope had ordered him to accept 8,000 crs. pension on two abbeys, which the king of France had some time ago bestowed on him. That, having positively refused, the Pope had again sent him most pressing orders, couched in rather strong terms (*con palabras de algun rigor*), commanding him to accept at once, if he did not wish to offend him. He (the Cardinal) still persisted in his refusal; but as he might be unable to hold out any longer, he hastened to say so beforehand, with the assurance that, should he have to accept in the end, he will nevertheless continue to be Your Majesty's faithful servant. The Cardinal, moreover, asked for his advice. His (Sylva's) answer was the same as at Marseilles, when he spoke on the affair. Fancies that he will in the end take what is offered to him, though up to this time he has not said what his final resolution has been. Has informed the cardinal of Jaen (Merino), who at his request has had a talk with bishop [Gambaro] and with the Cardinal's secretary, and told them, and especially the latter, that it was not in his master's interest to accept such gifts from the king of France.

This Cardinal [Ippolito de' Medici] has a good number of captains living with him in his palace. His household, besides, is chiefly composed of soldiers of fortune, whom he has enlisted and engaged to live under his roof. He himself is now in bed, taking wormwood.* To some of the captains he himself issues pay through the hands of the bishop [Gambaro]; others whom the Pope has taken under his pay, have been sent to serve at sea. The Cardinal says that these last are destined to guard the coasts [of the Roman States]. Be this as it may, he (Sylva) cannot help thinking that all this gathering of captains and military men is intended for some other object, which Your Majesty will no doubt guess much better than he can.

* "El [se] está en la cama tomando el palo de las Indias."

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Marcio Colonna and other Colonnese are now in Rome, staying at the palace of cardinal de' Medici, who spends his money very freely with them, gives them help, &c. Hears that some of these Colonnese are discontented because they receive no pensions now from His Majesty as in former times. Should recommend that to three or four of them pensions should be again allotted, and that Marcio Colonna, who is at the head of them all, should be favoured with the title of count, which he has for some time been soliciting at the Imperial Court through one of his agents.

Advices from Germany of the 16th ultimo state that at the Augsburg Diet the Suabian League has been prorogued for one year more, and that hopes are entertained that during that period of time His Majesty and the king of the Romans will be able to prorogue it further. The duke of Witemberg (Würtenberg) had been unable to get what he wanted through the help of the Lutheran princes and of the kings of England and France. Between the duke George of Saxony, the Catholic, and the other one (John Frederic), who professes Lutheranism, great dissension had arisen in consequence of the former having punished certain Lutherans within his estate, which the Lutheran duke pretends could not be done without infringing the treaties made at the time they divided the dukedom of Saxony between them; this notwithstanding it has been again resolved and settled among the greater part of the German princes that any prince or secular lord may punish his subjects and vassals as he thinks proper; at which the king of France, and those who share his opinion, are not at all pleased.

Appointment of cardinals, &c.

Pirro Colonna took the other day 6,000 or 7,000 sheep from the Sienese, as His Majesty has, no doubt, been informed. Spoke to the Pope about it, and wrote to Pirro himself, telling him that as the Sienese had sent an ambassador to complain, he had better come to Rome to answer the charge. Pirro answered that he could not come, but would gladly return the sheep to their owners, with the exception of a few which his men had eaten.

The Pope and the king of the Romans.

The landgrave [of Hesse] is reported to have gone to France to see what he can accomplish in favour of the Lutherans. Should rather think that he goes for his own ends and purposes. Rome, 14 February 1534.

Signed: " Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 25.

21 Feb. **17.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 17.

Disregarding the scruples and suspicions of these people, the Scottish ambassador has lately come to pay me a second visit, and inform me that the Abbot and Secretary, whom the

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King, his master, had sent as ambassadors to France on the mission mentioned in my last despatch, had on their return sailed straight for Scotland instead of passing through this city, though the King had at their request granted them a safe-conduct. *At which this King and the members of his Privy Council, as the ambassador himself gives me to understand, are greatly disgusted; their mistrust of the Scotch, and also of the French, having increased in consequence.* The King thinks that the secretary, whom he considers to be a staunch Imperialist, is the cause of all this; and yet, as the secretary writes to this one, *he would willingly have come this way, had not the king of Scotland, his master, absolutely forbidden it.**

The said Scottish ambassador has likewise signified to me that within eight or ten days there will arrive from the King, his master, a worthy Bishop to help the two others in their embassy, and see what terms they can get. *He has, however, assured me that they will not negotiate or conclude anything without previously informing me thereof; and that long before they knew of the Bishop's appointment and departure, the King and the members of his Privy Council were marvellously excited, and complained of his delay in coming to England, fearing that there might be some intrigue on the part of the French, or of some of their own people here.* And the ambassador also tells me that King and councillors are very sorry *that the Bishop is not accompanied by two Counts, as announced, inasmuch as they fancy that the Counts would be more easily corrupted with money than the Bishop himself*, and likewise that their coming here with the embassy would confirm *the false statements they are daily publishing in their books and pamphlets*;† *namely, that at no time have the English been so much courted and adored by princes as they are at the present moment.*

Whilst conversing with the ambassador on various points, it occurred to me that this was the proper time for intimating that the King, his master, could not look for aggrandizement in any other way than in the eventual succession to this kingdom,‡ and that, in my opinion, there were only two roads to that. *One was his marriage to the Princess* [*of Wales*], *who would of herself know how to assert her rights* [*to the Crown*], and in case of her dying [without children], which

* "Ce roy donne la principale couleur au dit secretaire quil tient imperial; toutesfoys a ce quil a escript au dit ambassadeur il eust bien desire de passer par yci, mais le roy son maitre ne lavoit voulu souffrir en sorte du monde."

† "Que ceulx cy sont bien marris que avec le dit evesque ne venoient deux contes dont avoit este question, et ce tant pour plus grande faulste (*sic*), et que le peuple creust mieulx ce quilz ont escript en leurs livres (assavoir quilz ne furent oncques plus adorez ne requis de princes que maintenant) et aussy pensant quilz surbonneroient plustot a force dargent les dits contes que le dit evesque."

‡ "Devisant avec le dit ambassadeur de propoz a aultre il me sembla bien venir en taille luy remonstrer le roy, son maistre, nauoir propice moyen de ce (se) aggrandir [si ce] nestoit par la succession de ce royaulme."

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may God forbid, his close alliance with Your Majesty, who could then lend him *greater assistance* than any other prince in the world. *Not only owing to your very great power, but also to the vicinity of some of your dominions to England, which, in my opinion, was the principal motive of the incredible love and affection which the English of all classes had towards you.** "In such event (continued I), the King, your master, must not fear that the Emperor (who has hitherto made such efforts for the union of Christendom) *will object to the crowns of Scotland and England uniting in one head,* or raise the least pretension to them; on the contrary, the Emperor, as I have told you on other occasions, will see with joy the two kingdoms under one ruler, *principally for the purpose of waging war on the Turk.* Nor must your master think that the Emperor can at any time become jealous of him on account of his increasing power, for there are many reasons against it; besides which, *there never had been between him and your master any separate claims likely to produce dissension; on the contrary, you had always been friends, and succoured one another.*"

These words of mine brought several remarks on the part of the ambassador, and, among others, that his impression was that *of all nations the French would feel most displeasure at any bonds of friendship being established between the Scots and Your Majesty; fearing, perhaps, if that came to pass, that they would in the end have to pay the expenses of the game.*† *For this reason were they endeavouring just now to make the King, their master, marry in France. So did the English, who ceased not to point out the daughter of* Mr. Dallebrech (Henri d'Albret‡), whom they called king of Navarre, as the best marriage he could make. "But (added the ambassador), as I have already told you, I will do my best to persuade my master *not to marry until we can see how the political affairs of France turn out.*" After this the ambassador asked me how it was that *the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark* (*Christierna*) *had not been married to the duke of Milan, and how the affairs of that kingdom stood.*

The day before yesterday the ambassador, having met one of my men (secretaries) in the middle of a street, made him a sign to enter a church close by, which the man did. Once inside, after telling him *that the French ambassador and he had on Shrove Tuesday supped at the King's table,—and a most*

* "Lung chemin estoit celui du mariage de la princesse, que y sçauroit donner ordre, ou en cas quelle vint a deffaillir—que Dieu ne veuille—que le dit roy son maistre se trouv[er]ait allie de vostre maieste, que luy purroit fere plus dassistance que prince du monde, non seullement pour la tres grande puissance que vostre maieste avoit, mais aussi pour la voysinance du pays, ce que semble estre le principal pour la incredible et inextimable amour et deuotion que tout ce royaulme pourtoit a vostre maieste."

† "Comme a ceulx quen oseroient bien payer lescot."

‡ The last of the family; his sister Jeanne married Antoine de Bourbon, the father of Henry IV., roy de France et de Navarre.

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*splendid repast it was, being entirely served on gold dishes—the Scotchman requested my man to persuade me in my very first despatch to recommend the marriage of this Princess (Mary) or of the said daughter of the king of Denmark,** and to recommend also *the King, his master, in case war should break out, as he very much feared, between him and this* King. After hearing my secretary's report I sent to ask the Scotchman what ground there was for such a report, and how could I write to Your Majesty concerning the said marriages? *and whether he had, since our conversation of last week, received any instructions or intelligence from Scotland. His answer was that he had none, but that the plan seemed to him so advantageous for the King, his master, that he felt sure it would be approved at his court. "On the arrival (he said) of the Bishop, who is shortly expected, we will talk more amply of that affair and others."* To the latter part of the ambassador's message about the war, I made no reply, *dissembling, as I have hitherto done whenever the question has been mooted,* and limiting myself to saying in general terms that Your Majesty would treat the affair with your usual virtue and prudence, so as to be without blame from him, from God, or from the world; but *without, however, specifying or going into details as to the help you yourself would bestow.*

The welcome reception and favourable treatment of the Scotch ambassador by these people is a good testimony of their wish for peace; of which, *whenever the King happens to speak, he ceases not to represent to him the great and mutual advantages likely to ensue.* But I fancy that such admonitions and offers would be of very little use were it not *for the fear the king of Scotland has of this King attempting, during his alliance and friendship with France, to invade Scotland,* where he might, no doubt, cause irreparable damage, *enough perhaps to prevent the Scots from ever raising their heads again.* For this reason, the ambassador tells me, his master might incline towards peace now, until such time and season when, the English being, as they are, rebellious to the Church, they (the Scots) would not be obliged to keep their engagements. And that, besides, it seemed to him that *by negociating a peace between the two kingdoms, they could the better secure the affections of the English people.*

Upon which, after protesting that it was not my intention to dissuade him or allege proofs to the contrary, except by way of pastime and agreeable conversation (*amyables devises*), I made him feel that he was entirely wrong in his expectations; that is to say, that, if they treated seriously of peace, all good Christians, as he could easily understand,

* "Et estant la, apres avoir dit a mon dit home comme lambassadeur de France et luy avoient [este] la veille de Karesme prenant souppe a la table du roy, ou le service auoit este magniffique, et tout en vasselle dor, il le chargea me prier de toucher par les premieres que escripuoye a vostre maieste du mariaige, ou de ceste princesse, ou de la dite fille de Dennemarke."

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would be indignant at their conduct. *With regard to the first reason alleged, it was not a forcible one, since there was truce until the St. Michael, and between this date and that they could better advise as to their affairs, and act according to time and circumstances.* The Scotch ambassador seemed satisfied at this my reasoning.

The Venetian ambassador has lately been summoned to court three times in succession;—I have been unable to learn why, though I strongly suspect that these people have been intriguing with them, as they are in the habit of doing with other people.

I am told that in two days' time five or six gunners will leave for Guisnes and Calais.

The Princess, finding herself almost without articles of clothing, has just been obliged to send a gentleman to the King, her father, begging him to provide her with the necessary articles. The gentleman had orders from her to take any money or clothes that might be given to him, but accept no cheque or order in which her name should appear without the title of Princess. She has at the same time applied for permission to hear mass in the church quite close to the house, but this she has been unable to obtain. On the contrary, as the peasants in the neighbourhood when they saw her walk from the top of a gallery, saluted her loudly and called her Princess, she is now kept much closer than before; and nothing is done without the previous consent of the sister of Anne de Boullan's father, the lady to whom the keeping of her has lately been entrusted. I am told that the duke of Norfolk and the brother of Anne (George Boleyn) had the other day high words with the said governess because, as they thought, she treated the Princess with too great kindness and regard, when she ought to deal with her as a regular bastard that she was. The lady answered that even if it were so, and that she was the bastard daughter of a poor gentleman, her kindness, her modesty, and her virtues called forth all respect and honour. The Princess, thank God, is now in very good health; and though she cannot have fallen lower than she has from her high station yet she is so armed with patience that she bears her troubles with wonderful constancy and resignation, placing all her confidence in God, the true protector of good, right, and justice, *and likewise in Your Majesty*, so much so that I doubt whether she would put on a better face in prosperity than she is putting on now in the midst of her troubles. *May God grant that such magnanimity on her part do not over-irritate this accursed lady [Anne], and prompt her to make haste and carry her detestable thoughts into execution.**

On the arrival at Lubeck of the captain, who, as I informed Your Majesty, was detained here for some time, the citizens of

* "Dieu veuille que cela ne irrite tant plus ceste mauldicte dame de soy haster a vouloir effectuer ses detestables imaginacions et penses."

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that place sent to this King one of their clerks, who arrived here two days ago. I have not yet been able to learn anything about his commission, or the news he brings, save that he has given people here to undertand that the duke of Ghelders was making war in Friesland, a piece of intelligence not at all unpleasant to these people, inasmuch as they imagine that it may turn out to be against Your Majesty, not against the count Danverain.* *One of the Stilliarts, a very intimate and great friend of the above-mentioned clerk, has promised to introduce him to me, or at least bring me intelligence of what his mission to this country may be.*† — London, 21st February 153[4].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 7.

25 Feb. **18.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 99.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 142.

This next Friday, the 27th of February, the cause of Her Highness the queen of England will be brought forward in Consistory by auditor Simonetta, who deserves much credit for his work and for his lucid exposé of the whole thing. The advocate and proctor are already informing the cardinals one by one; I myself am doing the same; and I hope to God there will not be two cardinals to oppose it, and that all will vote unanimously in favour of the Queen's cause. My report (*informacion*) is both short and concise, though it contains many more citations and references than last year's. A copy of it is here enclosed. It looks more like an index or repertory than like a report, for otherwise I should have been unable to finish it in time. Yet I propose making a long verbal report so as to meet all wants. Money is wanting to pay the law expenses, for the Queen is not now in a situation to remit us funds. Count Cifuentes has hitherto advanced some money, and I myself have paid 90 crs. for the copy of the process to send to auditor Simoneta.

There is a Scotchman here, of the name of Master David, who tells me that when the duke of Albany was last here (at Rome) as ambassador from the king of France, he said to him in confidence that the latter would help and assist the king of England until he had placed him in a position from which he could not retreat. And certainly there can be no doubt that the friendship and favour bestowed by the king of France has been rather prejudicial to the English monarch, since it has led to his becoming a heretic, a schismatic, and an enemy of his own flesh and blood,—visiting, as he does,

* "Que le duc de Gueldres faysoit grosse guerre en Frize, que na despleu a aucung [icy], pensant que ce fust contre vostre maieste non point contre le conte dauverain (*sic*, souverain?).

† "Ung du Stilliart fort familier et amy du dit secretaire ma promis sil estoit possible [de] le moy amener," &c.

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the daughter of his concubine, and refusing to see his own legitimate daughter, the Princess, whom he has despoiled of her princely estate, and caused to live under the same roof as the other.—Rome, 25th February 1534.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortez."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

26 Feb. **19.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 18.

This King, having lately heard that the "ban" and the "arriere ban" had been called forth in France, thought at first that the armament was intended against Milan, as he himself declared the other day to the Scotch ambassador. *Yet, not having heard from king Francis to that effect, as their friendly and intimate alliance required, he was rather thrown into confusion by the news, and, I am told, did complain to the French ambassador at this court, who accordingly sent an express to France to inquire into the matter.* The express returned the day before yesterday with the following answer: *There was not the least idea of war, nor were the French men-at-arms (gendarmes) summoned for any particular purpose, except that of checking the Lutherans in their threatened invasion of Lorraine, for it is feared that, once there, they will go further on.* The same account I had from the French ambassador, *who, immediately after his return from the King, called on me and said, "Really it is very disagreeable to have to live among people so suspicious as these English are."* I am extremely hurt at it, and I can assure you that they give me immense trouble.

Not to spoil the good feeling now existing between our two nations as well as best to further pending negociations (continued the ambassador), I am obliged to dissemble, and put up with annoyance of all sorts during the short time I have to remain here. The Marseilles conferences are the cause of all their suspicions and misgivings. This King (the ambassador added) had been the principal promoter of the said conferences; they had been settled and appointed at his own solicitation and request; he was to attend them in person, and yet he repented and never went. However, I must say that the King's bad humour and the ambassador's disappointment at first have considerably subsided since.

The same French ambassador told me the day before yesterday that this King had sent to Francis a book against the Pope, which he himself had written, more urgent and vehement than any that has hitherto been printed and published here; in which book the King professes to be no follower of the Lutheran sect, inasmuch as he declares that it is not his intention to touch the sacraments, but only to correct the vices and abuses of the Clergy. Had the King thought of undertaking the reform he speaks of, it seems to

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me as if the means employed were anything but wise, for there is no knowing what troubles and dangers his kingdom would have been exposed to by such innovations;* *though, in the French ambassador's opinion, the Lady will ultimately reduce him to worse than that, to become a Lutheran, as she herself is.*

He likewise told me that he thought it very strange that whilst his master, the King, had, at the urgent request of this one, taken his affairs with the Pope in hand, and sent to Rome the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay), *this one should go on having such books printed.* Perhaps this King thinks he will be able, whenever he likes, *to retract what he himself has written, and remove the errors with which his subjects have been thus contaminated;* but it is to be feared that Englishmen in the end *will laugh at him, and despise him for his inconstancy and other things.*†

After this conversation the French ambassador began to sigh and to lament himself *at the amicable relations between Your Majesty and the King, his master, not being a little more intimate and solid than they were.* The fault, he said, rested not with his own master, who had done everything that could be expected of him. *My answer was, that I felt sure it was not Your Majesty's either. If, perchance, it was the duchy of Milan king Francis wanted for his son, the duke of Orleans, that the Emperor could not possibly give away,* having already granted the investiture of it to another, in conformity with the agreement entered into with the Italian potentates.

The ambassador replied courteously enough that my last argument had had such force with him that he himself, though a Frenchman, would not advise Your Majesty to part with such a jewel; for, as the viceroy [of Naples] observed to him some time before the battle of Pavia, when there was a question of peace, *the duchy of Milan was nothing else but one of the suburbs of the kingdom of Naples.*‡ I tried all I could to ascertain from the Frenchman *what other impediment there could be to the said solid friendship,* as he called it; but he could not, or would not, adduce any other reasons.

The Queen's business, as I had the honour to inform your Majesty, being on the point of being brought before Parliament—soon after which that of the Princess is also to

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* "Et quant aussy il lauroit entrepris de ce faire (ainsi que me semble), ce ne seroit bien advise pour le tumulte que pourroit ensuyvre de changer si a coupt (?) la vieille coustume."

† "Mays yl est a craindre quil ne se treuve deçeu, et quil ne se face gauldir et mespriser de tout le monde de son inconstance et du surplus."

‡ "Sachant que comme luy avoit dit le viceroy ung peu avant la iournee de Pavie, quant yl se trayttoit de paix, [la dite duche de Millan restoit les faulxbourgs du royaulme de Naples]." The viceroy was Charles de Lannoy; the ambassador, Gaspard de Coligny, sieur de Chastillon, about whom see vol. iv., part ii., p. 857.

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be introduced for the purpose of declaring her illegitimate, and without right to the succession,—I felt that something ought to be done in their behalf. I was pretty sure that, whatever I did and said, this King would never permit me to appear before Parliament, and there represent to its members the gross injury about to be done to the Queen and Princess should the intended Bill pass, at the same time exhorting them to attend on this point and others to the preservation of that peace, union, and amity of so ancient a date between the two Crowns, and so necessary and advantageous for both countries, yet I thought that I ought, for the reasons and considerations, which I will state hereafter, to make the application in due form. *I must say that the Queen and some of her loyal servants approved of the step, especially on the principle that, should the King refuse me the entry into Parliament,* it would be equivalent to his declaring himself contumacious, and guilty of exercising unjust oppression on the two ladies, wife and daughter, by attempting to condemn them without the chance of appeal of any sort, or without listening to the earnest and true representations that might well be made in their behalf. Also because that happened to be the most important article [in my instructions], and I thought that by giving the King an opportunity of keeping me away from the said Parliament, he might be better inclined to listen to my persuasions, and have the Princess better treated and removed from the place where she now is to a more fitting one; or at least that I would have occasion to make the necessary remonstrances equivalent to the protests, of which Your Majesty has been pleased to remind me by your letter of the 28th of December last. Lastly, in order that those who stand firm for the Queen might see that Your Majesty thought of her, and had not forgotten her and the good Princess, her daughter, as those of the contrary party go about saying.

For the above-named considerations, and others, which I omit, last Sunday I wrote to ask the King's permission to appear before Parliament. My petition having first been sent to the Privy Council for the purpose of deliberating on it, it was decided that Monseigneur de Norfolk and Master Cromwell should first ascertain from me what my intention was in appearing before Parliament, and what I intended saying or doing whilst there, and, if possible, dissuade me from my purpose. To this effect an appointment was made for me to be at the Duke's apartments the day after. Thither I went, but, owing to a slight indisposition which kept Cromwell in doors, the latter did not attend. After a long debate and many arguments of mine concerning the injury likely to be soon inflicted on the Queen and her daughter, which arguments the Duke could only answer by referring me to the people, who, he said, understood affairs of that sort better than he did, he asked me point blank what sort of statements I

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proposed making in Parliament. My answer was, that, beyond the true and simple narrative of what had passed in the matter of the divorce, I would utter nothing that was not honest and reasonable, aiming chiefly at the preservation of the union, peace and amity above mentioned. The Duke ended by saying that he did not think the King would grant me the permission I asked for; he would, however, see him again on the subject, and, in case of refusal, would, if I approved of it, ask an audience, at which I might personally bring the affair before his master. I begged him to do so. He said to me before parting, "As the Emperor has received so many favours from the King, my master, I should think that he might avoid giving him so much cause for annoyance. Indeed I can assure you that my master, the King, would have much preferred the Emperor's declaring war at once than molesting him in the manner he has lately done. Were the Emperor well advised, I have no doubt he would change his mind and act differently, as otherwise war might cause his total ruin, considering this King's friendship for the French; at which (added the Duke) I myself am *greatly displeased, for I have always been inclined to His Majesty's service."** "For God's sake (said I to the Duke) *let us not talk of war*, for the Emperor, I assure you, has never thought of it, *persuaded as he is that the King, your master, will in the end acknowledge his fault, and follow the right path.* After which I took leave of the Duke, who certainly on this occasion, as on many others before, showed me every attention and courtesy, as well as affection.

On the following Tuesday, the day of St. Mathias, which had been appointed for my seeing the King, I went to Court at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and called first at the apartments of the duke of Norfolk, who, on hearing of my arrival at the Royal palace, left the King's room, where he was at the time, came to me, and in all haste, without taking breath, began to say, *half wondering, and as if he had been taken by surprise,*† *"For God's sake, Monsieur, I beg and entreat you on this day to use all your discretion and prudence,* and so moderate your *language that you may not fall into trouble or inconvenience. You are about to enter on matters so odious and unpleasing that not all the sugar or sauces in the world would render them palatable. That is why I again pray and entreat you for God's sake to be careful and guarded in your speech, as otherwise,"* &c.; which last sentence he repeated at least six times. I thanked the Duke very much for the good

* "Et que le roy son maistre eust mieulx ayme que vostre maieste luy eust esmeu guerre que davoir fait ce quelle auoit [fait] contre le dit roy, mais que vostre maieste, si elle estoit bien conseille en useroit autrement, car ce seroit la ruyne totale dicelle actendu lamytie que le dit roy auoit avec les françois, ce quil luy desplaisoit pour laffection quil auoit tousjours porte au service de vostre maieste."

† "Et tout hastifz quil estoit sans reprendre alayne me commença a dire soubdainement et quasi comme a demy transpourte ou estonne."

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counsel and advice he had given me, and which, I said, would be on this particular occasion my guide, knowing, as I did, the affection he had for Your Majesty, and the trust and reliance which you placed on him, and the high idea you had formed of his goodness, prudence, aud virtues. *This promise I the more readily made to the Duke that my intention from the beginning was to use very moderate language. I was, moreover, singularly pleased at the Duke's suggestion and entreaty,* as well as at my subsequent *engagement, because thus the Duke and the rest of the Privy Council would think that if I did not speak high words on the occasion, it was merely owing to his own advice and interference,* which, I am sure, proceeded from *the King and Privy Council,* though the Duke, without inquiry on my part, said and protested to me that the suggestion and warning came exclusively from him, not from any other quarter.

After this, and whilst the Duke and I were discussing what course was best to follow under present circumstances, he said to me that in his opinion the affair was not entirely lost. We might still have hopes, and perhaps God would provide the means, of adjusting matters. He evidently told me this much in order to persuade me that I ought not to put the King out of temper by high words, or by my insisting to be allowed to appear before Parliament; and as far as I can gather from the Duke's words and his general reasoning, the hope they have of matters in the end being satisfactorily settled lies only in the event of the Queen's death.*

Among other things the Duke reminded me of, one was the many favours the King had conferred on Your Majesty, and that your good fortune (in arms) could not last for ever." "At present," he said, "the King, my master, has no enemies (to fear), and, should affairs take a bad turn, the Emperor will find himself in difficulties." My answer to the first part of the Duke's proposition was, that Your Majesty was always ready and disposed to return at any time the King's favours, and the services received at his hands, even double them, provided you were only asked to do things, which were not against your honour and conscience; and that the reproaches that had so often been addressed to Your Majesty on that subject tended rather to diminish than to increase the obligations under which you stood, and which you were pleased at all times to acknowledge. He (the Duke) could not deny that Your Majesty's friendship and affection for his master had been as useful and propitious to to him as the King's had been to Your Majesty; to which last argument the Duke readily assented.

Respecting Your Majesty's good fortune in arms, I said to the Duke that since all Your Majesty's past successes could

* "Et a ce que [ai] peu entendre par le discours de ses propoz, le dit espoir quilz ont au rabillement des affaires ne gist que en la mort de la royne."

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only be attributed to God's will, there was every reason to presume and even hope that, whilst you continued to serve Him, as you had done hitherto, His divine bounty would continue to make you prosper. "If any prince in the world (said I) should dread the inconstancy of fortune, the King, your master, must be that one, since during his life he has had no illness, no untoward event, no molestation or annoyance of war, which he has not himself brought on. It was just the contrary with Your Majesty; you had suffered considerably in various ways.

"As to the King, your master, having no enemies at all, I have no doubt," said I, "that is a very agreeable thing for the Emperor; but you ought also to consider that friendship between princes, unless well founded and rooted, does not generally last long."* I refrained from telling him what Lycurgus said to one who boasted that he had no enemy on earth, "You then must have no friends," knowing, as I did, that Your Majesty was one of them.† Yet I repeated to him what I had said before, namely, that Your Majesty had as many means in your power of conciliating friends as any other prince in the world: to which proposition the Duke also assented.

With regard to the molestation and annoyance likely to come, as he said, on you, in case of a rupture, I told the Duke that he must be aware by the experience of the past that Your Majesty's affairs could not so easily go to ruin as he had hinted to me the day before; and that were misfortune to overtake you, which I hoped God in His divine clemency would not permit, perhaps those who did not boast would come off just as well as others;‡ besides which the King his master, could not allege that Your Majesty had defied him, or lent money to his enemies, or entered into any league against him.

The Duke, having understood the allusion, as well as my reference to the intrigues they are now carrying on in Germany, said to me, "We are compelled to do that." I replied, "Well and good; you will soon get tired of such negociations, as you were of the others on a previous occasion." "You are right there," replied the Duke, "much money was then spent in Germany to little or no profit at all." Immediately after which words, and as if the two subjects were closely connected together, I inquired about the secretary from Lubeck. The Duke, however, answered that he knew nothing about him, nor what his mission was. I believe he told me the truth, for the secretary, I hear, sees no one but Cromwell; and it

* "Mays quil debuoit considerer que les amitiez entre princez selles (*sic*, si elles?) nestoint bien fondeez et enracineez de long temps ne souloint estre de longue duree."

† "Sachant pour vray que sy avoit vostre maieste."

‡ "Et que si Dieu ou la male sort vouloit fere experimenter ce jeu, comme esperoye que sa divine clemence ne permettroit, peult estre que ceulx qui ne se ventoint (*sic*) de riens, exploytteroint aussy bien que les autres."

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must be that he has not brought all what these people expected, since the Duke says that he knows nothing about him or the pending negociation.

Our conversation at an end, the Duke was summoned to the King's Chamber. After leading me to the ante-room, he himself went in, and left me outside with the earl of Auffort (Oxford), the Lord High Chamberlain, the Controller, and the dean of the Chapel,* who kept conversing with me for about half an hour, most probably to give the Duke time to report on what had passed between us, and prepare the King for the interview. Then the marquis (of Dorset?) came out of the chamber, and announced that the King would see me. He received me with his usual graciousness, and, after telling me that he knew through Mr. de Norpholc (Norfolk) that I wished to speak to him, and had therefore sent for me, he kindly requested me to make my statement. I then began to tell him that having for the last six months heard of the daily changes in the Queen's treatment, and that there was besides a project just now of depriving the Princess of her name and title, and treating her as has been seen, I had sent word to Mr. de Norpholc (Norfolk) and to Master Cromwell, begging them to remonstrate in Your Majesty's name against such acts, which could not be legally enacted for the reasons I then alleged. That I had addressed myself to them rather than to him (the King), thinking they might better choose their opportunity to bring the affair before him, and more conveniently and discreetly represent it to him than I myself could personally do. That, trusting in this, and confident also that in future times truth would become manifest, and the great virtues and patience of the Queen and Princess would assuage his passion and anger, if he had any against them, I had waited until now, not wishing to appear as a precursor of [evil], or to throw impediments in the way of the various experiments being tried to make them renounce their respective rights. Perceiving, however, that the thing was in earnest, and that the motion had actually been brought before Parliament, I could not do less for the acquittal of my charge than ask and request him to allow me to appear before that assembly, and then and there make such remonstrances as the exigency of the case, and my own general powers and instructions exhibited a year ago before his Privy Council, demanded. Upon which the King in his most gracious manner answered that I (Chapuys) could not be ignorant of the fact that he was legitimately married to his present wife, and that his former marriage having been judicially declared null, his first wife, now living, could not be called "Queen," nor hold the property allotted to her in virtue of her said marriage; nor could the Princess

* "Ou me reçurent et entretendrent le conte de Auffort, le grand chambelland, le contrerouleur (Paulet), et le doyen de la chapelle (Sampson)."

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be called his legitimate daughter, nor capable of the succession. Even were she to be considered legitimate, her disobedience to his commands would have been a sufficient reason for disinheriting her. As to his permitting me to go before Parliament, that, he said, was not the custom of this country; the powers I had from Your Majesty were too old; opinions and wills changed from one hour to another, and Your Majesty might very well have sent fresh ones since his second marriage.

The King, no doubt, thought that this answer of his would satisfy me, and shut my mouth; he would, most likely, have preferred things to remain so; but as I did not consider myself beaten, I resumed my argument, and told him that my powers, though old, were ample and sufficient. I was not bound to show the revocation of them, as it was not specified in the document itself that I should; besides which Your Majesty might well have received no due notification of his second marriage. Even if Your Majesty had been officially informed of it, there was no need (I said) of Your Majesty sending fresh powers to me, since the notice of his first was quite sufficient for all purposes. With regard to the sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury on the divorce suit, he ought to make as little of it as of that which King Richard caused to be pronounced by the bishop of Bada (Bath) against the sons of King Edward, *declaring them bastards.** I would not tell him *further*. I did not add, as I might have done, that, even supposing his divorce to have been founded on legitimate causes, if the impediment was well known at the time the marriage was contracted, the tenour of the promises and assignation of rents and revenues then settled on the Queen was such that they could not rightly be taken away from her. There could be no doubt, I said, that members of Parliament, seeing that he (the King) had contracted a new marriage, and forbidden his first wife to be called "Queen," together with other measures equally injurious and illegal, such as summoning the said Queen to appear before them when there was no one to speak in her defence, would do anything he (the King) pleased. As to his saying that it was not the custom in England for foreigners to enter the House of Parliament, it might be replied that, perhaps, no such occasion as the present had ever occurred. If the Princess was, as I considered her to be, a legitimate daughter of his, no Parliaments in the world could declare her illegitimate Legitimacy, spiritually considered, fell under the scope of the Clergy and of ecclesiastical judges; even if the Queen's marriage to him had been declared null and void, it would be legitimate all the same, owing to the lawful ignorance of the fathers of the

* "Et au regard de la séntence donnee par Conturbery sur le divorce quil en debuoit faire aussy peu de comte que de celle que le roy Richard fist donner par levesque de Bada contre les filz du roy Edoart, par la quelle il les fit declairer bastars." The Bishop's name was Stillington (Robert).

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contracting parties.* The archbishop of Canterbury knew very well what he was about when he dared not go so far as to declare the Princess illegitimate. He (the King) himself, since his second marriage, and after the Canterbury sentence, had considered her as his true and legitimate daughter and princess until the birth of his daughter (Elizabeth) by Anne.

The King, hearing my argument, seemed a little more touched than before. After repeating part of what he had previously said, he ended by telling me that there was no need to summon the Queen, or any one else in her name before Parliament, inasmuch as he himself, being a party in the affair, would not be present; and that, notwithstanding all the defences that might be made, the members of that body would certainly vote what was according to reason; that neither Pope nor Prince had any business with the laws and constitutions of England, and that by the tenour and letter of such laws the Princess was unable to succeed to his crown. There was no other princess in his kingdom than his daughter, Elizabeth, until he himself had a son, which he thought would shortly happen. He cared naught for all the canons and rules I could allege in support of my argument; he preferred the laws of his own kingdom, according to which he would have the Princess' legitimacy or illegitimacy decided by competent secular judges, as would soon be seen, and that he could prove to me that secular judges could very well try and sentence matrimonial causes. And on my expressing incredulity at so strange an assertion, the King said that he would send me the books *wherein that was fully established.* I then begged him to point out to me the law of this kingdom by which he pretends that the Princess cannot inherit; but I dare say he will do nothing of the sort, for he will not find either the books or the law to which he alludes.

Perceiving that there was no chance of persuading the King to let me go to Parliament, I dropped the subject altogether, and begged the King to see that the Princess was a little better treated than she has hitherto been, and, if possible, lodged with the Queen, her mother, or elsewhere at a place free from suspicion. I alleged a law of the code of Constantine, from whom English kings boast that they received the imperial crown.† I said that in doing that he would avoid the suspicion which might fall on him if (which may God prevent) any mishap came on the Princess; for although I was quite sure that he would not, for all the gold in the world, allow any harm to be done to her, yet, by her staying where she now is, the danger was of such nature that even if the Princess were to die a natural death, it

* "Et que oerez que le mariage entre la royne et luy fust nul toutesfoys pour la legitime ignorance des parens elle seroit legitime."

† "Et sur ce allegay une loy de Constantin, du quoy les roys dangleterre se gloriffient avoer heu la couronne imperiale."

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would be difficult to make people hold their tongues. I added that he ought to take example of Henry the 2nd of England, one of the greatest kings in this country, who, by the injunction of the apostolic legates, had to perform a very great and grievous penance in public, besides promising to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,—all owing to his want of due veneration towards St. Thomas of Canterbury, and his having been the cause of his death, since his murderers were evidently encouraged by his irreverence towards that archbishop. For much greater reason those, who might be tempted to plot against the Princess, perceiving his displeasure against her, and the hatred (*hayne novercale*) which the Lady also bears her, might be emboldened to execute their bad intentions, especially when the place itself offers them such an opportunity. The King's answer was that the Princess was his daughter; she was in good health, and well lodged, and nobody had a right to interfere in his domestic arrangements, for he could dispose of his daughter as he pleased, without having to render account to any one. I replied that I could not help recommending the Princess to him in the mildest possible terms, and warning him of the inconveniences which might happen hereafter; and that, although no one nowadays defended the legitimacy of the Princess, yet, in the event of her death, people might be found to reverse a bill of Parliament, and prove her legitimacy, (I meant James the king of Scotland, but would not name him,) and therefore that, in my opinion, the greatest care ought to be taken of her safety on that account. To this observation of mine the King made no formal reply; he again followed the train of his habitual complaints (*condoleances*), regretting, as he said, that Your Majesty should give him so much annoyance; for again, lately, at the conferences of Marseilles, you had caused the worst to be done against him; *he hoped, however, that ere long you would feel that negociations at Rome were not so efficacious and opportune as at Marseilles, and that then Your Majesty's great ingratitude towards him would become manifest, in having, without cause, and regardless of his benefits, molested and worried him so long for such an iniquitous a quarrel as the one you had picked up with him* (thereby meaning, no doubt, that he expected to get from Rome whatever he would ask for).

I could not let pass the *reproach of ingratitude* without a correction. I told him in substance the very same things, which I once said to the duke of Norfolk, when we spoke on the subject, though in milder and more courteous terms, as the occasion required. Told him that neither in the Roman affair, nor in any other, had Your Majesty ever made use of what he was pleased to term "practiques"; they were all honest and sound negociations. Your Majesty being forcibly obliged to carry them on, it was indifferent to you whether they were carried on at Rome or elsewhere; besides which,

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the conferences of Marseilles, as he well knew, had not been promoted by you. The King had no leisure to wait for the remainder of my argument as to who were the promoters of those conferences, and inform me that he himself was one of them; for he interrupted me, and said, with a kind of sardonic smile on his lips, "I own it;* so far from the Emperor being "the promoter of that assembly, he was not invited to it, "and did not attend, for he was then far away, I recollect. "As to the Emperor working against me," the King continued, "I will say no more about it, not wishing to renew the "regret I feel at my having lost his friendship, for I do all I "can to forget such molestations and worries, the mere recollec- "tion of which causes me marvellous annoyance and almost "makes me ill. Had I been a vindictive man plenty of "occasions have there been for executing my revenge; but "I am satisfied that the world should know how injured and "badly treated I have been, and that I can defend myself "when attacked, and even do harm to my enemies." I told him that if no Christian prince was more inclined than your Majesty to attack him, there was certainly no need for him to make great preparations for defence: besides which, I thought he would not willingly give Your Majesty just occasion for an attack, since there was no actual cause or pretence for it between you and him, and that it only remained for him well to reconsider the matters of which I had spoken, and act as befitted his greatness, virtue, goodness, and humanity, without letting people presume that his former acts and determinations had been in the least swayed by hatred or spite; and I ended by entreating him, in my own private name, and as a man desirous of the peace and union of princes at any cost, to attend to my humble representations.

At last, after much debating and talking, which it would take me too much time to relate in detail, perceiving that there was no means of obtaining what I came for, and that were I to persist a little more the King might possibly have got out of temper; considering also that towards the end of our conference the King had said in plain terms that I ought to be satisfied, since, without express commission to speak to him of such matters, he allowed me to go on with my arguments, and listened patiently to them, and that if I had had such a mandate from you he would have answered me in a different style,—*meaning, no doubt, more dryly and haughtily,*—I deemed it opportune to change the conversation, and begged him that since the Spanish residents in this city could not understand certain statutes made in this Parliament, he would give order that they should be properly explained to them, or else exempt them altogether from the payment of the new tax. He seemed delighted, as could be seen by his

* "Tout incontinent avec une rizee de gaudisserie dit, tant il est vray."

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countenance, that the other matter was dropped, and that I asked him for a thing in which he could do me pleasure; for he told me at once that my request was granted, and that he would give orders for the thing to be done as I wished; upon which I took leave of him, and came away.—London, 26 February, a° 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 14.

2 March. **20.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 96.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 146.

After my letter of the other day (25th Feb.) auditor Simonetta proposed, in one single meeting of the Consistory, all the process and "remissorias" as briefly and clearly as might be expected of his learning and talents. It is on such occasions, when through our sins the Church is reduced to such a plight, that men of the stamp of Simonetta are wanted. Cardinal Farnese, the president, has done and is doing all manner of good offices, for he loves God, and is a good servant of Your Imperial Majesty. Yet I am afraid that, although the justice and right of the Queen's cause are quite clear, doubts will still be raised respecting the proceedings that will cause some delay. For this reason I am extremely anxious for the issue of the process, and I keep telling His Holiness that the very first thing to be decided in Consistory is *that the marriage was never forbidden by natural or divine right;* because it is a well-known fact that the Consistory on a former occasion decided that, even supposing queen Katharine's marriage to have been consummated, there was no difficulty at all, no need of witness nor of remissory letters, as I myself wrote on my first coming here, to decide the case in her favour.* Hitherto I have been unable to obtain this, which, in my opinion, is so simple. Please God that it may not be refused on purpose to delay the sentence and prolong the suit, so that the Queen's sufferings have an end, and she herself ultimately die a martyr before sentence is pronounced, as it must be, in her favour.† The longer this is kept back, the less good-will it will work in England, for that kingdom will go on perverting itself. It is but a judgment of God that the delays here used for the purpose of preventing the loss of England,—wishing unjustly with their faults to help the providence of God,—should be the efficient cause of its perdition and ruin!

* "Y por esta causa deseo mucho, y he suplicado á Su St. que la primera cosa de que se hablare y concluyere en consistorio fuese esta verdad; que este matrimonio nunca fue, ni es prohibido por derecho natural ni divino, porque está averiguado, como ya la mayor parte del consistorio juzgó, aunque el primer matrimonio de la Serenissima Reyna con Arcturo fuera consumado, ninguna dificultad ay en toda la causa, ni ay necesidad de testigos, ni remisorias ni de que hazer dificultades en el proceso, como desde el principio que yo aqui vine escrevi á v. m^{t} diversas vezes."

† "De manera que primero acabe la Reyna su martyrio que se dé la sentencia."

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Had the sentence been given in past times, and before the King had actually disobeyed His Holiness's authority, it would have been fruitful and profitable, and saved us all the trouble and anxiety which has supervened.—Rome, 2nd March 1534.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

4 March. **21.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 98.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 148.

Going the other day to report, as was my duty, to cardinals Campeggio and Cesarino, I was told by them that it had been already determined last year that the English marriage *was not forbidden either by natural or divine law.* That good man, auditor Simonetta, has likewise told me that some persons of this place had written last year to the king of England, informing him of the above determination by the Consistory and by the Rota, and that, for this reason, whenever the principal cause came to be sentenced, the King would infallibly be condemned. Hence it was (he said) that he (the King) had not accepted the offer made to him from Marseilles of having the cause advoked to Cambray, or to another place, there to be tried and the sentence to be given here at Rome. The King knew very well that it must have been given against him, that being, no doubt, the real cause of his non-acceptance. True it is that the bishop of Paris (Bellay) and the French ambassador* have tried and are still trying all they can in favour of the king of England, and that the cardinals friendly to Francis wish to please him in this matter; but as they cannot possibly sentence except in favour of Her Highness the queen, they are, no doubt, delaying the sentence to please him.

Certain doubts have this day been proposed in Consistory, and, among others, this one: that this marriage is not contrary to, and against, Divine law.† The Cardinals wish that between this and Lazarus Sunday a report should be prepared that they may deliberate on and determine the cause. Should sentence, however, be pronounced before the end of Lent, I will, for greater solemnity in the conclusion of the principal point, put up with it, and be content.‡—Rome, 4th March 1534.

Signed: El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

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* The bishop of Macon above named (p. 43), whose name was Charle Hemard Denonville.

† "Oy se han propuestos ciertos dubios en Consistorio y entre ellos este: que este matrimonio no es prohibido por derecho divino."

‡ "Y si la sentencia se da en esta Quaresma por guardar solenidad en la conclusion del puncto principal, yo no me quexaré de esta dilacion de ahora."

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7 March. **22.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 28, No. 19.

The King's mistress, having gone to visit her daughter (Elizabeth), sent a message to the Princess, requesting her to visit and honour her as Queen which she was. Should she do so (the message bore), she would be as well received as she could wish, and it would be the means of her regaining the good pleasure and favour of the King, her father, and of her being treated as well or perhaps better than she had ever been.* The Princess's answer was, that she knew not of any other queen in England than Madame, her mother; and that should the King's mistress, as she called Anne de Bolans (Boleyn), do her the favour she spoke of, and intercede with the King, her father, she would certainly be most grateful to her. After which answer the King's mistress renewed her remonstrances, made her profuse offers, and ended by threatening;† but neither her promises nor her threats could make the Princess change her mind, and she returned home highly disappointed and indignant, fully determined *to put down that proud Spanish blood, as she called it, and do her worst.*‡

Before my speaking to the King on the Queen's business, one of the Houses of Parliament (*une Chambre du Parliament*) had declared that since the archbishop of Canterbury had pronounced sentence in the divorce suit beween the King and her, and in virtue of that sentence the latter had lost the title of "Queen," she could no longer retain that title, nor enjoy the property which this King had bestowed on her as her marriage portion, together with the title of "Queen." The motion had already been put forward two or three times in the other House (*Chambre*), yet since I have spoken to the King on the subject, the affair has been pursued with greater energy in order to prevent any intervening obstacle. Finally the Bill has passed as the King wished, without much opposition on the part of the members; which is not to be wondered at, since to oppose the Bill would have been equivalent to opposing the King's first marriage, which at the present time would be considered a worse crime than that of heresy. There have been certain proctors (*deputes*) of cities, such as London and others, who, in the name of their respective constituencies, have represented that those cities had intervened as pledges for the observation and keeping of the promises and stipulations of the marriage treaty, and that merchant citizens trading with Your Majesty's dominions might thereby be the sufferers; but their appeal has been disregarded, and they have been given to understand that the said obligation

* "Et que oultre le recueyl que luy seroit faict tel quelle sçauroit souetter, par ce moyen elle se reconcilieroit a la bonne grace et benevolence du roy son pere, et elle se tiendroit grandemant obligee a elle."

† "Elle fit practiquer et solliciter le plus fort du monde la princesse de la venir visiter."

‡ "Avec intention de bien rabaisser la gloyre de ce effrene sang hyspagnol, comme elle dit, fera tout au pis quelle pourra."

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had been abolished by Your Majesty's consent when the treaty was renewed.*

The King, the better to incline his Parliament to vote the motion, has caused a list (*role*) to be exhibited there of the lands and estates which he wishes to hand over to the Queen in exchange and as indemnity for those she owned before ; the value of which, in the estimation of the King and his people, amounts to 3,000 crs. more than her former revenue. What astonishes me in all this is that the King has not for honour's sake, and to make a greater show of liberality, made out a longer list of what he intends giving to the Queen, since he is or must be pretty sure that she would rather go about and beg charity than accept anything from him (the King) under the title of widow dowager, even if he gave her the equivalent of three kingdoms as large as England.

Some of the members of Parliament, who dared not expressly oppose the Bill about the Queen, are making as much opposition as they can to the one concerning the Pope, considering, no doubt, that the success of the Queen depends in a great measure upon papal authority being upheld in England. I am, however, afraid that in the end, to judge from the way he goes to work, the King will get Parliament to vote anything he wants. Other members there are who, *though opposed to the Queen, are much displeased at the King for attempting to separate himself from the Roman Church, such as the duke of Norphoc,* who inadvertently said the other day to the French ambassador that *neither he nor his friends would ever consent to such a separation.* This report, circulated by the said ambassador, has reached the ears of the King, who, wishing to get at the truth of the affair, has made inquiries, the result being that the Duke has partially lost the King's favour, *that being, no doubt, the reason why he dislikes to be at Court just now,* as he himself told me the last time I saw him. Since then we have not spoken to each other.

The Lubeckian Secretary, about whom I wrote last, has made a very short stay here. The King has given him 100 ducats or angels, and a passport to return home as soon as possible, *perhaps that he may prevent the meeting of the Diet, which is to assemble at Hamburgh for the settlement of the claims of Lubeck upon the Hollanders.* The said Secretary, who came here by way of Holland and Flanders, thinks of taking the same route in going back, and has consequently kept most strict silence as to the day of his departure, and so forth ; but I have been able to find out all about it, and have not failed to write to Flanders, announcing his departure. He is a native of Vuesfalle (Westphalia), and

* "Que pieça la dite obligation par consentement de vostre maieste estoit abclie par novacion de traytte."

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a gentleman; he had once some ecclesiastical benefices, and I am told that his going to Lubeck was caused by his being accused of Lutheranism.* *I have in vain set up spies on the Scilliarts resident in this city, in order to ascertain the cause of the Secretary's coming, and the charge he has; but hitherto no reliable information has been obtained,* and they themselves complain of the said *Scilliards*† *having addressed themselves in writing to the King, without informing them of the contents of their communication,—a case quite unprecedented, as they say, in Lubeck, or in any other town of the* [*Hans*] *Confederation.*

Master Cremuel, having yesterday sent me notice of the provision made in the case of certain Spanish sailors, who certainly would have been ill-used had it not been for his favour and intercession, informed me at the same time that the Lubeckians made difficulties about restoring the property on board the ships they took last summer, and that the above-mentioned secretary had said so. However, the King, his master, had said to him, and written to them, that the goods were to be restored without delay, those belonging to Spaniards having precedence to those of his own subjects. *Nothing can be more amiable and correct than the above recommendation, but I rather think that this King will do just the reverse that he may embitter and over-irritate the Lubeckians.*

Neither have I been able yet to unravel the mystery of certain visits which the Venetian ambassador (Capello) has lately been paying to Court, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, unless it be to communicate to this King the news from Constantinople, and the military preparations of the Turk, as well as the departure of Hybrain (Ibrahim) Bassá for Asia, or, perhaps, to present the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Voulchier (Wiltshire), and his son (George), Master Crowuell, and treasurer Feu Vullien (Fitz William), with certain gorgeous brigandines made of tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl, having secret drawers inside, which the signory of Venice sends them at the request of the said Capello, their ambassador here, who, as I am told, must have received a hint from one of the parties to that effect.‡

The French ambassador has recently despatched a messenger to Court for the purpose of asking leave to go back to France, whither, as I hear, this King wishes him to return, owing to his having found out by experience that whenever he has a negociation in hand French ambassadors accredited to this

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* "Et a ce que lon ma dit sa retraytte a Lubeck a este causee par la Lutererie."

† The copy reads, "Jay fait espier vers la pluspart de *ceux du Scilliart;*" and lower down, "*ceulx du Scilliard;*" but is not the banking house of the Stilliards meant? See vol. iv., part ii., p. 794. And yet, from the manner in which the words *Scilliard* and *Scilliart* are used, one might be inclined to think that it was a port of the Hans towns.

‡ "Certainnes brigantinez secretez faictez des calliez (*d'ecailles*?) gorgiases et richez, que la Signorie de Venize leur a envoye."

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Court do the work for him in France better than if he sent his own to that country, especially now that he has found the means of bribing the said ambassadors, and keeping them at his disposal.

Every day new books against the Pope are published here, the most execrable and stupid (*inneptez*) that can be imagined. No foundation or reasoning of any sort is there in them; nothing but abuse, invectives, and blasphemies against the authority of His Holiness the Pope, and the Apostolic See, as Your Majesty will be informed by Monseigneur de Granvelle, to whom I have forwarded some of them. Not satisfied with the grossest insults thus poured out against His Holiness, *they keep threatening that they will have him expelled from Rome; and, not many days since, Cremuel said to a friend, whilst conversing on this subject, "If you have anything [valuable] at Rome, I should advise you to make haste and dispose of it, for ere long we will destroy that city, or have it destroyed somehow."*

This King, perceiving that the hidden treasure of the bishop of Norwich could not be found, and also that his condemnation was unjust, has set him at liberty on his taking an engagement to pay him of his own free will 30,000 crs., which that bishop has done. The holy bishop of Rochester (Fisher) has been sent for, and I consider him to be in great danger of his life, owing to his having spoken sometimes with the Nun [of Kent], about whom I once wrote to Your Majesty. Master Mur (Moore), once High Chancellor of England, has during these past days been examined by Cremuel and the present chancellor (Audeley) respecting a letter which he once wrote to the said Nun, and which could not be more prudently or wisely written, for he therein exhorted her to attend exclusively to devotion, and not mix herself up with the affairs of kings. *Yet the King, as it would seem, finding no occasion or opportunity to harm the said Moore, has taken away from him the pension to which he was entitled. The annoyance, to which the above two men (the Ex-chancellor and the Bishop) are now being subjected, is merely caused by their having taken up the Queen's cause.*

This King, I hear, is very much put out at the delay of the Scottish ambassador, having given orders that the very apartments, which the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) occupied when he last came here, should be prepared for him, and having sent hither provisions of all sorts, as well as malmsey and other wines, which is not done with other ambassadors, of whatever rank they may be. The King is exceedingly disappointed that the Scotchman does not make his appearance.

Monsieur de Morette* is expected here in a few days, on a

* Charle Soliers de la Morette, already mentioned (vol. iv., part ii., p. 971) as having been employed in various missions by Louise de Savoie during her son's captivity.

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mission from the king of France; what the object of it may be, no one seems to know at present.—London, 7th March 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor." [Received on Holy Thursday.]

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 6.

7 March. **23.** The CARDINAL OF JAEN* to the SAME.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, ff. 41–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,586,

Has had no answer to his ciphered despatch of the 18th January.

(*Cipher:*) Though the trial of the English matrimonial suit is going on well for us, I am still very much afraid that His Holiness is looking out for some pretence or excuse to delay the publication of the sentence; for many a time has he touched on that subject, and told me that he wished to know first what Your Majesty's real intentions were, and whether you purposed, or not, seeing to its execution. Whenever he has spoken to me about that, I have always told him that Your Majesty could not make your intentions known until the Holy Apostolic See had actually decided and sentenced the case. That, and no other, I told him, must be the motive of Your Majesty's action against the kings of France and England, because should it be determined that the dispensation for the marriage of the Queen, your aunt, was invalid, you could not possibly, though naturally sorry at what had happened, take up the quarrel with them. Should the dispensation, on the contrary, be considered just and valid, as it really is, then you were in duty bound to favour and support the Apostolic commands, and have them enforced as an Emperor and a gentleman† ought to do.

My opinion is that Your Majesty might again write a letter urging the Pope to pronounce sentence, and assuring him at the same time that, in order to carry out his commands, you are ready to do anything he deems fit at the opportune moment. Such a declaration can in no wise do harm, for Your Majesty must know that it is perfectly understood here (at Rome) that the thing cannot and must not be done in such a manner as to widen the gap already existing between Your Majesty and the king of England.

(*Common writing:*) Count Cifuentes must have reported on the arrival of the bishop of Paris (Bellay). What I can guess about his business—though I speak more by conjecture than otherwise—is that the French are fumbling about with

* Estevan Gabriel Merino; about whom, see vol. iv., parts i. and ii.

† "Pues de alli ha de tener justa causa ó no contra el rey de Francia y Inglaterra, porque [si] la reyna su tia no fué bien dispensada (aunque por natura le pesase de lo subcedido) no podria tener querella por ello; y si la dicha reyna fué bien dispensada, en tal caso era obligado á favorescer los mandamientos apostolicos, y dicha causa como emperador y como cavallero."

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this English matrimonial cause, and that what they do is more for the sake of obliging you to amend the treaty of Cambray than for helping the king of England; for not only the Bishop, but his colleague, the French ambassador, has been heard to say to people in this city that if there was perfect harmony and intelligence between Your Majesty and the king of France, this divorce question would be soon settled. By this and other expedients are they trying to get what they want, and I am not surprised at hearing that they have lately been feeling, though unsuccessfully, the pulse of the Venetians. It would, therefore, be advisable that Your Majesty, through letters and messengers, tried to maintain this good-will on the part of Venice, because I do not hesitate to say that as long as the Venetians remain the allies of Your Imperial Majesty, no novelty will be attempted by your enemies [in Italy]. Germany ought likewise to be carefully considered, and orders sent to Naples for the men-at-arms to get ready, because, as they say here at Rome, "*un bel robar fa lo homo ladro.*"

With regard to the Pope, there is no change to be perceived for the present; he continues the same as hitherto, as I have often occasion to write. Your Majesty ought, therefore, to treat him according to his deeds; and I say this because there are not wanting courtiers here, at Rome, who suspect him, and say that he would see with pleasure his new nephew duke of Milan.—Rome, 7th March 1534.

Signed: "Estevan Gabriel [Merino], obispo de Jaen."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

7 March. **24.** Gomez Suarez de Figueroa to the Same.

S. G. Mar y T., L. 5. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 154.

Wrote on the 22nd of February by the "Clavero" [of Alcantara],* announcing the arrest in this city of a common man called Granado (*sic*), who in union with another was trying through the duke of Albany (Stuart) in France, with whom both were in correspondence, to promote a revolution here (in Genoa) whenever the prince (Andrea Doria) should happen to be absent. To that effect the marquis of Saluzzo† and the bishop of Alessandria (della Paglia), now at Piacenza, were respectively making levies of men in order to help the rising in contemplation. The plot having been detected, Granaro‡ was drawn and quartered, though his accomplice succeeded in escaping.

* All the military orders of Spain, and especially that of Alcantara, had at this time an officer called clavero, from *clavis* (key), who was the treasurer or cashier.

† Francis, at this time in the service of France.

‡ See above, where his name is written *Granado;* the latter reading, however, seems more correct.

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(*Cipher:*) Since then another conspiracy, more formidable than the first, has been discovered, at the head of which was one Paolo Fragoso; the object being to take possession of one of the city gates, and hold it until the arrival of succour by sea and land. One of the conspirators, a clerk in orders, who has since left Genoa, was the informer. Doria himself has received intelligence from France to the effect that he was to be murdered, and his galleys set fire to; which would have been an easy thing to accomplish, considering the little care he (Doria) takes of his own person, and the fact of all his galleys being within the arsenal (*ataraçanal*), and so close to each other that they would have been reduced to ashes in no time. Ten of the conspirators have already been arrested, from whom we shall most likely hear more details, as likewise who were the chief instigators. Meanwhile Doria is taking every precaution. Two hundred men have been detached to reinforce the guard at the city gates, &c., for he has lately received letters from France, advising that the King of that country will certainly declare war this spring and invade Italy, and that he has already for that purpose 400,000 ducats, the proceeds of the tithe which His Holiness has granted him on ecclesiastical benefices in France, besides the money which the king of England will procure for him to help the enterprise. The intelligence is further confirmed by Ottaviano de' Grimaldi, now staying at the Court of France, who writes confidentially to one of his friends here that king Francis is hastily arming galleys, of which he has already twenty fit for sea, two already launched, and several more in the docks; which intelligence is enough to increase our suspicions, and keep these citizens in constant fear.—Genoa, 7th March 1534.

Signed: "Gomez Suarez de Figueroa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Catholic, Imperial Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 3.

10 March. **25.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, ff. 8–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 156.

Wrote on the 14th ultimo by the key-holder (*clavero*) from Naples. After that the Emperor's letter of the 18th came duly to hand by way of the Pope, together with the packet for the viceroy of Naples (marquis de Villafranca), which was immediately forwarded to him. Delivered to the Pope his (the Emperor's) holograph letter, and took the opportunity of repeating to him the substance of Aponte's instructions. His Holiness's answer was expressed, as usual, in fair words.—which it is to be hoped will hereafter be met by his acts. With regard to the preservation of peace in Italy, he said that there was no need at present of further expense or any new league, as everything was now smooth. Concerning the defence against the Turk he again promised to furnish the thirteen

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galleys, and said that he had written to the prince Andrea Doria about it. Indeed, the Republic [of Genoa] having since agreed to place seven of them at his disposal, entirely fitted out with oars, rigging, and sails, His Holiness was about to send to Genoa his own chamberlain, Ambrosino Doria, to take charge of them, pay the money, &c.

Respecting the sale of Church lands and property, as the Emperor did not specify in the instructions to Aponte which of them were to be sold in Naples and Sicily, His Holiness answered that the clergy of those kingdoms were exceedingly poor, and had nothing to sell. He (Sylva) wrote accordingly to the viceroy of Naples [Don Pedro de Toledo] to inquire what ecclesiastical property could be disposed of. The Viceroy's answer was that the vassals of monasteries and churches could be sold, their owners not objecting to it, provided the same rental was ensured to them elsewhere. Told this to His Holiness, who seemed satisfied, and added that the expedient had already been proposed on former occasions. He moreover promised to write to his Nuncio there (in Naples), and ascertain what sum could approximately be collected from the sale of the vassals of the Church in Naples, and that when he knew, he would do the Emperor's pleasure in that respect. He [Sylva] intends writing on the subject to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily.

On the arrival of the bishop of Paris [Bellay] at the court of France [from England], and on his stating in public that he had been unable to achieve anything in that country, Philippo Strozzi is reported to have asked king Francis, "What is the Bishop going to Rome for, when he himself says that he has been unable to persuade the English king?" The Most Christian King answered, "I am sending him thither on certain business of my own, which His Holiness knows well." He (Sylva) is pretty certain of that, for a person who saw Strozzi's holograph letter to His Holiness told him so; and it is generally believed here [at Rome] that the business in question must be one of the many secret engagements taken at Marseilles between the Pope and Francis.

Talking the other day to Capua (Schomberg) about this very thing, the latter said that there was as yet no occasion for alarm. Though some secret compact might have been entered into between His Holiness and the Most Christian King, he (Capua) thought that matters were not yet ripe. "True (he said) I cannot help thinking there is something between them; for the other day, whilst I was mentioning the splendid entertainments at Marseilles, and remarking on the costly furniture of the duke of Orleans' chamber, which was entirely hung with rich tapestry presented to the King, his father, by the duke Galeazzo Sforza, and having the arms of Milan embroidered on it, His Holiness exclaimed, 'Perhaps before eighteen months are over the duke of Orleans will be duke of Milan.'" These words in the Pope's mouth, and

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the paragraph of Strozzi's letter to him respecting the Bishop's mission, which the King, when interrogated, said related to a secret engagement taken at Marseilles, makes him (Sylva) suspect that the presence here of that most reverend ambassador bodes no good.

With regard to the deposit of the 25,000 ducats, and the money for Zurich, besides the 2,000 which are to be sent to Milan for assisting the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, matters remain in the same state as before.

Napoleone Orsino, once abbot of Farfa, has been slain by his own brother Hieronimo (Girolamo) after a quarrel, though it is said that there was a truce between them at the time. His Holiness regrets the death of Napoleone very much, also the cardinal of Medici, and principally all those, who were looking out for war and revolutions. This Girolamo was with Napoleone during the expedition to Hungary, and commanded 100 light horse.* He (Sylva) has written to Naples announcing Napoleone's death, and says that Girolamo will most likely take refuge there. The Viceroy has answered that he will be taken care of, and not delivered to the Pope should he claim him; in fact that he will so manage matters that His Holiness may not have cause for complaint.†

Owing to the good-will of most of the cardinals, and particularly of Frenesis (Farnese), and to the great diligence used on the part of the Imperial servants, matters have come to such a pitch that last Monday His Holiness summoned all his cardinals to be prepared to sentence the matrimonial suit on Lazarus Monday, having previously submitted certain dubious points to be explained by the Queen's proctors and advocates. The affair is so advanced that the Pope cannot do otherwise than give sentence, or else tell us categorically that he does not choose to do justice. In fact I am very much afraid that he will not, or that he will delay it as much as he can, on various considerations, and especially because the bishop of Paris is still here urging that sentence be not delivered, and saying that he wishes to go away. Indeed it is not to be thought for a moment that His Holiness will ever give sentence in presence of the Bishop, and thereby offend the king of France, thus giving occasion to king Henry to think that the Bishop had been sent expressly to solicit it. His Holiness no longer thinks of sending Miçer Sixto [to Spain] to ascertain what sort of help might be given for the execution of the sentence, he (Sylva) having declared that it was no use applying for more specific terms, &c.

Pirro Colonna and the Sienese, &c.

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* "El Hieronimo ursino es el que fue tomado por el Napoleon quando iban en Hungria con cient cavallos ligeros."

† "Hame respondido, que el le guardará, y no [le] entregará á su Beatitud como se lo pedia, y se hará de manera que su Santidad no quede desabrido." A marginal note in Covos' hand adds, "Let him use all diligence, and, without offending His Holiness, try and favour Geronimo Ursino."

1534.

Cardinal de' Medici has accepted at last the two abbeys which the king of France offered him. They are worth 8,000 crs. a year.

Cardinal Frenesis (Farnese) is doing much service, especially in what relates to the matrimonial suit. A letter should be written to him acknowledging his good intentions.*

Wrote to Antonio de Leyva telling him his suspicions about the abbot del Negro. He (Sylva) would have wished that he had not been appointed Papal commissary at Milan, but could not help it; Leyva was in such haste that he (Negro) had to be sent thither from La Spezia, where he was at the time with his secretary.

His Holiness has given the office of datary to Juan Vincle, a German, the same person who at Brussels kissed the Emperor's hands. The government of Tivoli has been taken away from cardinal Mantua, and given to Carniseca.

Lope de Soria writes from Venice that two envoys of the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolsky) had arrived in that city. One came to His Holiness, the other to the king of France. Care should be taken to ascertain what these people are about, and the king of the Romans advised as to their movements, &c.

Although he (Sylva) has often pressed His Holiness to instruct the abbot of Negro (Nero) to come to an agreement with Antonio de Leyva and prothonotary Caracciolo about the restitution of Novi and La Mirandola, and the Pope has always promised that he would do so, nothing has yet been done. On the contrary, only five days ago he said that it was rather a dangerous experiment to collect forces for such a purpose, inasmuch as the king of France might thereby take umbrage and bring war into Italy by means of the marquis de Saluzzo; besides which, Novi, as he could show by deeds in his possession, was originally a fief of the Church.

Has just heard that the abbot of Negro (del Nero) is in Genoa. Inquired from Carniseca whether the intelligence was true. The answer was that it was perfectly true, but that he had gone thither upon leave from Antonio de Leyva, and that if it should turn out that he had no such leave, he would be ordered to go back to Milan. He (Sylva) would have spoken to His Holiness on the subject, but he went to Hostia (Ostia) this morning. Should abbot Nero refuse to go back the appointment of another commissary should be insisted upon.

Respecting the doings in Switzerland and France, His Imperial Majesty must be well informed through Gutierre Lopez de Padilla and the ambassador at Genoa [Gomez Suarez de Figueroa].

Inclosed is the copy of a letter of news from the Court of France, sent by His Holiness's Nuncio in that country. It might be that the letter, after all, was only a fabrication of

* Let it be done at once, and a letter of thanks written to him.—*Note by Covos.*

1534.

the Papal Nuncio, or of Carniseca himself, who brought it to this embassy.—Rome, 10th March 1534.

Signed: " El conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 13.

17 March. 26. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien. Rep. P. C., *Fasc.* 229 No. 20.

I have just this moment received Your Majesty's letter of the 27th ultimo, since which date several of mine must have come to hand, and informed you particularly enough of the fact that what the French ambassador told Your Majesty of the state of affairs in this country, as well as of the probable cause of the departure for Rome of the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay), is substantially true. I will not dwell any more on this subject, supposing that by this time all my despatches have arrived; but I did then write, and will again do so, to count Cifuentes at Rome, strongly recommending what seemed to me most fitting for Your Majesty's service, and that of Madame, your aunt, under the circumstances, which is to urge the Pope to decide and sentence the principal cause as the one all-important step on the grounds which I have submitted to Your Majesty. *I have also written to the Count to solicit His Holiness, since he is such a friend of the king of France, to send a nuncio to that country, and remonstrate in his name against the enormities which are daily committed here, in England, and beg that he will provide for the redress thereof, and help to lay bare the intrigues* (*practiques*) which the contrary party made use of to *obtain votes at the Paris University, which would effectually ruin and destroy the principal basis of these people's arguments. Should this advice of mine deserve Your Majesty's approval, count Cifuentes might be written to in your name to see that the Pope sends king Francis a pressing message to that effect.* Your Majesty in your incomparable wisdom will act for the best.

The Queen, not choosing, on account of her health, to drink new wine, but old, which the King's people in charge of her household expenses will not furnish, has been obliged to send here for a cask; but it appears that the servant *who came here to execute her commands will be dismissed,* as I hear from the person at the head of her household, for no other reason than that of having obeyed her orders; *for the King will not have her drink or eat anything but what he provides for her, so much so that yesterday she sent for some almonds for her supper, owing to their having refused to supply any. In fact they are only looking out for some way of causing that artificial dropsy of which I wrote to Your Majesty the other day.**

* "Et ne veult ce roy quelle boive ni mange que de ce quil luy fera pourveoir, si enuoya elle hier pour amendres (*sic*) pour cause que lon les luy auoit refuse ung soir a sa collation, et ne serchent ceulx çy que le chemin pour la fere tumber en ydropesie artificielle, comme jai jadis dict a vostre maieste."

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The Princess is treated in a similar manner. I am told this very morning that the duke of Norffocq went yesterday to the place where she is, *to renew the former threats. Besides that, the Duke ordered her best robes to be seized on the plea that she was no longer a Princess, and that it was necessary to reduce her pomp and pride. In addition to that, the duchess [of Norfolk] has been appointed [mistress of the robes] to the bastard],** *and at the same time one of the principal officers of the Princess' household has been dismissed from the service on account of his having shown some affection to her, and done her some small services.*

Not satisfied with having sent to Rome the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay), this King has requested the French resident ambassador here to undertake the same journey. He is only waiting for the arrival of Mr. de Morette, who is shortly expected to take his departure.

Some one has just told me *that the Scottish ambassador* considered the death of the duke of Suffolk's only son, which took place some days ago, a piece of good luck for his master; for, being issued from a daughter of Henry VII., and sister of this King, he might, though born in France, have been, in the event of the crown of this kingdom becoming vacant, too formidable a competitor for king James. *I am truly delighted at the Scottish ambassador entertaining this fancy, as I may thereby the better persuade* and press upon him the necessity of the Princess being preserved from danger.†

There is nothing else for me to mention, except that within the last few days two French ships laden with wine and other goods have been captured on this coast by the English, at which the French ambassador, as Your Majesty may suppose, is anything but pleased.

I need scarcely say anything about the sermons that are daily being preached here, and even in the King's presence, because it is a more disagreeable and abominable subject than Your Majesty can conceive; certainly the invectives of the German Lutherans against the Pope are literally nothing in comparison with the daily abuse of these English preachers, besides which no one is allowed to preach in the churches here unless he belongs to the new sect.—London, 17th March 1534.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: " To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 3.

* " Et oultre ce a este la duchesse [nommee] du seruice de la bastarde."

† " Car ores quil fust yssu de la fille moings nee, toutesfois pour estre natif (?) autrefois, venant cas de succession en ce royaulme, il eust este tropt grand competiteur pour le dict roy son maistre. Je suis joyeulx quil ait telle impression en la fantasie, car cest pour le mieulx fere incliner aux propoz que lui ay çi devant tenu pour la preservacion de la princesse." The above passage, as deciphered by the clerks at the time, is evidently vitiated, and wanting words and even whole sentences.

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24 March. **27.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 187.

His Imperial Majesty is thankful for what His Holiness has done. The Emperor kisses His Holiness's feet, and will write to him in his own hand.

On the 23rd His Holiness, with all his cardinals (*nemine discrepante*), sentenced the principal cause in favour of the queen of England, as Your Majesty will see by the copy here enclosed.* He (the Pope) believes that in doing so he has rendered a signal service to Your Majesty, inasmuch as the sentence is so worded that you will not be responsible for its execution.† He is glad that the whole thing is over, as he says he will have no further anxiety on that score, though, on the other hand, the importunities of those among his cardinals, who have voted in favour of the Queen, and of many other persons professing (he apprehends) to be Your Majesty's servants, will cause him considerable trouble, for they will naturally think that he (the Pope) is bound to ask favours for them.

Letters to be written to all these with promises that when the opportunity occurs the Emperor will show his gratitude for their services.

Among the cardinals who have done service on this occasion the principal are, Frenesis (Farnese), Campeggio, La Minerva, La Valle, Sanctiquatro, Matera, Naples, Jaen, and Santa Croce. I beg leave to recommend them to Your Majesty, as well as Simonetta, Luis Aragonia, and the lawyers in general.

As the Duke does not say a word concerning the estate which is to be given to him in Naples, we need not write until we hear from him.

This present courier takes the report which the duke of Urbino has drawn up by Your Majesty's command. The bearer is a trusty and confidential servant of the Duke and served under him in the late wars; the answer may be safely entrusted to him.

His Holiness has deposited his share of the 25,000 crs., as appears from the enclosed copy of the deed. Will try my best to make the Sienese deposit also their contingent.

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* Not in the packet.

† "Sino fuera por la grandeza de V. M^{d} y justificacion de la causa poco aprovechara la sollicitud que se ha tenido para despacharla. En una cosa piensa haver servido á V. M^{d} que no queda obligado á la execucion, aunque muchas vezes me han tentado sobrello."

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Perceiving the delay in Swiss affairs, and that the Verulan did not start on his mission, as announced, I have requested His Holiness to issue certain briefs empowering the prior of Besançon to act in the absence of the former, and, if possible, conclude a league between Your Imperial Majesty, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, and His Holiness. I have also written to Caracciolo that he may, after holding a consultation with Antonio de Leyva and the duke of Milan, prepare the ground and negociate with the Swiss cantons, as may best suit Your Majesty's interests.

When I told His Holiness the news of the archbishop of Toledo's death* he said to me, "The Emperor ought not to make a new appointment for some time to come, in order that the entire revenue of that see may be applied to the relief of Coron, and to arm galleys against the Turk."

Let us know what the custom is in such cases, and a sum of money shall be put at the ambassador's disposal to that effect.

I have written to the High Commander respecting the gratuities which it is customary here to distribute in similar cases. When the affair of Hungary was tried several thousands of ducats were given as *douceurs* (*propinas*), and although I do not consider it necessary in this present case to give large sums of money, yet I think that some pecuniary reward to the parties concerned will not be amiss.

The 20,000 ducats for the relief of the Catholic cantons have been duly paid at Milan.

In consequence of the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) having written that the English Parliament had been opened, and that it would be desirable that the sentence should be presented there before Easter—when Parliament would be suspended or

* Don Alonso de Fonseca, who died on the 4th of February 1534.

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prorogued—I have despatched an express to Queen Mary [of Hungary] with a copy of the sentence, that she may forward it to England.*—Rome, 24th March 1534.†

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 6.

24 March. **28.** THE CARDINAL OF JAEN to the SAME.

S. E. L. 862, f. 97.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 180.

Of the holy and good resolution taken by His Holiness in the Queen's case, Your Majesty must already have heard by the letter of count Cifuentes. I need, therefore, make no comments at all upon it, excepting to say that it must be a great consolation for the said Queen to have the declaration made in her lifetime that the false and perverse charge raised against her under pretence of Christianity is the greatest sin and offence that could be designed against God. Were her person and life to suffer through it,—which many prudent persons think probable, notwithstanding that such a thought ought never to enter the minds of Christians,—I am sure that she will obtain in Heaven the crown of martyrdom, knowing, as I do, her noble mind, more divine than human. The affair, however, might have had very disagreeable consequences, for had it not been concluded as it has been, and had there been more delay, such bad feeling might have been engendered, both here and there, in Spain, that many evils might have arisen; because there, in Spain, there was plenty of reason for resenting the injury caused by the delay, and here (at Rome) some discontent might also have been produced by their imagining that Your Majesty did not do all that was incumbent upon you in this respect. Distrust and suspicion might have arisen, out of which generally spring those bad passions that divide and disturb great princes. Now, with the sentence, such as it is, all those evils, and many more that I do not mention, disappear entirely. Thus at the Imperial Court, for instance, they will now believe nothing except what they see with their own eyes, and here (at Rome) His Holiness will enjoy more quietness, and be more at liberty to remain, as he has been hitherto, the true friend and ally of Your Imperial Majesty.

Owing to the above reasons it would be well for Your Majesty to thank His Holiness for what he has done, write him a most gracious letter, and at the same time make an

* The summary ends with the following memorandum in the handwriting of Covos: "Respecting the duke of Urbino, what his agent here says is that he "does not trust Lope de Soria. We presume that is owing to that ambassa- "dor having once prevented the Signory from granting leave to Cesare "Fregoso. The Count should try to remove that suspicion, inspire the Duke "with confidence, and tell him that he may trust Lope de Soria implicitly, and "communicate all his affairs to him."

† The letter, of which the above is only an abstract to be submitted to the Emperor, is also at Simancas, L. 862, f. 10, and in Bergenroth's Collection, vol. xv., pp. 197–99.

1534.

offer of your services for the defence and upholding of the Holy Apostolic See. That can be effected without danger, and, if Your Majesty considers it advisable, might be done at once. I do not fancy that these people feel much disposed just now to press the fulfilment of such promises, or prompt you to take up arms on that account.*

There is still another consideration which renders the sentence highly profitable to Your Majesty's interests here, in Italy, which is that many who are influenced solely by the favour or disfavour of His Holiness, and who might have attached themselves to the contrary side, imagining that they had His Holiness in their power, will now repent and pass over to you. With this determination of the suit their malice will abate; and, if we are to judge by the diligence which our adversaries employed to have the sentence delayed, there is every probability that one of these days greater mistrust may be engendered between them and His Holiness† than was at first anticipated.

All this, as I say, comes very àpropos for Your Majesty's general interests in the future, especially if, as some here think, some promise has been made,‡ which I cannot bring my mind to believe. But as I write to the High Commander of Leon on this point and others, I need not trouble Your Majesty any further, and will only refer to my despatches.

I should not satisfy my conscience were I to fail in recommending to Your Imperial Majesty all those who have worked in the defence of Her Highness, your aunt. The Count in particular has done much. Cardinals Farnese, Campeggio, and La Minerva have helped with their opinion and authority. As to auditor Simonetta, and Juan Luys [de Aragonia], and Anguiano, the proctor, I need not recommend them, having done it so often already. Doctor Ortiz, a man of great learning, exemplary life, and great integrity, is well worthy of your favour; any reward Your Imperial Majesty may be pleased to confer on him will add to the consideration and respect he already enjoys at this Court.

The news of the death of the archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) has reached us.§ I am glad to hear that Your Imperial Court is now in that city, because you will thus have better opportunity of consulting its very stones and walls, which cannot but remind you of the signal services I rendered you during the wars of the Commons (*en tiempo de las comuni-*

* "Es mucha razon que lo tenga en mucho, y que dé muchas gracias á nuestro señor y escriva á Su Santidad graciosamente lo que conviene, ofreciendose para la defension y manutencion de la Sede Apostolica, que lo puede hazer, porque si le pareziere y cumpliese á su servicio se podra efectuar, y cuando no, de acá, á lo que siento, no le pornan mucho fuego para que al presente se move (mueva) cosa de armas."

† "No se puede dexar de creer que no se originará entre ellos y Su Santidad alguna manera de mas desconfianza de la que se esperava."

‡ "Maxime si oviese entrevenido alguna promision, como algunos dizen, lo qual yo no quiero creher."

§ Fonseca died on the 4th of February. See above, p. 85.

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dades) to my great personal risk, and loss of property, by which I have well earned Your Majesty's favour.*—Rome, 24th March 1534.

Signed: "Very humble servant and chaplain G[abrielis] cardinalis Gienensis."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

24 March. S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 94. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 191.

29. Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

Just as it has on former occasions pleased God to select Your Imperial Majesty as minister in His service, and executor of His commands, making you illustrious by the frequent victories obtained over your enemies, so has He now granted you that which, in my opinion, is the crowning favour of all, —I mean the sentence in the matrimonial suit in favour of Her Highness the queen of England, and against the King of that country; for the past victories were gained over men, whereas this present one is won from the enemies of mankind, who, unchained from Hell, have come to complicate and embarrass the good cause here on earth. Indeed, the former struggles were for temporal goods and the possessions of this world, whereas this one has been for the defence of our Holy Catholic Faith and the unity of the Church, the establishment and confirmation of its decisions and sacred canon laws, to the intent that neither good nor bad Christians, heretics nor infidels, may henceforward be able to say that since the Church doubted and hesitated in determining that which canon law had so long before settled, all the rest of its determinations might likewise be disputed.

The third reason is, that it is a victory gained in a cause which was from the very beginning fraught with difficulties, —because, it being against canon law and the express regulations of the Holy Apostolic See, the suit ought not to have been instituted without sending persons who might have instructed the king of England, and enlightened his counsellors. His Holiness was badly advised in admitting it, as cardinal Gaetano says very properly, since, after three consecutive decrees of the sacred Consistory commanding that the English excusator should not be heard in court, it was considered necessary to examine the case again for the fourth time, and consequently a fourth decree was needed. In like manner, though last year the Rota first, and the Consistory afterwards, decided that the English marriage was legitimate and lawful by civil as well as Divine right, it was again thought requisite to make a fresh inquiry, and decide

* "Me plaze que V. M^{d} en esta sazon se halle en Toledo, porque si querra tomar parezer de todas las piedras y paredes que en la Ciudad ay, soy cierto traeran en la memoria á V. M^{d} el mucho servicio que en el mismo Toledo la hize en tiempo de las comunidades con harto peligro de mi propia persona, y mucho mas gasto de mi hacienda, y que tengo merecido del mismo Toledo recibir alguna señalada merced, y pues della mas que nunca agora tengo necesidad, estando adonde V. M^{d} me ha puesto, conociendo el agradecimiento que suele tener á sus buenos servidores, no digo mas de suplicarle humilmente que de mi tenga aquella memoria que suele de los otros."

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once more that it was both lawful and legitimate: at which some of the cardinals were much offended, complaining that the revision of a determination previously taken in Consistory was derogatory of its privileges and authority, that being the reason why they refused to deliberate upon it, and referred to their former decision. Among the cardinals who opposed most the measure was Campeggio, who said that, were the cause to be founded only on such proofs of the Queen's virginity as were contained in the remissory letters, he might himself have entertained doubts of the Queen's justice, but that, having ascertained that the marriage could only be considered illegitimate by positive rule, he could not do less than acknowledge and proclaim the justice of the Queen's cause.*

Indeed, so difficult and unexpected has been this victory, that though I have always encouraged count Cifuentes, and assured him that we should in the end come out triumphant from the battle, I know for certain that he had very little hope of success, notwithstanding that he himself has worked very assiduously, and so have the Queen's advocates and proctors, to obtain the final sentence. Formerly His Holiness used to say that the only cause of the delay was his expecting that the King of England would return to the obedience of the Holy See; now he acknowledges that the delay was altogether useless, as it could never have brought the King back; and he adds, "I am afraid that I have committed a great sin, for the Queen may suffer death by it."†

Fourthly, the victory has been gained for this holy martyr the queen of England, whom God has endowed with so many virtues that she may be a pattern and an example for future generations.

Fifthly, the victory has been gained not only over the king of England, but also over the king of France, by whose shameless influence some universities had been induced to lean to the contrary side. A gentleman named Langest (De Langeais) was one year before in Paris trying to gain the votes of that University; in the same manner his brother, the bishop of Paris, has come, and is still here, for the sole purpose of delaying the sentence.

Sixthly; though some of the cardinals nowadays are not so inclined to Your Majesty's service as they were years ago, owing to the alliances since contracted, as well as to the grants some of them have had from France, yet it must

* "El qual dize que si esta causa se hubiera de fundar en las probanças de la virginidad que ay en las remisorias, que él tuviera grand dubda en la justicia de la Serenissima Reyna, pero porque tiene por averiguado que este matrimonio no es ilegitimo, sino solo por derecho positivo ha tenido siempre la justicia de la Serenisima Reina por indubitada."

† "Y ansi como en el tiempo pasado se deferia la sentencia diziendo que esperavan que el rey de Inglaterra viniese á obediencia, ansi los dias pasados dizien que la sentencia no era menester pues que no haria ningun provecho, y agora que se dió dize Su St. que teme aver pecado porque no maten á la Serenisima Reina por causa desta sentencia."

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be said that all, without a single exception, "via Spiritus Sancti," have deliberated and decided in the Queen's favour; —our Lord being pleased to infuse such a light into this case that all resolved to have it over at once, clearly stating their belief that if at the time the cause was not ended, it was no fault of theirs, but of His Holiness's. It is a very remarkable fact indeed that cardinal Tribultio (Triulzo), who is protector for France here, at Rome, should have acknowledged the Queen's right, and voted in her favour. Indeed, I am inclined to think that the French cardinals have kept away from Rome on purpose to avoid being present at the deliberations of the College, knowing, as they must have known, what was likely to be decided. Their conscience told them that they could not possibly vote against the Queen.

I will not expatiate on the merits of auditor Simonetta, who was the judge, nor of Juan Luys [de Aragonia], the advocate, nor of Anguiano, the proctor, nor of the cardinals Caietano and Campeggio, who attended the last Consistory, notwithstanding the bad state of their health, nor of that good Farnese and Sanctiquatro, nor of all the other cardinals who voted in favour of the Queen, such as San Severino, who is now applying for a pension on his own see, nor of the cardinal of Naples, who is very poor, and is also asking for some ecclesiastical pension, &c.

Two days before sentence was pronounced there came letters, from Her Highness, the queen of England, for His Holiness, for the count of Cifuentes (Sylva), and for myself. They came very apropos, for it was rumoured at the time that she was dangerously ill. Enclosed is the copy of my answer to her.*

Owing to certain prudential considerations, the executory letters (*executoriales*) have not yet been presented; they will be so now, and very opportunely, because that of the principal sentence cannot be made out so soon.†

About a month ago His Holiness, on the payment of 1,500 ducats, granted a dispensation to a Neapolitan to marry the sister of his deceased wife, by whom he had four children. This dispensation, I should think, would have been a sufficient argument for us in this matrimonial cause, but luckily it was not needed.‡—Rome, 24th March 1534.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Catholic, and Imperial Majesty.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

* See the following, No. 30.

† "Los executoriales que hasta agora prudentemente no se han presentado, agora se presentaran á muy buena coyuntura, por que los de la sentencia principal no vernan tan presto."

‡ "Avra (habrá) un mes que Su S^{d} dispensó por mil y quinientos ducados á uno de Napoles para que se casase con la hermana de su mujer, de la qual le havian quedado cuatro hijos, la qual dispensacion bastava por sentencia en esta causa."

1534.

24 March. **30.** The SAME to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

S. E. L. Rom., 861, f. 95.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 195.

Encourages her to suffer patiently, and advises that the College of Cardinals, without one single dissentient vote, have at last sentenced the matrimonial suit in her favour, after deciding in Consistory that her marriage to the King was, by Divine as well as by natural right, quite legitimate. This was in some manner owing to Her Highness's impressive letter to His Holiness, which arrived two days ago, and gave count Cifuentes and him (Otiz) an opening for pressing the Pope, &c.

Recommends the advocate Juan Luis and proctor Anguiano, both of whom have worked most efficiently. Rome, 24th March 1534.

Spanish. pp. 3.

Copy of Dr. Ortiz's letter to the queen of England.

25 March. **31.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. Rep. P. C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 22.

The secretary* of Count Palatine Frederic, who left this in November last, as I informed Your Majesty at the time, returned to this court last Wednesday, after passing through France, where, he says, he has been a fortnight. Since his arrival he has told his host that he was the bearer of intelligence at which this King would be much pleased. This must be to a certain extent true, to judge from the good reception he has had, and the familiarity with which both the King and Cromwell have treated him, orders having been given to procure him comfortable lodgings and everything he could desire. Though the said secretary has only spent five days in coming [from France], I hear that he regrets having been so long on the road. He has not revealed to any living person, not even to his colleague Morette, what his charge is, except to the King and to Cromwell, and therefore nobody yet knows a word of the object and nature of his mission. True, he sent me word by one of my men, whom he chanced to meet in the street, that he would soon come and visit me, after which he sent me another message to the same effect by one of his own servants. His time, however, has been so much taken up by these people, who, he thought, would not have despatched him so soon, and he himself has had so many private affairs of his own to attend to,† that, what with his own hurry to return to France, and the pressure put on him by these people, he has been unable to call. He said to his host, when mounting his horse, that he will again be here at Pentecost.

* His name was Hubert Thomas. *See* Gairdner, vol. vi., No. 1481 (ii.). His arrival in London in Nov. 1533, was recorded by Chapuys, vol. iv., part ii., pp. 841–2, 855.

† "Mais yl a este surprins de ceulx-cy desquels ne pensoit estre si tost depesché, et oultre la haste quil avoit de sen aller yl a ete presse de diligenter," &c.

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I should have thought that the Palatine's secretary having spent some time, as he says, at the court of France, would have had something to say to the French ambassador here, or at least would have called at the embassy; but he has done nothing of the sort. The French ambassador, on the other hand, says that he knows nothing about him, and should have liked to hear what brought him here, but that being unacquainted with him, he dared not send for him; for unless he has brought something with him agreeable to these people, they might reproach him for his curiosity, suspect his intentions, and perhaps imagine that the King, his master, or his ministers, were not behaving well towards the English. "Had the intelligence brought by the secretary been agreeable to the English, it could not be so for the King, my master, for it could only refer to some plot or other against the Faith, or against the Pope, who is my master's friend. On the other hand, had I conversed with him, His Holiness, the Pope, might have thought that my master favoured and assisted this King in his differences with the Church."

Such was the French ambassador's answer, and yet I cannot help thinking that he is sorry at not having seen and talked to the secretary, who, he says, cannot have negociated, as he pretends, with the king of France, for he has not been at his Court, nor had he received any notice of his being there. The ambassador further stated that he not only knew nothing of the secretary's commission, but had not been officially informed of his arrival.

I should fancy that this King is unwilling to tell me of all the intrigues he is carrying on in Germany, owing to the friendship and alliance which king Francis has with the Pope, and that the Most Christian King must have written to him some time ago a letter in his own hand, making him the most cordial and substantial offers of help, promising to stake his person and kingdom for him, provided he is not called upon to *go against the Faith and the authority of the Apostolic See; at which clause this King has been sadly disappointed and hurt*, the more so that the same conditions have been over and over again imposed by the French king.

What had been ordained and established against the Pope and the authority of the Apostolic See by the Commons has just been ratified by the nobility and the ecclesiastics, *to the great regret of some honest members of the minority; this has been accomplished by the malpractices and threats of the King.* It only remains, to terminate the affair and render the act irrevocable, for the King solemnly to sanction and append his signature to it; which ceremony he still keeps in suspense until the return from Rome of the bishop of Paris, and until he sees the effects of the pressing intercession of the French king, who is trying by all possible means to bring about a reconciliation between His

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Holiness and him, as the French ambassador has certified to me, —*who, by the way, blames this King for causing a book to be printed, which I now send to Mr. de Praët, notwithstanding his having promised king Francis, his master, that he would not allow it to be printed and published until the return of the bishop of Paris, and until he saw that there was no longer any hope of the said reconciliation.*

The French ambassador, however, has, at this King's persuasion, *written a letter to the Pope, pointing out the inconveniences likely to arise out of the present state of things unless some remediary measure be immediately applied by him; thereby meaning that, unless this King is satisfied in his demands, great evils may ensue.* The ambassador himself failed not, in a conversation he had with me on the subject, to exaggerate those inconveniences, saying that, notwithstanding the pleasure which this King felt in upholding Papal authority in his kingdom, and the pecuniary advantages resulting therefrom, he had often been stimulated and pressed from various parts to take action against the Pope;—not only from Germany, but from elsewhere, *as for instance, by the Vayvod, and several Italian potentates; and that the Venetians themselves were attentively watching the end of the tragedy;* and they were not the only ones, meaning, *no doubt, the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino;* so that, in point of fact, should this King disregard Papal authority altogether, the duty of having the sentence executed will naturally devolve upon Your Majesty, and on the King, his master.*

After a good deal of talking in this sense the ambassador began to lament himself that there did not exist between Your Majesty and the King, his master, that sincere friendship and mutual confidence which was desirable, and went on cursing those who were an obstacle to it, protesting that the said friendship would be the means of doing away with the present difficulties, putting matters in order, and reforming the whole of Christendom. *In that way (said the ambassador), Your Majesty could revenge yourself at pleasure on the Swiss, the rebels of Germany, and other enemies, by merely consenting to listen to this King, and yielding what he asks.* My answer to such overtures was couched in the same terms as at other times:—It was not Your Majesty's fault if the said friendship did not hold good. As to the revenge he spoke of, I was sure that Your Majesty did not wish to pick a quarrel, or cause any annoyance whatever to those

* "Et ma le dict ambassador fort exaggere les dicts inconvenients, mesmes pour ce que le roy, oultre la douceur quil sentoit dexcaulcer son auctorite en son royaulme et de lemolument pecuniaire que sensuyvroit, yl estoit stimule a penser contre le Pape de pluseurs cotes, et non seullement d'Allemagne, mais aussy dailleurs, comme du Wayvoda et de pluseurs potentats dItalie, et que les Veneciens estoient au guet pour veoir la fin de ceste tragedie, si estoient des autres, veuillant denoter les ducz de Ferrare et d'Urbin, de sorte que le fardeau de soubstenir lauctorite du Siege Apostolique, sen allienant ce roy, tumberoit sur les espaules de votre maieste et du roy son maistre."

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people, whoever they might be; your only desire was that both Swiss and Germans should unite their forces for God's service, and the exaltation of our Holy Faith.

It is not difficult to gather from the above words of the French ambassador *what are the wishes of the King, his master: he is not on good terms just now with the Swiss nor with the Germans, and would like Your Majesty to alienate their affections from yourself entirely.*

I must add that, having inquired from the ambassador what would be the way of cementing that friendship of which he spoke, he mentioned the marriage of Your Majesty's daughter to Francis' son, the Dauphin.

This King, after having taken possession on his own authority of all the ecclesiastical benefices which cardinal Campeggio and the auditor of the Papal chamber (Ghinucci) had in his kingdom, has now by ordinance seized the whole of their estates, without their being summoned to appear personally or by proxy. In the same manner has the good bishop of Rochester (Fisher), the paragon of Christian bishops, in doctrine as well as in holiness of life, been condemned to confiscation of person and goods, on the charge that when the Nun [of Kent], about whom I wrote to your Majesty, came back from the King, after having told him that unless he refrained from this second marriage evil would befall him, she related to him what had passed with the King; and because the Bishop did not at the time reveal the Nun's conversation, they say that he has incurred the crime of lese Majesty; *but the truth of the matter is, that this unjust treatment is entirely owing to his having defended the Queen's cause.*

To-day two doctors, whom this King is sending to Rome, will leave, post haste, though a rumour is current that they go merely for their own private affairs, not for the King's. There had been no question of sending them until the first letter of the bishop of Paris arrived, but immediately after its receipt the appointment was made. They have since been conferring and debating with several other doctors during 10 or 12 days. One of them is the same person who once intervened in the process as this King's excusator,* and whose application was rejected by Consistory. The French ambassador tells me that both go to Rome to see what good they can work there, but that as to procuration or power they have none; for this King, being blinded by anger, could in nowise acknowledge Papal jurisdiction, even if they were to give him one million of gold,† as that would be tantamount to impairing the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury, which is the sole foundation for his resistance.‡

* Dr. Edward Carne or Karne, chancellor of Salisbury, about whom *see* vol. iv., pp. 50, 53, 60. The other was William Revett.

† "Car estant ce roy en lobscurite quil est (ou colere comme yl lappelle) yl ne prorougueroit en sorte du monde la jurisdiction de sa sanctite, encoirez que lon luy donnast ung milion dor."

‡ "Quest lunique timon de sa navigation."

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When the duke of Norfolk went last to the Princess for the sequestration of her property, he not only seized her best jewels and robes, as I wrote to Your Majesty, but likewise all others that she had. This was done, not only on account of her refusal to pay her respects to the Queen's mistress, but because she will not accompany the bastard, and will not walk by the side of her when they are taken anywhere. She is always in front of her or behind, and will not pay court to her unless compelled by sheer force.

The bishop ambassador of Scotland made yesterday his entry into this city, accompanied by about 50 men on horseback of his own train, besides 60 more of the earl of Northumberland's, who went out to receive him the day before yesterday.—London, 25th March 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 5.

30 March. **2.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wein. Rep. P. C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 25.

Since the arrival of this new Scottish ambassador, the King has caused the Bill for the inheritance of, and succession to, the Crown in case of his death to be discussed in Parliament; and it has ultimately been declared and established, after entirely excluding the Princess therefrom, that the posterity left by Anne de Bolans (Boleyn) shall inherit the Crown; should there be none on that side, the succession to pass to the nearest of kin;—the declaration thereof being for the present suspended in order to stimulate the Scottish ambassadors to conclude the peace now being negotiated between the two countries, and allure them with the hope that their master will be named and specified in the Bill, if the King's words on the subject are to be believed. Parliament has also decided that in the event of the King dying before his mistress, the latter is to be regent and absolute governess of her children and kingdom. An ordinance has likewise been promulgated, prescribing that in future whoever shall give the titles of Queen and Princess to any persons except Anne herself and her daughter respectively, shall be considered guilty of the crime of lese Majesty, and condemned to confiscation of person and property. Which pain shall be incurred by all those who may hear, know of, or consent to such an infraction without immediately reporting or revealing the case, as well as by all those who might murmur or complain of the statutes passed by the said Parliament respecting the King's second marriage, and against the authority of the Pope and Apostolic See;—*all of which are strange, cruel, and tyrannical acts. The King, moreover, not quite satisfied with this, and considering that though Parliament and the estates of the kingdom have done what he wanted in this particular, there might still be opposition in*

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*other quarters, intends for greater security to depute certain commissaries to exact the oath from all his subjects.**

Last Thursday, upon the Princess, Your Majesty's cousin, refusing to accompany this King's bastard daughter, who was being conducted to another house fixed for her residence, she was, by certain gentlemen deputed for the purpose, against her will and by sheer force, placed in a chaise (*lictiere*) with Anne's aunt, being in this manner obliged and compelled to pay her court to the said bastard;—not, however, without her having previously and publicly protested against the violence used with her, and declaring all the time that the act being an involuntary one could in nowise prejudice her right and title for the future.

I should never have advised the Princess to go to such an extremity for fear of her over-irritating the King, her father, and giving him occasion and excuse for treating her worse than he is doing at present, *and playing her some bad trick, in order to please his mistress Anne, who never ceases day and night plotting against her.* Indeed I myself had written to her, in the event of threats or violence being used, that the protest she was prepared to make, at my recommendation, her filial reverence for the King, her father, as well as the violence used on the occasion were sufficient safeguards for the future, and that her right and interests would not be prejudiced in the least; *but the Queen, her mother, and some of her friends, have for some time been thinking that it was better for the Princess to act thus, and show her teeth to the King. I am of a contrary opinion; I fear the Princess will further damage her cause, and I have again written to the Queen about it, saying that if she approves of it I am ready to soften down, for her honour and advantage, the rather rigorous terms I have lately used respecting the Princess's treatment.*

On Wednesday, Our Lady's Day, the new ambassador from Scotland went to pay his respects to the King and to the lady [Anne] also; but there was no question then, as far as I can learn, of entering upon official business. On the ensuing Thursday the said ambassador, accompanied by the other one who resides here, were entertained at a banquet by the duke of Norfolk and others of the Privy Council, not at Court (Greenwich) but at Vvasmaystre (Westminster). After which dinner both the ambassadors remained with the said Duke and Privy Councillors until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, explaining some, though not all, the points of their joint mission. On Friday the newly arrived ambassador sent me word by the person I had sent to visit and welcome him in my name, that he was very desirous of having a familiar talk with me, as Your Majesty's friendship for his master required; and upon my man quitting the house, the resident ambassador

* "Pour exiger jurement particulier de tout ceulx du royaume."

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accompanied him to the bottom of the stairs, and inquired when it would be convenient for me to receive him, as he had, he said, fresh news to communicate *respecting the proposed marriage of king James to the daughter of France (Madeleine), which he said would not take place at all.* The Ambassador did not enter then into more particulars, owing, as he said, to the interview which he hoped to hold soon with me. I fancy that by sending me such a message the Ambassador means that, the French marriage being broken off, his master the King is now at liberty *to apply for the hand of the princess (Mary), or make another suitable alliance with Your Majesty's consent,—a thing which they, the Scotch, had not dared solicit before for fear of discontenting the French,* as I have already had occasion to announce in one of my former despatches.*

I forgot to say that this King has had a bill passed in Parliament that in future no bishop or ecclesiastic of this realm was to interfere in the trial and judgment of those accused of heresy, that being reserved for those whom he himself would depute and appoint thereto,—a measure which is not only contrary to common right, but is also against the constitution of this realm. The bill, I hear, has met with a certain opposition in Parliament, and yet the majority has voted it.†—London, 30 March 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 3.

30 March. **33.** Lope De Soria to the Emperor.

S.E. Rom. L. 861. f. 39.
R.M. *Add.* 28,586. f. 202.

I wrote on the 11th and 18th ultimo, and answered the letter from Saragossa the 17th January. Since then no other has been received.

This Signory has had letters from Constantinople, of the 3rd and 7th February, the substance of which is that the Turkish fleet, of about 200 sail, consisting of his (the Turk's) galleys, those of Barba Rossa, and other corsairs, will most certainly try to lay waste the coasts of Your Majesty's dominions this next summer, probably also undertake something of importance in Naples or Sicily, before touching at Coron. I have accordingly written to the viceroys of those kingdoms to be on the alert.

(*Cipher:*) Happening the other day to inquire from some of this Signory's councillors whether they themselves were not afraid of the Turk, they told me that they were at peace with him at present, but he being an infidel, and thereby not to be trusted, they intended to take precautions and

* See above, p. 23.

† A last paragraph has been suppressed, in which Chapuys, as usual, begs for supplies in money.

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arm a few "galeotas." The fact is that I hear from a very good quarter that the Turk has written assuring them that he will touch nothing belonging to this Signory by sea or land, and has besides made them all manner of offers, so that they consider themselves safe on that side. If it be true, moreover, as this Doge asserts, that king Francis is hastily arming 30 galleys, and has made some sort of secret alliance with the Infidel, great care should be taken to defend, as I say, the coasts of Italy and Spain, for they will certainly be in danger.

(*Common writing:*) I also hear that Jeronimo de Zara arrived at Lesbia, on the 18th, to go to Ragusa, and thence to Constantinople. Cornelio* must be with him; but I fear that on their arrival at Constantinople, they will find neither the Sultan nor Abrain bassa (Ibráhim Bashá) there.

Jean Jocquin, who served the king of France in several important missions, is now here. He pretends that he comes on leave of absence from his master, to marry and rest. The report is that he has already married a Genoese lady, the sister of Domenico Sauli, of the Council of the duke of Milan, and taken a house here to live privately, as he says.

(*Cipher:*) Yet I strongly suspect that he has come for no other purpose than to discuss with George Gritti the affairs which his master, the king of France, may have with the Turk. I am the more convinced of this that about the same time the said George Gritti, and Camillo Paolo Orsino, both of whom come from Constantinople, arrived in Venice.—Venice, 29th March 1534.

(*Common writing:*) P.S.—No further news from Coron. I am anxious to know whether that of the death of Machicao, which the Signory's proveditor at Corfu announced, turns out true or not.

(*Cipher:*) Count della Concordia is still fortifying La Mirandola. I am told that cardinal de' Medici has sent him a message inducing him to retain possession of it, and that he will do all he can to assist him, owing to dona Julia (Giulia), the widow of Vespasiano Colonna, being the sister-in-law of the Count, and also because the Pope will be glad to see him lord of La Mirandola. (*Common writing:*) But I hear from the duke of Mantua (Gonzaga), that they are in treaty with the Count, and intend sending me a memorandum of his claims, that I may act as arbiter between him and the heirs of the count Giovan Francesco. I strongly suspect that these are only stratagems to gain time, but at any rate let me have instructions how to act.

News of the sentence in favour of the Queen have been received here, God be praised for it!

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* Scepperus, whose prefix was Cornelius, see vol. iv., part ii., pp. 904, 907. As to Hieronimo or Girolamo, from Zara, in Dalmatia, he seems to have been also Ferdinand's agent.

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(*Cipher :*) The English ambassador told me yesterday that his master was anything but pleased with the king of France, and that the intended interview will not take place, for the former says that none of Francis' promises and engagements at Marseilles have been fulfilled.

Yesterday also this Doge told me—and indeed I have since heard that he told me truth—that since his son George had arrived in Venice he had not seen him. I naturally asked him why, and he said: "Because he and his brother have in hand the affairs of the Turk."—Venice, 30 March 1534.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Catholic and Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

— March. **34.** ADVICES from GERMANY.

S. E. L. 862, f. 117. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 141.

Letters from Germany, in date of January last, say that the king of France is secretly enlisting men and engaging German captains for some enterprize he is thinking of; what that may be is not known with certainty.

We hear from Rome that the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay), the ambassador of France, has, by the command of his master, and at the particular request of the king of England, come here [to Germany] for the purpose of supporting (*sustentar*) the cause of the latter, &c.

We also hear from the same quarter that the captains and men whom the king of France is now engaging here [in Germany] are not for him, but for king Henry of England, because in that kingdom there have been meetings of notables, proposing that in consequence of the unjust and iniquitous sentence, as they call it, which our most Holy Father has pronounced against their King, measures should be taken to do him and the Emperor all possible harm. Indeed, it has been resolved not to obey the said sentence, but to oppose it as much and as long as possible. For this reason the King wishes to know from his own people whether they are or not willing to give him assistance and help in case of the Holy Father invoking the Emperor's secular power towards having the said sentence executed.

Perhaps the people of England, out of fear rather than love of their King, may promise their help and assistance [in case of war], and that is probably the reason why the king of France is now gaining friends to his (the King's) cause, and procuring him the services of certain captains in Germany.

On the 15th of February letters came here from the county of Tyrol, stating that numbers of lanskenets were daily passing through in the direction of Italy. They go in bands of 15 to 18 men at the time, and no one here knows what

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their destination may be. It would be advisable to make inquiries.*— —— March 1534.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

2 April. **35.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. Roma, L. 861, f. 6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 205.

An answer has already been sent.

Wrote on the 25th enclosing copy of the Papal sentence. The bearer was Rodrigo Davalos himself,† who had express orders to call on the duke of Urbino (La Rovere), and get his opinion on the political affairs of Italy, which he had offered to do.

Was in such haste to communicate with the queen of Hungary and with the Imperial ambassador in England concerning the Papal sentence, that he (Sylva), had really no time then to answer the Emperor's despatch of the 4th ulto., as he would otherwise have done. Will do it now in full, as well as the despatch brought by Captain Luys Perez.

Five days after the sentence was given he happened to meet the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) at the house of a cardinal whom he (Sylva) was going to visit. The Bishop began at once to excuse himself by saying that he had not come to Rome for the purpose of opposing queen Katherine, or acting as the King's proctor and advocate; nor had he come with a mandate from the Most Christian King to that effect, but merely to tell His Holiness of the state of things in England, and the danger there was of that kingdom being lost to the Holy See if some means were not found of obviating the present difficulty. Would have made him a fitting answer, but contented himself with relating what he (Sylva) had heard from the mouth of the Pope and cardinals, namely, that

* See above, p. 6, where this news-letter from some town in Germany is mentioned as having been received at Rome.

† About this Davalos, who was sent to Rome in 1533 for the purpose of hastening the sentence, see vol. iv., part ii., pp. 703, 987, &c.

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the king of France, his master, had always found fault with the conduct of the king of England. He (Sylva) fully acknowledged the good intentions of the Most Christian King; he believed him so great a prince that he had no doubt he would try and bring back the English king to the obedience of the Church. As to him (the Bishop), no doubt could be entertained that his mission to England, and his subsequent arrival in Rome, had been for that express purpose, and for no other. The Bishop then observed that it was a pity the sentence had been so hastened, because (he said) not four hours after a courier arrived from England with a letter from the King to him, in credence of the French ambassador in London, and another from this latter, the substance of which was that king Henry offered to renounce his attempt (*deponer lo atentado*) and return to the obedience of the Church, provided the cause were examined at Cambray.* This the Bishop related, extolling all the time the services he himself had rendered to His Holiness, and lamenting the harm that might ensue from having too hastily pronounced sentence.

His (Sylva's) answer was: "All that may be perfectly true, but I still think that all those are stratagems to delay the sentence; the king of England has done nothing else for many years. Had he really chosen to return to the obedience of the Holy See he would have had plenty of opportunities to do so, especially during the conferences of Marseilles, as he was then and there admonished by the Most Christian to do." "I wonder, (said Sylva), that

* "Que en sustancia era quel dicho Rey queria deponer lo atentado y venir á la obediencia de la Iglesia con tal que se viese la causa en Cambray, encareciendo mucho el servicio que havia hecho á Su Santidad, y quanto se havia perdido en darse la sentencia."

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what the king of France himself and you whilst in England, could not bring about, should now be made the subject of a letter from the French ambassador to you!" "It is (replied the Bishop) that now the Holy Spirit has illumined the King's senses, and he sees matters differently from what he did at first." "If so (said Sylva), the King will have a better opportunity after the sentence to acknowledge his error."

All these are French tricks, and nothing else. Cardinal Santo Croce said the other day to two of his colleagues: "You may be sure that the moment the sentence is pronounced the French will say that they had previously sent to their ambassadors a mandate to that effect. For fear, however, of this being a new invention of theirs, with a view to delay the publication of the sentence, he (Sylva) intends to have it published in the usual form. Knowing, moreover, that unless the customary gratuities are distributed the sentence will not be published, he has already borrowed 2,500 ducats to begin with. Has also consulted the Imperial lawyers respecting the "executoriales" and invocation of the secular arm, if needed; all think that it is proper and convenient to do so, though not in too great haste. Encloses memorandum to that effect. Recommends cardinals Mantua and Naples, as well as Campeggio, La Valle, and Gaetano. Santa Croce is poor, and has many obligations to attend to. Frenesis (Farnese) ought to receive a letter of thanks, more explicit perhaps and gracious than those to other cardinals. If the petition contained in the enclosed memorandum could be attended to, the Emperor might thus repay him the services he has rendered on this occasion, which

He did right. A sum of money will be remitted to be distributed among cardinals and others.

The memorandum has been received, and is now returned; but the whole thing must be kept secret, because when time comes it will be seen what is the best course to pursue.

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have been both important and many. As to Dr. Ortiz, Juan Luis Aragonia, and Anguiano, he (Sylva) needs not mention them again, having done it many a time.

Let him work in that sense as much as he can.

Has great hope that the differences between Pirro de Xipiciano (Cippizano)* and the Sienese will be shortly adjusted.

The viceroy of Sicily advises the arrival at Coron of the vessels with provisions for its garrison. The death here of captain Machicao and of Don Diego de Tovar is confirmed.

That we already knew of it, and that the Emperor was much displeased at it.

The breves for the king of the Romans have been sent.

Prior of Besançon and affairs of Switzerland.

The duke of Urbino's contract with the Signory has been ratified.

The bishop of Paris† said to the Pope the other day that since Antonio de Leyva had decided against count della Concordia, and was enlisting, or wished to enlist troops to take away La Mirandola from him, he (the Bishop) was afraid that the King, his master, might thereby take umbrage, and arm, for fear of some enterprise against him. When he (Sylva) heard of it, he went to the Pope and told him: "Should Leyva have with him, in Lombardy, 7,000 or 8,000 Spaniards, as in former times, the king of France might take umbrage; but he has at present only 4,000 with him to enforce the restitution of Novi and La Mirandola." The Pope assented, but said afterwards to one of his chamberlains, who repeated it to him (Sylva): "If the Emperor wishes to keep the peace in Italy he must not give occasion for jealousies of this kind." —It is precisely on that account and in order to preserve peace (said Sylva), that the Emperor wishes

Very well answered; let the ambassador refer to his instructions on this point, and to what has been written since. He cannot be wrong in so doing.

* Chivizano? See vol. iv., part ii., pp. 304, 316, 991.

† "El obispo de Alexandria" says the abstract (p. 208), but it must be a mistake of the clerk's.

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that every one should have his own, and that all usurpations should be restored. This looks very much like the affair Maraveglia, which was only a pretence of Francis to set his foot in Italy.

His Holiness also said that the diet of Augusta (Augsburgh) was about to terminate its labours, and would end soon; that the Suabian league would not be renewed; and that the duke of Würtenberg was trying to recover his estate. The kings of England and France were giving money in Germany to raise soldiers there, which piece of intelligence, from what Andrea Doria and Suarez de Figueroa write from Genoa, must have some appearance of truth.

Another piece of news received by the Pope from Flanders is that a marriage between the daughter of the queen of Denmark and the son of the one who has usurped that kingdom is again talked of, and that in order to negotiate it and its conditions, Don Jorge de Austria had left Flanders. "At the same time," said the Pope, "the king of France is about to give his eldest daughter to the king of Scotland; but they say that no sooner did king Henry hear of this than he came forward and proposed to give him princess Mary with a large dower, besides some land which he has taken from the Scots, on condition, however, that the Princess should renounce her rights to the crown of England." He (Sylva) answered that there was no appearance of truth in the report, inasmuch as king Henry would never dare give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, for fear the latter, or she, might claim the inheritance to the crown of England, notwithstanding the said renunciation. There was no probability at all of that, only that the English

Should the Pope again mention his fears of the king of France, the ambassador will tell him that precisely on that account the affairs of Italy must be looked into carefully, so as not give him cause to disturb the present peace.

There is not a word of truth in all that. The ambassador sent to Denmark went thither for the purpose of treating certain business in connexion with the Empire.

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perhaps gave it out for their own purposes.

Bishop of Alexandria (Octaviano Guasco) removed from Piacenza, according to the Emperor's wishes. —Duchess of Camarino.

He was right in letting us know all this. One of the things which the Most Christian King intends, as he says, to be a sort of help and assistance against us, is the faculty which His Holiness granted him, especially at Marseilles. Should His Holiness return to the charge, the ambassador can tell him as much.

Prothonotary Carniseca, the man most in favour with the Pope just now, says that the king of France is trying as much as he can to stir up Germany against the Emperor. He did not intend molesting Italy for the present, as he had not yet collected the two millions of gold which he deemed requisite for the undertaking. He had already one million in his treasury, and hoped to collect soon a second out of certain taxes he had imposed on his subjects. He purposed casting, in Paris, 100 pieces of ordnance, and had already seventy. Thus spoke Carniseca, but he (Sylva) believes that should king Francis come to Italy, he is sure to appear at a most inconvenient time for the whole of Christendom, since his purpose and object, as is well known, are by no means good. That is why he cannot find allies here in Italy, all princes and republics, and especially Venice, wishing to preserve peace.—Rome, 3rd April, 1534.

Spanish. Original, pp. 5.

2 April. **36.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, f. 6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 211.

Besides the despatch for the Emperor, our master, that goes along with this, wherein I relate the events of last month, I have to add that yesterday, the 2nd, at Carniseca's request, I spoke to His Holiness about the Poggio* affair, and said that the Emperor had no objection to the person appointed to the office being of a lower rank and authority than was thought

* See above, p. 6.

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necessary at first. His Holiness replied that he had intended to appoint either the Cypontino* or the son of baron del Burgio†, the one who was once his nuncio in England; but after mature deliberation, and considering the qualities of both, he had found that neither of them was fit for the office. Carniseca having since come to me and complained that I had not sufficiently recommended Poggio, adding that His Holiness would be pleased to make the appointment, provided it was agreeable to the Emperor, I answered him that in obedience to orders I had done exactly as I was told, and nothing more. Then Carniseca insisted and begged me to say that our master, the Emperor, would be glad of the appointment. The Pope afterwards told me that he fully intended appointing Poggio his nuncio there, in Spain, provided His Imperial Majesty agreed to it. I replied that the appointment appertained entirely to him (the Pope), and that in all similar matters the Emperor had nothing to say, but referred entirely to him. If the person named was one with whom he could communicate freely, the Emperor had no choice.

All this is very well. His Imperial Majesty ordered Poggio to be received at once, and has since treated him as Papal nuncio. (In the hand of Cobos).

I failed not on this occasion to remind Carniseca of the responsibility I incurred by recommending the said Poggio, and having him appointed, as it were, to the post of Papal nuncio in Spain. He assured me over and over again that I should never have cause to repent. Poggio (he said) was an excellent man, and no one was more devoted than he was to the Imperial service.

His Imperial Majesty intends to favour Capua, and recommend his promotion, but let it not be a pretence for His Highness to create other cardinals. The ambassador may tell the Pope so when he has an opportunity.

I failed not on this occasion to ask a cardinal's hat for Capua

* Cypontino, that is of Siponto, now Manfredonia, in Sicily. The archbishop was Giovan Maria del Monte S. Savino, from 1512 to 1544.

† About this Baron del Borgho, who was Clement's nuncio in England from 1530 to 1533, see vol. iv., part ii., pp. 227, 236, 416–17, &c.

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(Schomberg). The Pope said that he had him in mind, for he (Carniseca) had once been his servant.

I have likewise called his (the Pope's) attention more than once to Novi and La Mirandola. With regard to the former place I have been unable to obtain anything. His Holiness adduces many excuses, which, in my opinion, are anything but plausible. As to La Mirandola, he says he has written to the abbé del Nero to see Antonio de Leyva again, and decide what had better be done therein. Seeing His Holiness's determination about Novi (for in this matter he will not change so soon), my opinion is that Leyva ought to be instructed at once to attack both places, for the fall of one will naturally bring on the surrender of the other. True, this might give occasion, some imagine, for the king of France to detach troops for the relief of La Mirandola, especially if it be true that count Glaudio (Claudio) Rangone is inside, having, as they say, sold his patrimonial estate to help the count della Concordia—but the chance is very remote. I have, however, informed Leyva of all this.

Let him refer entirely to his instructions on this point.

His Holiness assures me that the money for the galleys [of Genoa] will be ready before Easter.

Let the ambassador see that his is done.

Even before the arrival of captain Luys Perez I had been told that the Emperor had ordered the evacuation [and dismantlement] of Coron, and that five transports were getting ready to bring the Spanish garrison back. Knowing that the Emperor wished this to be kept a secret, and that your lordship would be disgusted, I made inquiries as to whence the intelligence proceeded, and I learnt that it came direct from Naples and Sicily.

Juliano Cesarino, the nephew of the Cardinal, went some days ago

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with a band of men to assassinate the governor of this city. They wounded him, cut off one of his hands, and left him for dead on the spot. I hear, however, that he has since got better of his wounds. His Holiness has felt it extremely, and has written to the viceroy of Naples [Don Pedro de Toledo] to have him arrested, according to the treaties. The viceroy has taken steps for the apprehension of Cesarino; not such, however, as the Pope wished, who, I am told, is going to write to the Emperor complaining about it.

The viceroy writes that he is taking his measures to arrest him, and it is His Majesty's wish to have the treaties observed.

After the sentence on the matrimonial suit I took good care to tell the imperial lawyers that the "executoriales" had come, but that they would not be made public for some time, for fear the sentence on the principal cause should be delayed.

In this matter His Majesty will do what is just and right.

Although the archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) was entitled to make a will and bequeath his property to whomsoever he pleased, His Holiness says that, owing to certain Chancery rules, which he quotes, his property belongs to him. I believe he has written to Poggio to claim the same at Court.

Let a list of the benefices come as well as of the pensions.

The cardinal Camarlengo wishes to transfer to two nephews of his 2,000 or 3,000 ducats he has on benefices and bishoprics there [in Spain]. As he is well-inclined, and serves us in many things, I should say that his petition should be granted.—Rome, April, 1534.

Signed: "Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

4 April. **37.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. Rep. P.C., *Fascs.* 229.

Since my last this King has suspended Parliament until the 1st of November next, on which day its members are again to meet in order to *complete the ruin and destruction of the churches, monasteries, and clergy of this kingdom in general*, as I hear from an authentic source. As a finish

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to the last session, the King has particularly desired all those who have intervened in it to subscribe their names to the statutes and ordinances against the Queen and Princess, as well as to those which have been made in favour of his mistress and her issue. Which solemn declaration and signature, hitherto unused in England, is a further proof of the invalidity and iniquity of the said ordinances [against the Queen and Princess], of the observance and durability of which the King justly doubts, and is therefore naturally afraid of the consequences.

With regard to the measures which the King has had passed in this his Parliament and Estates, against the Pope and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, he has not yet fully sanctioned them, but only approved conditionally, reserving to himself the faculty of having the bills altered or modified, as it may be, should he, between this and St. John's day next, find himself in a position and at liberty to do so, *which, in my opinion, is only a stratagem to make His Holiness come to terms and grant his wishes, a thing which he hopes to get ultimately, owing to the French king's intercession and his own bravadoes.*

The day before yesterday, being Good Friday, the sieur de Morette* arrived here to reside for some time as French ambassador. This week being set aside for devotion, he has not yet gone to Court, unlike Mr. De la Pomeraye†, who coming yesterday from the Court of France, in the greatest haste and with all possible diligence, before speaking with his colleague (Morette), or to the other French ambassador‡, went straight to Court, and remained there three or four hours. It is supposed that the latter (La Pommeraye), has come for the purpose of telling this King what instructions the bishop of Paris has taken to Rome. I will do my best to learn what they are, and immediately apprise Your Majesty thereof, as well as of the doings of the Scottish ambassador, who, since my last despatch§, has not been summoned to the Privy Council.—London, 4th April 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. 2 *pp.*

7 Apr. **38.** FERDINAND, king of the Romans, to ANTONIO DE LEYVA.

S. E. Aleman., L. 637, ff. 5, 6. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 219.

It was known a long time ago that the Emperor's personal enemies and competitors for the Empire intended to replace by force of arms the former duke of Würtenberg in possession of his dukedom, and that done attempt other more dangerous

* Soliers de la Morette, about whom see above, p.
† Gilles de la Pommeraye.
‡ Who? Mr. de Chastillon.
§ That of the 25th of March, No. 13.

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enterprises. Proofs, however, were then wanting, but now no doubt can be entertained about it. A vast number of important personages and experienced captains are now collecting an army, apparently to fight and put down the Anabaptists in Munster, but in point of fact to carry out their plans respecting that dukedom. The kings of France and England are assisting them, and the latter is sending them money.? In fact both are doing all they can to create disturbances in Germany.—7th April 1534.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: Juan (*sic*) de Castillejo.

Indorsed: "From the king of the Romans to Antonio de Leyva, 1534."

Spanish. Entirely in cipher. Deciphering by Leyva himself. pp. 3.

12 Apr. **39.** THE Points discussed by the EMPEROR'S COUNCIL at Toledo respecting the answer to be made to the POPE.*

S. E. L. 862, f. 96. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 223.

Since our most Holy Father, the Pope, in his sacred consistory of cardinals, has pronounced sentence in favour of Her Highness, the queen of England, formally declaring her marriage to king Henry to be perfectly valid, and the progeny born, or which may be born hereafter, to be legitimate; binding also the said King to the observance of the said marriage and conjugal duties, as contained in the sentence, it is necessary to deliberate as to the course of action to be pursued in this matter, inasmuch as His Holiness will most likely, and justly, insist upon knowing His Imperial Majesty's true intentions with regard to the execution of the said sentence. Should His Holiness not do so, the delay will, undoubtedly, be attributed to the Queen, or to her party, besides which, should the execution be delayed one way or other, the king of England is sure to become more and more insolent; his subjects, out of despair, more pliant; his allies will lose all shame, and malignant people, namely, those who keep aloof from the true faith,† and with whom the said King is now trying to confederate himself, will be emboldened. Attention, on the other hand, should be paid to what His Majesty, the Emperor, has always said and declared, "namely, that he will not fail in that which may be required for the execution of the sentence."

On this last point one thing is to be considered, that is, whether it will be suitable and expedient to defer writing to

* The original consulta of the Privy Council, with occasional remarks in the Emperor's own hand.

† "Y aunque no lo hiziese, la tardanza se imputaria de aqui adelante á la parte de la Reyna, y difiriendose de proseguir por un cabo ó por otro, el efecto de la dicha sentencia, el dicho Rey estará tanto mai insolente, se destinaran (desatinaran?) sus subiectos y se desvergonzaran sus aliados, y tambien se endureszeranmas los malignos desviados de la fée."

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Rome on the subject until more express and reliable information be obtained from that capital, as well as from England and France, in order the better to calculate how the sentence will be taken in those countries, and likewise how far the affair is considered urgent; or whether it will be more advisable to take at once a resolution, since on the part of Rome His Holiness has sufficiently declared that his own share is done, and persists in knowing how far His Imperial Majesty is ready to perform his. On the side of France nothing else can be expected but dissembling and deceit; nothing from England save a greater show of insolence, especially if, as aforesaid, the sentence is delayed. Or whether His Imperial Majesty ought at once to write to His Holiness and to his cardinals, thanking them greatly for what they have already done, and urging them to do the rest, at the same time declaring to them in the said letters, or by means of credentials to the ambassador at Rome [Count of Cifuentes] that His Imperial Majesty fully, intends "employing himself in all that may be found expedient for the said execution." *

Considering the above declaration to be exactly the same which His Imperial Majesty has constantly made on previous occasions; considering also that, whatever may be the issue of this affair, it is necessary first to proceed in this business according to right, and, secondly, by the terms of law customary in such cases,—as, for instance, the King's excommunication and interdict of his kingdom, deprivation of authority and royal dignity, with such delays as are generally and must be granted in similar suits,—during which delays one will be able more clearly to see and consider what had better be done with regard to the said execution, according to time and circumstances; considering also that the aforesaid form is absolutely indispensable as regards the Queen, and for the purpose of proceeding juridically to the execution of the said sentence of excommunication, interdict, and deprivation of authority, it is important that His Imperial Majesty be first released and dispensed from the fulfilment of all previous treaties and stipulations entered into with the king of England for himself, his subjects and vassals.

It will also be a matter for deliberation whether it will be expedient under present circumstances to send to England some personage to inform the King of the sentence, and in a friendly spirit try to persuade him to conform to it. Although it is to be feared that the King's passionate love for Anna de Bolans, her own instigations, and those of her relatives and adherents,—as well as of many others, who for their own particular purposes desire the continuation of the present differences, such as the king of France, &c.,—will most likely prevent him from returning to the path of honour and

* "With great care and tact; and let the very same words be employed." —Note in the Emperor's hand.

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duty, yet it is considered that the mission of such a personage will most powerfully contribute to the Queen's justification in the eyes of God and the world, as well as to render the same more acceptable to the English themselves. It will be also a satisfactory course for the Queen herself, the more so that if the said complimentary step be taken, some time may be gained through it. Or whether it is preferable to communicate first with His Holiness on the subject after declaring to him the Emperor's good wishes and intentions respecting the execution of the sentence; for if this be done, as above, after previous consultation with His Holiness, it would seem as if it were the means of showing him and his cardinals that his Imperial Majesty has trust in them, and will render them more grateful and obliged with regard to the said execution, whereas, if done suddenly, and without previous consultation, suspicion might rise in their minds; they might think that the Emperor preferred conducting the affair himself rather than concerting it with them, especially now that so many things have been said and written to the utter contempt of the Apostolic See and the authority and dignity of His Holiness, the present Pope.

Whether any steps should be taken with the king of France through a proper person deputed to that effect, or through the Imperial ambassador in that country; or whether it will be better to wait until His Holiness's advice on the matter comes, the better and more peaceably to persuade the king of England to do his duty towards the Queen, as His Holiness and his cardinals may advise, and then take resolution on the whole.*

Whether, after ascertaining His Holiness's views on the subject, and those of his cardinals, the count of Cifuentes ought to insist in the Emperor's name upon their sending to England special envoys of their own; and whether, in case of their sending one or more envoys to that country, the Count ought to insist, or not, upon His Holiness and his cardinals informing him (the Emperor) of the steps they intend taking in case of the above-mentioned complimentary and courtly admonitions failing altogether. Whether they intend addressing and making to the King, the said Anne, their estates and subjects, any intimations, interpellations, requisitions, and other acts respecting the execution of the said sentence in a juridical form.†

Lastly, whether the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and the king of Portugal ought not to be written to, in order that they, being so closely related to the Emperor, should each address a letter to the Pope and to the College of Cardinals,

* A marginal note in the Emperor's hand has the following: "This last to be said by way of interrogation, as if it came from the ambassador himself, and in the manner that may be thought most fit."

† According as the occasion may be, and in the most fitting manner, this may be hinted to His Holiness.

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thanking them for the justice they have already done, and sending also deputies and envoys of their own to join those of the Pope and Emperor in their representations.

It will be besides well worthy of consideration to decide concerning what Andrea Doria writes respecting La Mirandola, especially since the recovery of that fortress can be more easily accomplished before than after the harvest. Also whether any change is to be made in the instructions to Antonio de Leyva and others respecting that point, and whether the opinion of that captain ought to be asked for previously and before taking a final resolution; or whether it will be better to wait for that captain's answer, since most likely it cannot tarry long, and the harvest cannot be reaped before the two next months. Meanwhile an answer might come from His Holiness respecting this affair of Novi and La Mirandola; the ambassador of the Duke* of Mantua might also hear from his master; matters in France and Germany might become more clear and distinct, or whether Antonio De Leyva is to be written to at once, and ordered to proceed in the matter according to his instructions, after taking Doria's advice.

This latter captain ought also to be written to respecting his own galleys [at Genoa], and those of Naples and Sicily. It is, however, well worthy of consideration to decide whether it will be sufficient to refer Doria to his former instructions, and let him employ his galleys, and those the Pope may give him, as he thinks best, or whether any change is to be introduced in the letter of his instructions, especially in case of the French attacking Genoa by sea, &c.

Also with regard to the pay and maintenance of the 1,000 Spaniards stationed on the frontiers of the marquisate of Saluzzo. As the wheat and provisions which Andrea Doria asked for have already been delivered, it is important to deliberate whether any sum of money, however inconsiderable, could not be furnished by Genoa for the pay and support of those Spaniards.

Equally worthy of consideration is the point of the Spanish infantry now in Naples and Sicily, about whom Andrea Doria writes. Being considered indispensable for the defence of those kingdoms against the Turk, and for the upholding of the Emperor's reputation—especially if regard be had to the report of Barbarroja and the Jew having sent their spies to the coast to ascertain if it was fortified or not—they ought to be first attended to, &c. To recall that infantry might make people suspect that we had warlike intentions; on the other hand, to bring them, as Doria proposes, to the frontiers of the marquisate of Saluzzo, might afford the French king an excuse to declare war. If wanted, they might go by sea to any part of Italy, and even to France, if required.

* "El ambaxador del *marques* de Mantua," says the original draft in the hand of Covos, but *marques* is a mistake for *duque*, to which dignity Gonraga had been raised by Charles as early as 1530. *See* vol. iv., part ii., pp. 481–5. As to the Duke's ambassador at the Imperial Court, his name was Sigismondo della Torre.

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With regard to the Algiers expedition, it is worth considering, whether it will be sufficient to thank Andrea Doria for his good intentions and advice, or whether any special engagement is to be taken with him for the future.

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

12 April. **40.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 28.

As far as I can perceive, one of the causes for the arrival here of La Pommeraye was, as I conjectured in my last despatch, *and as the Scottish ambassadors and many other people imagine, to bring about an interview between the king of France, his master, and this one.* It is believed that for this very purpose this King is about to send to France his mistress' brother (George Boleyn) and treasurer Feu Vullien (Fitzwilliam), who are to leave two days hence. On this account, it is added, the King has given orders to hasten the repairs now being made to his ships, *as the interview, they say, has been fixed for the Penthecost, or thereabouts.* The Treasurer, since his appointment to the embassy, must have said to some one—*whether to give himself importance, and show that he does not mix with affairs unless they be of some weight, or for other motives —that ere long great events will take place.* In confirmation of which announcement I have heard from two different quarters equally credible, *that this King thinks of nothing else, day and night, than by every possible means provoking a great war against Your Majesty, and in so doing spend all his substance, well knowing that without that the game might be played on his own chess-board.**

On Easter Monday the ambassadors of France, namely, Morette, Catillion (Chastillon), and La Pommeraye, went to Court, where they were most welcome, at least in appearance; *for it must be said that it was only towards them the King seemed to be in good humour; he himself dining privately in his own apartments without his lady, contrary to his custom at other receptions of French ambassadors.*† The following Tuesday La Pommeraye and Catillion (Chastillon) went to visit the King's bastard daughter, who was brought out to them splendidly accoutred and dressed, and in princely state, with all the ceremonial her governess could think of, after which they saw her quite undressed (*touste nue*). There was, of course, no question of seeing the good princess [Mary], though I had my doubts, as they went thither, whether *they might not possibly ask to see her, and announce that sentence was about to be pronounced against her mother at Rome.* To prevent this I found means to make the Princess acquainted with the real state of affairs at Rome, as I had it from count Cifuentes, in a letter received the day before; and *I told her*

* "Bien entendant que sans cela le ieu se pourroit dresser sur son exchequier."

† "Toutesfois hors deulx ce roy ne monstra destre ioyeux, car il ne disna point dehors, ni avec sa dame [ainsy] que il auoit accoustume."

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that this was the time, now more than ever, to be constant and firm in her resolution. She answered me that she would do so, and that she had received more pleasure *at the news than if I had presented her with a million of gold.* But, as I say, there was no need of my warning, for the French ambassadors did not even ask after the Princess.

On the Wednesday following the said Catillion (Chastillon) and La Pommeraye came to take leave of me. Among other things told me, one was that the King, his master, had held with Mr. de la Chaulz,* previously to his return to Your Majesty, the most pleasing and amiable conversation that could be imagined between two such allies and friends as Your Majesty and the King, his master, were. Upon which Catillion (Chastillon), his colleague, remarked, that *to speak about friendship between Your Majesty and the King, their master, was sheer mistaking*† *and shifting of terms; his colleague ought to have described it as a most close and intimate alliance, for such it was.*

I must confess that I was rather astonished to hear Chastillon speak out so plainly, inasmuch as I know him to be generally prudent and discreet, and to have hitherto spoken with greater sobriety of such things. *This added weight to what he himself told me afterwards, when La Pommeraye left my room, and he remained a few minutes more with me,—namely, that affairs were taking such a turn that there would be soon a rupture between England and France,—though perhaps he wanted me to believe that it was so in order to facilitate the making of new treaties between Your Majesty and his master.* This same Castillion (Chastillon), who once told me he would not advise Your Majesty to place the duchy of Milan in strong hands,—for it was, as it were, the suburb of the Kingdom of Naples,—turned suddenly round, and declared to me confidentially and in private that it was a very hard and unjust thing to keep the King, his master, out of an estate which legally belonged to him. It only rested with Your Majesty (Chastillon said) to give the King possession of it, and that if you thought that by restoring what he had a right to, the King, his master, would become too powerful in Italy, plenty of means might be found to insure against such an eventuality. In this manner, he said, and by relying entirely on the friendship and alliance of his master, Your Majesty would be able *not only to chastise at pleasure the German rebels, but recover also whatever lands and territories the Venetians, the Swiss, and the Pope had usurped from Your Majesty. To the last-named (the Pope) the French ambassador did not seem to be particularly attached, for shortly after he positively assured me that Your Majesty had*

* Poupet de la Chaulx.

† "Sur quoy le dit de Castillon vint a dire que cestoit floreter et user de dissimulacion dalleguer amyte entre vostre maieste et le dit roy bien alliance que ne se pouvoit nyer."

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not done well in restoring Florence to him, and re-establishing there such a despotic and tyrannical rule as his was.

My answer as to the lands and territories which he said had been usurped from Your Majesty, was, that, thank God, you had so many possessions in all parts of the world that you were rather more inclined to give away some of them than take any from the said parties; and with respect to Milan, that I fancied he was only joking with me, and ignored completely facts which were notorious. In order, however, to ascertain what the Pope and the Venetians thought of that,* particularly the former, towards whom Chastillon did not seem favourably inclined, I said to him, that even if Your Majesty were willing to grant his master's wishes, the Pope and the Signory of Venice would not consent to it. He was going to answer me, when some one who wanted to speak to him, came in and interrupted us. Upon which the other ambassador (La Pommeraye) approached me and began to speak to me on the subject without appearing to know what his colleague (Chastillon) had said to me before. He told me pointblank that no attention whatever should be paid to the treaty of Madrid respecting the duchy of Milan, nor to the negotiations entered into at the time of the league, which he called Holy (when his master, by-the-by, must have obtained his title of Most Christian), nor again to the stipulations of Cambray, for a prince (said he) could not, like a private individual, dispose of his own property at will, nor break his oath. "A prince (continued the ambassador) is obliged to study "the profit, peace, and tranquillity of his subjects, rather than "to establish a reputation for firmness and consistency, and "for the sake of that cause his own ruin and that of his "people. On these considerations, added La Pommeraye, His "Majesty the Emperor ought not to adhere so firmly to the "treaties made with my master." I replied that in my opinion a prince was bound to keep faith,—nay, his simple word,—much more than a private individual; and that I fancied Your Majesty would not, for all the gold in the world, lose the reputation so justly acquired of keeping faith at all costs, which reputation the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay) was in the habit of praising and extolling as a very desirable virtue. He (the Ambassador) should consider that Wladislas, the king of Hungary and Poland,† had been blamed by all historians because, after having sworn to a peace with Amurath, the Turk,‡ he had taken up arms, though he is known to have done so at the express command and request of the Pope, who relieved him of his oath, and with the consent of the whole of Christendom. Owing to which breach of faith misfortune came on him, as Amurath had predicted, and God, whose

* "Et pour sentir de quel pied sa Sanctite marchoit en cest endroit et aussi les Veneciens."

† Ladislas V., 1434–40.

‡ Amurath, or Murad, son of Mohammed II. (1422–51).

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oath he had broken, punished him. To which argument La Pommeraye knew not what to reply.

I had forgotten to say that among other persuasive arguments, Castillon (Chastillon) made use of the following: He said, that there had never been such a good opportunity for Your Majesty to treat of peace (such were his words, as if we were actually at war) as the present, for (said he) after beating every one of your enemies on the field, Your Majesty could not possibly be charged with being actuated by fear. "But, alas! matters in this world (he added) are "subject to change, and luck does not always last. I "know of many people who would be glad of a change, "*as, for instance, respecting the king of this country.*" And upon my telling him that I could not believe in what he said, inasmuch as there was no plea or excuse for desiring, and much less for promoting, such a state of things, he replied to me; "I do not mean to say that *this King wishes to break* "*the peace now existing*, at least I have heard no one say "so, but I know for a fact that his ambassadors have been "trying to persuade the King, my master, that the Emperor "complained of him and of his doings, and had treated him "with *excessive rigour*.* If the report be true, I should "think that *his mistress Anne* is the sole instigator; for "only the other day, whilst talking to me on the subject, "the King highly praised and commended your Emperor, "saying, among other things, that it was true that he had "once lent him money, but that he had repaid it since." Which statement from the King's mouth, if true, is very different from what he himself said once to this same ambassador, namely, that he had spent two millions of gold on Your Majesty's account; *from which I conclude that by expressing himself as above, the King meant to reproach the French for their ingratitude, exaggerating what he has done for them, since he now tries to depreciate what he did once for Your Majesty.*†

Having inquired from Chastillon what sort of mien the King had worn on hearing of the sentence pronounced against him at Rome, he answered that he did not care in the least for it, but shewed as good a front as ever. True, he dares not do otherwise in public on many accounts, but inwardly, as I have already hinted, he is very far from being pleased, and seems agitated and thoughtful. Two days after the arrival of the said sentence, he gave orders for the preachers of solemn sermons at Easter *to pour down on the*

* "Il estoit vrai que expressemant ylz ne tenoint propoz que ce roy deust innouer ne alterer lamytie, au moins quil ayt ouy, mays ilz avoint bien voulu fere entendre [au dit roy que vostre maieste tenoit tort de lui, et luy auoit usé de grande rigueur]."

† "Les quelz propoz sont bien divers de ce que ce dit roy auoit autresfois dit au dit ambassadeur, assavoir quil avoit despendu deux millions dor pour vostre maieste, dont fault dire que a ceste derniere fois il deuoit faire quelque reproche des grans plaisirs quil a fait aux françois, puis quil venoit a extenuer ce quil a fait pour vostre maieste."

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Pope as many invectives as they possibly could; and I am told that his commands have been punctually obeyed, and that the preachers have surpassed themselves, *pouring forth the most strange and horrible abominations that could be imagined.* He has likewise ordered that the statute made by the Estates of this kingdom, which he had suspended and reserved "in pectore" until St. John's Day, should be immediately published.

I could not describe to Your Majesty the immense pleasure and satisfaction which the Queen, Madame your aunt, received at hearing the news I sent her of the Papal sentence. I expect from hour to hour to hear her advice as to the best means of obtaining the execution thereof: when I do, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

Four days ago there arrived in this city a Florentine,‡ the secretary to the Vayvod [of Transylvania], who has not yet made his appearance at Court. He is the same man whom Lasqui (Laski) sent here two years ago, when he was in France, and, as I then wrote to Your Majesty, could get no answer, owing to the Vayvode's letters being credentials in favour of the said Lasqui (Laski), not of himself. As soon as I can get reliable information concerning the commission he now brings, I will acquaint Your Majesty with it, as well as with the doings of the Scottish ambassadors, who have achieved nothing yet; nay, are no more advanced than they were at first, as one of them has just sent me word.

Since writing the above, I hear that it is this King *alone who first thought of the interview,* and who is now trying to bring it about,—*not the king of France or his ministers,* as was said at the beginning. *I dare say king Francis will keep aloof as much as he can, not to render the Pope suspicious; but this King,* I am told, *is wonderfully desirous of it, and in great haste to cross over* [*to France*], *wishing his mistress to attend the conferences also, though she is in the family way.* The fear he has of king Francis opposing him and the hope he entertains of converting him to make common cause against the Pope, are evidently the sole causes of the proposed interview.

Your Majesty may judge how rigorously the Queen is treated in other matters, when I say that on Holy Thursday she was not allowed to serve the poor a supper, as is customary for princes to do. An order, indeed, has been issued for the poor not to approach the house where she is now, because (says the lady) the alms she once distributed among the poor are the real cause of the love and affection which the English bear her.—London, 12 April 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Partly in cipher. pp. 7.

* Andrea Corsino; about whom, see vol. iv. part i. pp. 726, 736, 755.

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14 April. **41.** ADVICES FROM ROME SENT BY A SPY.

S. E. L. 862, f. 115. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 221.

On Saturday last two couriers arrived, and on Palm Sunday, during high mass, a third, with a packet of letters for the Pope. It was afterwards said that all three had come straight from England, and that the last brought letters and powers from the King of that country, which letters and powers the French ambassadors residing at his Court had forwarded.

Last night, at the five hours, another courier was announced. Shortly after his arrival one of the Pope's chamberlains, and a secretary of Cardinal de' Medici, called at the lodgings of the English courier. The latter was upwards of one hour closeted with him, as well as with the secretaries of Cesis, San Severino, Tribulcio (Triulzo), and Pisano.

It is reported that the subject discussed [at the conference] was the enterprise which the king of France intends making [next summer], and the time at which the attack ought to commence. This, it was resolved, to begin about harvest time; king Francis to invade the duchy of Milan with an army of Switzers, of whom, as reported, there are upwards of 12,000 already enlisted; another force to be sent against Genoa; and the two expeditions to be conducted so secretly and in such haste that the Imperialists will be unable to arrive in time, the more so that Barbarrossa's galleys, now coming from Constantinople, are expected to land troops on the coast of Sicily and Naples. Andrea Doria will thus be obliged to sail from Genoa and go in search of the Turks. The king of France himself is arming 50 galleys, which will be ready to put to sea in May, and as he has intelligences in Genoa, and the Imperialists there must march to the relief of Milan, it is feared that the city will fall into the hands of the French.

It is rumoured that the Pope will help the French in these attempts, owing to the duchy of Milan having already been destined to the duke of Orleans. It is for this purpose that cardinal de' Medici is now lodging and entertaining so many well-reputed "condottieri" at his house. It is with them and with the "black band," entirely composed of Germans (*tudescos*), that he and the Pope intend carrying out their plans. The captains themselves make no mystery of it, and say publicly that they are quite prepared, and have received money in advance for their respective "condotte."

Spanish. Original. pp. 20.

15 April. **42.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 862, ff. 20–1. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 229.

Wrote on the 2nd inst. by the courier who came last from Naples. Respecting the English matrimonial suit there is nothing new to report, except that the utmost diligence is

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being used in drawing out the sentence, and also the executory letters (*executoriales*). When that is done they will be sent to Flanders to be notified and printed. Talking of this matter, His Holiness said the other day to many people that all these *diligencias* in writing were of no use whatever, unless His Imperial Majesty took steps to have the sentence executed; also that the king of France seemed inclined to come to an agreement and turn against king Henry, whence he (the Pope) concluded that the execution might be carried into effect with less difficulty. To him (the Count) the Pope has made no overtures on these matters, knowing perfectly well that, should he hint at anything of the kind, he is sure to answer as cautiously as at previous times.

The opinion of those who know England and the character of its King best is that the shortest and least inconvenient solution to the affair would be to suspend trade at once. He (the Count) is doubtful whether the Pope will accede to that; at any rate, the Emperor can do so with regard to his own dominions, which is what would do England most harm. Has not spoken to His Holiness about this matter, nor will he until he receives an answer to the various paragraphs of his despatches touching on the point. The Capuan (Schomberg) told him the other day that cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici had sent a message to the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay) to say that, should the king of France help him to get Florence, he (Ippolito) would at once renounce his hat, and serve him much better than any "condottiero" ever did; and that the Bishop answered that offer by saying that the King, his master, certainly had great affection for him, and would promote his advancement with all his power as long as he (Medici) was an ecclesiastic and a cardinal; but in no other career did he think the king of France would help or favour him, as he knew it to be against His Holiness' will. Cannot say whether the report be true or not. He (Cifuentes) is inclined to disbelieve it; but it is said that the Cardinal was anything but pleased with the Ambassador's answer, so much so that he sent word to Capua (Schomberg), begging him to intercede with the Emperor that he [Ippolito] might be married* to the duchess of Florence (Margaret). Capua undeceived him at once, and told him that he would never help him in anything of that sort, and that it was not fit for him to change frock or career. The result of this has been that cardinal Ippolito has actually renewed the offers he made the other day, and is about to send one of his secretaries to Spain on a mission for the purpose, as it is publicly said,

* "Desto dize quedó desabrido el dicho Cardenal, y casi la misma platica embió á dezir al dicho arzobispo de Capua, que le fuera buen intercesor con V. Md en que le diese V. Md la señora duquesa de Florencia."

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of obtaining the abbey of Monferrara, or rather permission to accept it; but in reality, as he (Cifuentes) has been informed, in quest of the Imperial favour, that he may be allowed to renounce the cardinalate, and indulge in other similar whims of his own. Hears that he has again under his roof Giovan Paolo Cheri, and that Pirro has now left him, &c.

Intelligence has been received here that Giovan Joachino, the king of France's man, and a Genoese by birth, has lately arrived in Venice, and that he has his wife with him, pretending that he intends to live there quietly and away from politics. Happening the other day to mention this to His Holiness, and having hinted besides at Gioachino's restless nature, and at his having been so often mixed up with State affairs, he (the Pope) suggested that perhaps Gioachino had gone to Venice for the purpose of meeting Gritti, lately arrived from Constantinople. Most likely (he said) the latter had news to communicate, or offers to make in the Turk's name, and not daring to go to Paris for fear of the whole affair being bruited about, or finding Venice a more commodious and fitter place for such negociations, had most likely sent for Gioachino. The Pope's suspicions may be true, but he (Cifuentes) imagines that Gioachino's visit to Venice may have for object to ascertain if, in the event of the French invading Milan or Genoa, the Venetians will remain neutral. At any rate, the Imperial ambassador there must be informed of this, and have Gioachino closely watched.

His Holiness tells him that he thinks the king of France will not bring an army to Italy this year; he will rather prepare his troops, and muster his men-at-arms against future contingencies, and in the meantime do his utmost, as he is actually doing, to disturb the peace of Germany: so it would seem as if the storm now brewing were to fall on those countries. It is to be supposed, however, that His Majesty is by this time on the alert, and has already issued proper orders, &c.

Authentic news has been received here that in the Council [of the Ten] at Venice, after a discussion on the Papal sentence, the majority concluded that though His Holiness had determined in favour of Her Highness, the Queen of England, his determination on so important a matter must have been preceded by some secret agreement between the Emperor, His Holiness, and the king of France, at which the Signory are exceedingly alarmed. Shall not fail to let the Imperial ambassador (Don Lope de Soria) know of this, that he may, if he deems it convenient and opportune, talk to them in general terms, and calm their suspicions and misgivings on that score; the more so that he (Cifuentes) hears His Holiness wishes to make the Venetians believe that there

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is to a certain extent ground for their suspicions.—Rome, 15 April 1534.*

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

15 April. **43.** The Same to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, ff. 25–7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 232.

I must say in answer to Your Lordship's letter of the 18th ult., that I am very much pleased to see that Your Lordship understands His Holiness' character well, and therefore that the Emperor is right in thinking that His Holiness' hesitation and want of resolution in these matters is no fault of mine. My answer to the letter brought by Aponte must have convinced both His Imperial Majesty and your Lordship that the instructions I then received were followed to the very letter. I was commanded to urge His Holiness to come to a resolution in all matters concerning the Faith, the peace and quietness of Italy, and the defence of threatened Christendom; but as the former could not be done without touching on the assembly of a General Council—which happens to be His Holiness' sore point—as your Lordship well knows, the negociation could not possibly be carried to an end in a manner profitable to the Emperor; whereas the preservation of peace, here in Italy, and the departure of the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo) for Switzerland, were measures likely to injure the Most Christian king of France, whose friendship His Holiness seems determined to keep and preserve at any risk.

With regard to the defence against the Turk, the Pope says that he cannot do more at present, for he has no money. I represented it to him at the time that the news of the corsair Barbarossa were such that he (the Pope) could not do less than increase the number of galleys he had promised to arm, and I know from a very good source that after I left him he said to one of his confidential servants, "The Imperial "ambassador is so pressing that I am not sure whether one "of these days I shall not be obliged to tell him that I can "do neither one thing nor the other." I mention this because, though your Lordship is, no doubt, well informed of what is going on here, and knows these people well, it is

* "Aquí se ha sabido como cosa cierta como en el Consejo de los Venecianos se ha platicado que la sentencia que se dió en favor de la Serenissima Señora Reyna de Ynglaterra, por ser de tan gran momento, no se diera sino estuviera concertado V. Md con su Santidad y el Rey de Francia, de lo qual tienen gran gelosia. Daré aviso desto á el embaxador de V. Md, que en Venecia reside, para que si le pareciere con palabras generales satisfaga á estas sospechas, no haziendo mas caso del negocio del que conviene, y no me parece esto fuera de proposito por que he sabido que su Beatitud quiere dar[á] entender á los Venecianos que es verdad."

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important for your Lordship to calculate how far we can depend on these people, and at the same time how to proceed in the affair.* I have drawn upon the Imperial treasury for 3,200 florins to defray the cost of the sentence. Though Secretary Blosio has received his usual fee, I hear that he is discontented, and says that, considering the work he has had to do, the sum of money paid to him is by no means adequate, and that he is entitled to a good deal more, the case being of such importance, &c. I have consulted people of the profession about it, and they all tell me that he has really been underpaid. Blosio is a very good man (*muy buena persona*), and says that when the Emperor was last in Italy he promised him some mark of favour. The last Datary would not take the fee to which he was entitled for the time he filled that office; but has since begged me to remind the Emperor of him.—Rome, 15 April 1534.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

16 April. **44.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*229, No. 29.

Since my last of the 12th, nothing of sufficient importance has occurred to require a long despatch, the more so that I doubt whether this one will reach in safety, for on Sunday last the officer of Calais opened the two letter-bags from Flanders,† and examined their contents. Perceiving, however, that one of them was entirely filled with merchants' letters, he allowed the courier to pass with it. The other, in which was a packet of letters from the Queen, governess [of the Low Countries], was handed over to a gentleman, and then with a new cover to it brought here by the said Calais gentleman, who arrived in Court the day before yesterday (the 14th), in company with the courier. As my letters were not forthcoming I this morning sent a message to Cremuel (Cromwell) inquiring for them. His answer to the man, bearer of my message, was that what the officer of Calais had done was entirely owing to certain strange words uttered by the courier himself, and that he could assure me upon his faith and honour that the packet had not been touched or opened, and would be delivered to me this very evening with such excuses and explanations as I could not fail to accept. *I have not the least doubt that great efforts will be made to colour so unwarrantable an action, but in*

* "Esto digo á proposito, por que aunque V. S. es mejor informado y sabe lo de acá, vea claramente como no se puede tomar tanta claridad y resolucion quanta convernia para el bien de los dichos negocios."

† "Attendu que le debitis de Callaix ouvrist les bougelles des deux courriers que venoint de Flandres." "Debitis" is the name given at that time in Calais to the chief of the Customs.

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my opinion it will be a very difficult task for them to disguise their offensiveness and wickedness; for, in the first place, the excuse given about the courier has no weight at all. Had he been arrested in consequence of words uttered by him at Calais, that was no reason for tampering with the letter-bags destined to the merchants of this place, who could not be made responsible for the courier's words. As soon as I know what excuses these people make for so flagrant a breach of faith, I will immediately apprise Your Majesty thereof, but in the meantime I have sent an express to the Queen Regent, your sister, informing her of what has happened, and warning her to be in future more guarded about our official correspondence.*

The Scottish ambassadors are in daily communication with these ministers. Besides their attending Court almost daily, Cremuel (Cromwell) and the Chancellor (Audeley) go often to visit them in their lodgings, where they are to dine together this very day. There is besides a rumour that one of them is shortly to return home, for the purpose, as it is said, of more closely binding the King, his master, to certain designs of this one;—which are, as some people say, the intervention of Scotland, England, and France in the affairs of the Continent; which, by-the-by, I do not believe possible, unless there be first an agreement between the king of Scotland and this one, who, in this particular negociation, suspects the French exceedingly.† One of the said Scottish ambassadors has twice within the last few days sent me word to the effect that nothing had yet been settled, and that if there was, he would let me know. I have not heard from him since. No doubt his frequent communications with the King's ministers have prevented him lately from calling, if, as people here seem to think, negociations have already begun.

This morning some one has called and told me that the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), the late Chancellor (More), and several other worthy people, have been sent to the Tower for their refusing to swear to the statutes lately passed, and that for fear of a similar punishment the Lord Mayor‡ and the corporation of this city have tendered their oath.—London, 12 April 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 2.

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* "Si crois-je quils auront bien affere de bien le colorer qui ny ait de lordure et malignite, et desia lexcuse que dessus nest legittime ne vraysemblable."

† "Il est bruyt que lung des dicts ambassadeurs doit en bref aller vers le roy leur maistre pour estraindre (*sic*) les affaires, et dient aucuns quil se traicte de l'interuencion du dit [roy] descosse dela la mer avec celluy de France et cestuy, ce que je ne croys, si ny a premierement appoinctement entre le dict roy descosse et cestuy, le quel en cest endroit a pour tres suspectz les françoys."

‡ At this time Sir John Champneys was Lord Mayor of London.

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22 April. **45.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 30.

Your Majesty's letter to me of the 27th ult., intercepted, as I wrote in my last, by the officers (*debitys*) of Calais,* has this moment come to hand, together with the packet of the Queen Regent in Flanders, in which it was enclosed, not having been delivered, however, till four days after the arrival of the courier, bearer of them, and after two formal applications of mine to Master Cremuel (Cromwell). As an excuse for which interception the latter sent me a message by my man that he would willingly have given part of his fortune that the thing had not happened. The King, his master, said he was exceedingly sorry for and displeased at it. Upon information received from abroad that some one here had written to Flanders that I (Chapuys) was not treated and respected as befitted an Imperial ambassador, and on the King supposing, as he had reason to do, that such an accusation could not proceed from me, or be made with my consent, inasmuch as I could have no plausible ground for complaint, not having been refused anything I had asked, the King, his master, had been naturally very angry at hearing of such reports. Everything, Cromwell added, that I had asked for had been readily granted, though he must own that I had required and demanded but few things—at which, however, the King, his master, was highly displeased, for he would then have shown the affection and goodwill he bore me (such were Cromwell's words), owing to my good qualities, and principally to the entire, sincere, perfect, and incomparable friendship and love the King bore to the Emperor. There was nothing (Cromwell continued) that the ministers of the one and of the other ought to look to more carefully than the preservation, fostering, and increase of so old a friendship,—one not only fitting, but necessary for the vassals of both crowns, and for Christendom at large. "As to myself," (he said,) "I should have much preferred losing one of my hands, nay both of them, rather than that there should be any rupture or change in the said friendship." And he begged me most affectionately, not only on his own particular behalf, but likewise on that of the King, to see to the continuance of the said friendship, and do all possible good offices towards it, as I had hitherto done.

After many similar sentences, couched in the same style, Cromwell proceeded to say to my secretary that it was rumoured that Your Majesty was making preparations for war, and that many people thought they were intended for an invasion of England. This (he said) he could not be persuaded to believe, inasmuch as the King, his master, had given no occasion whatever for such an attack. Cromwell would have liked to learn from my secretary what truth there

* *Debitys* and *debitis*, that is the treasurers of Calais. See above, page 123.

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was in those reports. He actually interrogated him concerning them, but the secretary answered that he had no knowledge of such armaments. Thereupon Cromwell dismissed him with many compliments for me, both from the King and from himself, besides the message specified above.

The very same evening that the packet of letters was put into my hands, Cromwell (no doubt the better to excuse the seizure of them) kept the courier by him for the purpose of having him examined concerning the words he was reported to have uttered while at Calais. Nothing more, however, was said to him on the subject; on the contrary, he was well treated and splendidly entertained, perhaps, that he might make a better report on the whole occurrence. *Cromwell's words are very fair indeed, but his deeds are bad, and his will and intentions beyond comparison worse. I do really believe that the officers of Calais had express orders from the King to seize the packet of letters, that they might learn for what purpose Your Majesty is making the military preparations above alluded to, and of which they are now in more dread than before, owing to the Papal sentence in the divorce suit.*

As I said above, the packet was put into my hands apparently untouched (*sain et entier*), except the outside cover, which Gherart Sterck had put on according to custom, and which was removed. *Under it were two letters unsealed, and directed to me, in which there was news of the truce concluded with the Lubeckians; which news, in my opinion, served as a sort of safe-conduct to the rest of the letters, cooling, as it were, and repressing the ill will which these people bear us.*

On the receipt of the instructions which Your Majesty was pleased to send me, *I asked the Scottish ambassador, with whom I had already conversed respecting the affair mentioned in the said instructions, for an interview.* He came yesterday morning to see me, *when, having inquired of him how he and his colleagues were getting on in their affairs with these people, he said to me that he thought a peace would soon be concluded, inasmuch as the English were soliciting them very hard; that his colleague, the Bishop, was much inclined to it,* because he thought the King, his master, deprived, as he was, of the assistance of the French and others, could not successfully cope with England. The Bishop also fancied that a treaty of peace at the present juncture might secure the friendliness of the English for the future. He himself, recollecting the representations I had addressed to him on a former occasion, was of different opinion; but the Bishop's authority, and the fear he himself had that it might somehow be dishonourable for him not to have solicited the peace at such a time, but to have worked on the contrary against it, had induced, almost compelled, him to incline to the said peace, at least for some time to

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come.* After my refuting his arguments and motives, the ambassador ended by owning to me that he would willingly have given a good deal to have known sooner of the sentence pronounced at Rome, and principally of the amount of love and affection which Your Majesty bore the King, his master. He would, however, still work with all his might to convert the said Bishop to his opinion, and look out for some opportunity of going to Scotland before the conclusion of the peace, that he might there persuade the King, his master, to put himself entirely under the protection of Your Majesty, and listen to the propositions,—which could not fail to be good, virtuous, and catholic, as coming from Your Majesty, since you had always shown yourself such. Were his credit with his master to prove insufficient for that purpose, he (the ambassador) would invoke that which he had with several gentlemen of Scotland and also with the commoners, *whose authority (he said) was much greater in that country than elsewhere. Should he decide to return to Scotland, and carry out his plan, he would let me know, and leave a key with me to read his ciphered despatches whenever he had anything important to advise.*

In answer to this speech of the Scottish ambassador, I considered it opportune, at all events, to inform him particularly of the truce concluded with the Lubeckians, and also of the devotion of the Norwegians, Danes, and other neighbouring nations to Your Majesty; also of the circumstances and disposition of this kingdom, which he greatly detests, as likewise of the facility of the remedy, and the necessity in which Scotland stood for her own interest of joining in an attack against England. All which arguments he (the Scotchman) took in very good part, saying that although no answer had yet come from their ambassador at the court of France, respecting the proposed marriage to the eldest daughter of king Francis, *he and his colleagues considered the game as lost.* Indeed, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty a long time ago, the Scots, *perceiving king Francis' delay in answering their application, and the repeated assurances by this one (Henry) of a secret agreement between them,—purporting that the Most Christian King is not to give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, or in any wise help him in war against this country—have now entirely given up all hopes of success in that quarter.*

Knowing this well, and recollecting what I had told him on a former occasion respecting a marriage to the princess [of Wales], it appears that he and his colleague, the Bishop,

* "Et que leuesque son collegue y estoit fort enclin mesmes pour estre leur roy destitue de layde des françoys et tout autre; pensant aussi que au moyen de quelque traicte de paix ilz se reconcillieroint la benivolence de ce peuple, et que luy bien records (*sic*) des remonstrances que autresfois ie luy auoye faictes, et inclinoit bien a la contraire oppinion, toutesfois lauctorite de leuesque et ung peu de respect quil auoit quil ne luy tourneroit a honneur dauoir este le solliciteur de ceste paix, et puis non seullement nen venir a bout mais aussi solliciter le contraire, lenduysoient et presque contraingnoient a incliner a la dite paix au moings pour quelque temps."

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resolutely broached the subject to this King's ministers. They were, however, told that the thing was out of the question, since the Princess was, as they well knew, a bastard, and too closely related to the King, their master. On other points no answer at all has yet been made to them. They expect one within a couple of days, and the ambassador tells me that as soon as they get it I shall be apprised thereof; assuring me at the same time that he will take care that his colleague, the Bishop, whenever an opportunity arises, shall declare to this King that, should the Princess die, the succession to the English crown will by right belong to his master; in which formal declaration he (the Scottish ambassador) is also to join. This would be the means of preventing any bad trick being played to the Princess; besides which, the ambassador might also persuade his master to write expressly to king Henry on this subject, especially as he knows well the truth of my observation, namely, that the King of Scotland cannot possibly increase his power except through two ways, that is Your Majesty's favour and his own marriage to the Princess, the ambassador himself having frequently assured me that the hearts of the Scots were generally much more inclined towards Your Majesty than towards the French.

This same ambassador tells me that some days ago he was invited to the Chancellor's house, in which Cromwell and three doctors happened to be at the time, and that certain dishonest and heretical articles were then and there exhibited to see whether there could be any means devised of making the King, his master, accept them; and that he (the ambassador) had got into such a passion, and so inveighed against the said articles, that not one of those present knew what to reply. Which being observed by Cromwell and the Chancellor, they begged him not to say a word or show the articles to any one, but keep them in his hand until the three doctors had left the room; which he did. According to promise the ambassador has said nothing of this to his colleague, the Bishop, but has offered to forward to me the substance of the articles as far as he himself can recollect it. He has likewise told me that a week ago, being at Grynuyst (Greenwich) at mass, with the Bishop, his colleague, this King sent two gentlemen of his bed chamber to him, merely to say that he had news that at a seaport town in Scotland a foreign personage accompanied by two servants had arrived, and that he (the King) thought he might be some Nuncio from the Pope. He then asked him whether he knew anything about it; to which the ambassador replied in the negative. The personage alluded to*

* "Quoy voyant les dits Cremuel et Chancellier le pryarent nen vouloir riens declairer ny descouurir, et quil gardat en ses mains les dits articles iusques les docteurs fussent vuydez dehors, ce quil feit."

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might be the one Your Majesty has sent to those parts. I think, however, there has not yet been time for his coming.

After a good deal of conversation it was settled between the Scottish ambassador and myself that he would not reveal to the Bishop any of my plans and overtures, save mention in general terms the good-will which Your Majesty bears to the King, their master, unless he saw proper season and opportunity for so doing; and that if he himself could somehow convert his colleagues to our ideas he would arrange for my holding a conference with them both, without arousing suspicion. I might be sure, however, that in the meantime he would keep the whole matter secret, as the case required, for the interest of his master the King, so as to engage him more firmly in the path that I recommended. I said to him, in passing, that if he followed my advice, besides the service he would render to God, to the King, his master, and to the two kingdoms, Scotland and England, he would not be the loser as far as Your Majesty was concerned; for you would not fail to acknowledge and be grateful for his good services. Upon which the ambassador went away with the deliberate purpose of accomplishing everything he had promised, showing all the time great joy and satisfaction at what he had heard from my lips.

This King has lately spent two days at the house where his bastard daughter is, during which orders have been given for the Princess not to leave her room, a guard having been placed at the door by the command of the lady [Anne], who is also there with the King. Meanwhile, one of the Princess's chamber-maids, having refused to swear to the Statute or Act of Succession to this kingdom, was shut up in a room of the house, and actually compelled to swear; otherwise she would have been sent to prison, as was indeed threatened; at which the Princess was very much grieved. But this is nothing in comparison with what happened to the Princess at the same time; for the aunt of the said Anne de Boulans (Anne Boleyn), who now has charge of her, came and said that the King, her father, no longer cared whether she renounced her title willingly or not, since by the last statute (act) she had been declared illegitimate and incapable of inheriting, and that if she were in his (the King's) place she would kick her (the Princess) out of the King's house for her disobedience.* And, what is still worse and more execrable, the King is known to have said that he would have her beheaded for having contravened the laws of the kingdom.† Having no means of informing any living person on this last point the Princess asked to see a physician

* "Mais que si elle estoit au lieu du roy, quelle chasseroit a cops de pied la dite princesse hors de la mayson du roy pour linnobedience dont elle avoit use envers luy."

† "Il est sorti de la bouche du dit roy que comme contreuenant aux loix du royaulme il luy feroit perdre la teste."

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then in the house, who had once been her preceptor and physician in ordinary, but this she was refused. Upon which she found means of communicating with him without raising suspicion, for she began before all present to tell him that she had been so long without speaking Latin that she could hardly say two words rightly; and upon the physician addressing her in that language, she said to him, knowing that no one in the room could understand Latin, that the King had been heard to say the day before that he would have her beheaded.* Hearing which, the physician was much taken aback, and knew not what to answer, except that the Princess' Latin was not good, and that he could not understand it; but he nevertheless contrived to send me a message immediately.

Certainly nobody in this kingdom doubts for a moment that one of these days some treachery will be executed on the Princess, unless, indeed, Your Majesty takes some preventive measure very soon. No time, therefore, should be lost, this present season being, in my opinion, the most favourable for an undertaking,—as the English in general bear much good-will towards Your Majesty, the Queen, and the Princess, and are more irritated than ever at what is passing. Besides which, the inconveniences likely to arise from delay, as well as from this new [Lutheran] sect, which is daily increasing, might, perhaps, render the circumstances not quite so favourable later on. Many think that, were the intercourse of trade with Flanders and Spain to be closed or suspended for three or four months only, the English would let their King know where the truth lies, and teach him to reform his conduct. The King himself is afraid that by these means or some other his subjects may one of these days rise in rebellion against him, as the French ambassador, who departed lately,† intimated to certain merchants of his nation, advising them to wind up their affairs and leave the country. The King fancies that by making his subjects swear to observe and maintain the statutes and acts lately promulgated against the Queen and the Princess, and in favour of his second marriage, he can remedy the evil, and render the English more pliant and obedient to his commands; but, instead of that, he has aggravated them beyond measure. At present, it is true, the people are kept with so tight a hand, and in such fear, that no one, great or small, dare say a word of complaint; but when the opportunity comes their real feeling will show itself.

* "Et non ayant moyen la dite princesse de descouvrir ce dernier point a personne elle demanda de parler particulierement a ung medecin, qui la estoit, que autresfois a este son percepteur et son medecin ordinaire, et non luy estant permis elle trouva une invencion pour lui dire ce quelle vouloit sans suspicion, et luy commença a dire quelle avoit si longuement este sans parler latin quelle nen sçauroit dire deux mots!; et la requerant le dit medecin dire quelque chose en latin, elle luy dit en latin, saichant que nul aultre ne lentendoit que le roy avoit dit le jour devant quil luy feroit perdre la teste."

† La Morette or La Pommeraye, who left on the 11th. See above, p. 115.

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People fear that the King will order the execution of the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), and of the recent Chancellor (Sir Thomas More), who, as I lately informed Your Majesty, are *prisoners in the Tower, with others, for having refused to swear to the Act of Succession. The Scottish ambassadors laugh at the King, and not without reason, for his presuming that oaths violently obtained from his people can make his quarrel good, and ensure obedience; whereas, on the contrary, it only proves that laws and ordinances that require being sworn to are no good at all. This is the way in which people talk privately among themselves of the King's measures.*

The archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) has just begun to make use of his anti-papal dignity (*sa antipapalite*), issuing bulls for three different bishoprics, and having of his own authority consecrated the three bishops already appointed by the King, who has thereby established the supremacy he claims over the Anglican Church. He has deputed a Jacobite and an Austin friar, men of the kind he wants, to become provincial and general visitors of all the religious orders throughout his kingdom, giving them, among other charges, that specified in the enclosed note, which Your Majesty will think rather a novelty.*

With regard to the earl of Desmond (Fitz Gerald), *I have been unable to obtain further information. The earl of Childara* (*Kildare*) *is here indisposed, both in body and mind,* in consequence of *the arkebuse shot he* received a long time ago. There is no hope of his recovery, so that he cannot be counted among those who might serve Your Majesty, or any other prince.† I am told that he has two brothers, good people enough, but without much power. *He has also a son, who, to judge from appearances, promises to be a valuable auxiliary in case of need, though still very young; but his father being here at Court, I doubt whether he would listen to any overtures I might make him. Many here think that were the Pope to send some one to Ireland, or should his censure of this King be duly intimated and published there, some commotion might be created, since all the Irish consider themselves* [*in ecclesiastical matters*] *the subjects of the Holy Apostolic See.*

Enclosed is a copy of the statute made against the Pope, and against the Queen and Princess, that Your Majesty may judge of the extravagance and strangeness of the case.—London, 22 April 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. Partly in cipher. pp. 7.

* The note is not enclosed.

† "Touchant le conte de Desmon ie nay peu entendre que ce que pieça en rescripviz a vostre maieste. Celluy de Childara est yçi mal dispose de corps et du cerveaul, du cop darquebuse quil reçeust il y a long temps, et ny a espoir quil revienne en convalescence, de sorte quil ne le fault mestre en nombre de ceulx que pourroient servir a vostre maieste ny aultre."

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26 April. **46.** MARTIN VALLÉS to the HIGH COMMANDER OF LEON.

P. Arch. de l'Emp., Mon. Hist. K., 1483, No. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 244.

The Ambassador* left me here in charge of the Imperial embassy that I might receive letters and despatches, and forward them to him, and likewise inform your Lordship, as well as Mr. de Grandvelle, of any new occurrences, &c. As the information was to be conveyed by a gentleman of the king of the Romans' chamber, who was expected to pass through this town, and I was at the time at the court of Saint Germain, I could not possibly avail myself of that conveyance. Since then nothing of any importance has transpired, and therefore I have not written until to-day, when, profiting by the departure of a courier of the Ambassador at this court, I take up my pen and say:

(*Cipher:*) On the 21st inst., the court being at Cusi (Coucy), there came, riding post, two ambassadors from the king of England: one, a brother of the new Queen, or rather of the King's mistress; the other, the treasurer of the King's household, a great personage.† On the following Tuesday both waited on this King, and spoke with him in his chamber for half an hour's time. The King greeted them profusely, and on the day after, Wednesday, invited them to a festival of the Garter.‡ On Thursday, king Francis with his sons and principal courtiers attended mass with the English ambassadors. In the chapel, after mass, this King and the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency) received the Garter (garretiere) from the hands of the ambassadors. They afterwards dined at the royal table, and after dinner all three (the King and the two English ambassadors) got up and retired to a closet. On Friday, the ambassadors dined with the King's sister, and the next day took their departure for England. They say that at parting the King presented each of them with a gilt cup of the value, of 1000 crs. each, at least, besides mules and so forth.§

(*Cipher:*) The Pope's legate and the Venetian ambassador spoke yesterday with the Grand Master, and asked him what the English ambassadors could have told the King, and what their mission was. To the Legate the Grand Master answered that the English had come for the purpose of ascertaining whether the French would take their view,‖ and do as they had done and would do in future. To the Venetians he explained the matter differently; he said that the ambassadors' errand was to ascertain the King's intentions and will in case they (the English) were attacked or in anywise molested by war by reason of the execution of the Papal

* Bonvalot?

† George Boleyn and FitzWilliam.

‡ A una fiesta de la Jarretiera, *i.e.* to the ceremony of conferring the Garter on Francis.

§ "Y se partieron un dia despues, y que se dezia que les havia dado el rey sendas copas de oro de valor de[h]asta 1,000 ducados, y sendas mulas."

‖ "Por ver si acá querian en Francia ser de su opinion y hazer como ellos."

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sentence; and that the King had answered them that, such being the case, he would assist him with money and all his forces, &c. The ambassadors having since gone to their quarters three leagues hence, I had no opportunity to make them observe the difference there was between the two answers.

There came also, a few days ago, an ambassador of the king of Scotland to ask for the hand of the King's eldest daughter. From Compiegne the ambassador was referred to Paris. Not one of those who reside at Court knows what the King's answer has been; and yet I hear from a gentleman of the Queen's household that they will not grant the king of Scotland's demand, but will try all they can to make him marry the daughter of the widow of Vendosme, and that if the king of Scotland agrees to that they will give with her a good dower* (*common writing*). That is all we know at present. On our return to Paris, which will take place in 10 or 12 days, I have no doubt we shall know more about it, and then I will advise. The Imperial ambassador is expected here about that time.

It is said for certain that the duke and duchess of Lorraine are coming to Paris† to be present at the marriage of their niece to Monsieur de Longueville. News has also been received that the Suabian league has been broken up; at which these Frenchmen are delighted. For this reason, and also because it has been said that king Francis is about to send a lawyer of the name of Poyete‡ to the Duke, in order to claim from him part of the inheritance which he says belonged to his mother (Louise de Savoie), and that the duke of Wurtemberg has sold to him certain lands bordering upon his kingdom, it is seriously apprehended that before the end of May next there will be war. The truth thereof I shall write from Paris, because most likely I shall find there

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* "Tanbbien vino pocos dias a un embaxador del rey de Escocia. Pidió la yja mayor del rey de Francia, y de Compiena (*sic*) lo enbiaron á Paris. Nenguno de estos embaxadores sabe lo que se le[h]a respondido. Yo he entendido de casa de la Reyna que no se la quieren dar, sino [que] quieren trabajar de [h]azerle tomar la hija de Mosieur de Vandoma, y que con ella daran gran dote."

† "Dize se y afirma por cierto que el duque y duquesa de Lorena vienen a Paris, a las fiestas del casamiento que se [h]aze[n], las fiestas de pen*tecostes*, de la yja de su [h]ermano con musior de longavila . . . . . Acá tienen nueva que la liga de se evia (*sic*) es ronpida y [h]uelganse dello, y por esta causa, juntamente que se [h]a dicho que el Rey de Francia envia un abogado suyo, que se llama Poyete, al duque, a pedirle la parte que pretende perteneciente a su madre y al conde naua (?) ay alguna suspicion de guerra asy mismo que esta [llamado] el primero y segundo vando, y el tercero está apercibido para los veinticinco ó para fin de mayo . . . . . demas desto se dize quel duque de bitenbergue vende al Rey de Francia ciertas arras (?) que dizen tiene en sus confines, y que *con este dinero* quiere su padre el estado por si pudiere comprarlo; Poyete no era partido ocho dias[h]a, agora no sé nada porque se fué de conpiena (*sic*) con el chanciller al antumer (?)."

‡ Guillaume Poyet, son of an advocate at Angers, and himself, King's advocate since 1529; he became in time president of the Parliament of Paris, 1535–38.

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the Imperial ambassador. He would have been by this time at Paris, had not fever and distemper seized him when he was about to start on his journey. He has, however, written to me since to say that his illness was of no consequence, and that he hoped (God willing) to be here soon.

I do not write to Mons. de Granvela, because he possesses no cipher in Castillian, and might not understand what I write were I to use another. However, should he like to peruse this letter of mine, your Lordship may give it him that he may help himself with it.

I hear from one of the Queen's household that the King wishes to send one gentleman of his chamber to the Emperor. The object of the mission is unknown. The Most Christian Queen is in good health, thank God. She and her husband leave to-morrow for Paris, where it is calculated they will arrive in 10 or 12 days at the latest. No one knows whither they will go next.

The admiral of France (Brion) has gone to Burgundy, according to report, to pass muster to the troops stationed thereat, and take possession by force of the lands which the princess of Orange sold to king Francis in Franche-Conte, as well as other lands belonging to the duke of Würtenberg.

Mr. de Vandoma (Vendôme) remains in Picardy in order to pass muster to the men-at-arms, and M. de Guise is gone for the same purpose to Champagne, on the plea, it is said, that he is about to marry a daughter of his there.

The king of France is about to send a gentleman of his chamber to the Emperor, on what errand is not known.

Last Penthecost the wedding of Mr. de Langavilla (Longueville) was to have taken place, at which the duke and duchess of Lorraine were to be present.* After that king Francis was to go to Blés (Blois), and, leaving his Queen (Eleanor) there, proceed to Lyons, and thence to Burgundy.

Signed: "Martin Vallés."

Endorsed: "From the secretary of the ambassador in France, 1534."

Addressed: "To the high commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

26 April. **47.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

P. Arch. de l'Emp., Mon. Hist. 1483, No. 30.

Arrival of the English ambassadors at the court of France by post on the 21st,—the brother of the King's mistress, and the treasurer of the Royal household. The King received

* Louis II. d'Orleans, duke of Longueville, and souverain de Neuf-chatel, in Switzerland, b. 1510, d. 5 June 1537; he married, on the 4th of August 1534, Marie de Lorraine, daughter of Claude duke of Guise, and Antoinette de Bourbon. The paragraph, however, though agreeing substantially with that of Vallés' original letter, as deciphered by Bergenroth, has variations worthy of being recorded, *i.e.*, that on the ensuing Pentecost the espousals (desposorio) of Mr. de Longueville were to take place, at which the Duke and Duchess were to be present, which is in contradiction with the statement made elsewhere.

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them the day after. They attended the pageants and ceremony of the Garter, heard mass, dined that day with the King, and left the day after.

On the ambassadors of the Pope and Signory inquiring from the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) what could be the mission the two said Englishmen had brought, his answers differed; he said one thing to the Papal Nuncio, another to the Venetian ambassador.

An ambassador from king James of Scotland has likewise arrived at this French court, for the purpose, as rumoured, of asking for the hand of the King's eldest daughter (Madeleine); but it is said that he (James) will not get her hand, and that she will be married either to the son of Mr. de Vendosme or to the brother of Monsieur de Labret, and that Madame d'Alançon is strenuously working for this latter marriage.*

There was a talk [at Court] of the kings of France and England having an interview [at Calais], and that then and there would the latter marriage be arranged.

Signed: "Martin Vallés."

Addressed: "To Mr. de Grandvelle."

Endorsed: "Summary of the letters from a servant of the ambassador in France of the 26th April and 9th May. . . . .

Spanish. Original in cipher. Copy and deciphering by Bergenroth.†

26 April. **48.** Count De Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 862, ff. 22–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 238.

As he was passing through Bologna on his return to France, the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) happened to meet an excusator of the king of England, and a gentleman of the Royal household, who were coming here [to Rome] in order to appeal in their master's name "ad futurum concilium," and for the matrimonial suit to be proceeded with. The Bishop advised them to go back to their own country, telling them

* "Que pocos dias havia era llegado un embaxador descocia a pedir la hija mayor del Rey de Francia, y que se dize que no se la daran, mas [que] le casaran con hija de Musiur de Vandoma, ó con hermana de Musiur de Labrit; lo qual trabaja Madama d'Alanson." Such is the deciphering by Bergenroth, f. 248 *b*, in which, however, there is complete contradiction with what is stated in the preceding letter (No. 41), for certainly Secretary Vallés could not say one thing to the High Commander, and another to Mr. de Granvelle. Madeleine, who was Francis' eldest daughter, and who died in July 1537, was after all married to James V. of Scotland the year before.

† "The two documents (Nos. 46 and 47) are transcripts made by the late Her Gustav Bergenroth from the originals in the National Archives of France. Being almost entirely written in cipher, and not having their decipherings appended as usual, my predecessor in the compilation of these Spanish Calendars had to exercise his ingenuity and decipher them as best he could without the help of a deciphering key, inasmuch as proceeding, as most likely they do, from Simancas, and being taken pèle mèle to France in 1814, the deciphering key was left behind. Every effort, however, to procure from Simancas the deciphering keys for this and other papers has proved vain; they have not been found.

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that it was too late, since His Holiness had already sentenced the cause. Upon which the two Englishmen went back.

According to the French ambassador residing in this city the bishop of Paris has written to say from Bologna that the excusator and the gentleman of the King were the bearers of a mandate to intervene in the suit. Both news, however, have little foundation *

Advices from France, moreover, state that when the King first heard of the sentence, he was very much grieved, and said: the king of England is sure to do his worst against the Pope and against the Holy Apostolic See; he will ultimately be the cause of that kingdom being lost to the Church. King Francis had written to His Holiness impressing upon him the necessity of amending the sentence, or at least of suspending the executory letters (*executoriales*). His Holiness had hitherto refused to do that.

This last information comes from the Venetian ambassador, to whom the bishop of Monçon,† residing here for the king of France, communicated it, sending him a message to that effect.—Rome, 26 April 1534.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

26 April. **49.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 234.

At any rate we must know for certain what His Holiness's intentions are on all points. Let the Ambassador inform us as circumstantially as possible, for the Papal collector here has been duly apprised of the contents of the letter to the Pope. (In the hand of Cobos.)

Advises the arrival at Rome of Tello de Guzman. Though he (Sylva) duly spoke to the Pope on all points contained in the instructions, save those which he knew would greatly annoy him, the pressure of business and hasty departure of this courier prevent his giving a detailed account of the conversation. It will go by the next courier.

The Venetians have written to their Ambassador at this Court,‡ advising the arrival at Zante of the transports that were going to Coron. They complained that His Imperial Majesty had not informed them in time of his plans, that they might

* "Que el arzobispo de Paris le havia escripto como aquel excusador y criado del Rey de Inglaterra trahian mandato para entender en la causa. Lo uno y lo otro parece cosa de poco fundamento."

† "Que gelo embió [a] dezir el obispo de Monçon que por el Rey de Francia aqui reside." Instead of Monçon, Macon in Burgundy, ought to be read; the bishopric was held (1531–41) by Charles Hémard Denonville, who in 1536 became a cardinal.

‡ Domenico Venier.

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prepare against a sudden invasion of the Turk. The duke of Urbino (*Guidobaldo*), to whom the Signory has likewise written on the subject, had returned a satisfactory answer, as will be seen by the copy of a memorandum, which the Duke himself tendered to Mr. de Baure (Waury), on his passage through the place, where the Duke is at present staying. Besides he (Sylva) has taken care that Lope de Soria should also be informed of what was said on this point at the conferences of Marseilles, that he may give full satisfaction to the Signory.

Baury has not yet arrived, nor the person deputed by the Duke. The ambassador did right well in speaking as he did, and writing to Lope de Soria.

The Duke of Urbino complains of the viceroy of Naples (marquis de Villafranca), who, he, says, pays little attention to his affairs, has quartered troops in the duchy, which the Emperor lately gave him in the kingdom of Naples,* and besides does not protect him, as he (the Duke) could wish in the possession of the said estate, his right to which some people dispute, &c.

His Majesty, as the duke of Urbino is well aware, has hitherto done all he could do in his favour. The Viceroy is now being written to, recommending the affair to him, though without letting him know of the Duke's complaint.

The duke of Savoy (Carlo) has written to the Pope by a bishop, his Ambassador,† that Geneva has become Lutheran, begging him (Sylva) to intercede with His Holiness about it. Both he (Sylva) and the Bishop then called on the Pope and asked him for assistance. The Pope, however, promised none, saying that it was the Duke's fault for having quarrelled with the Bishop of that place (Geneva);‡ but he made a suggestion instead, namely, that the Duke should make his peace with the Bishop, and then matters of Faith might easily be arranged. The Duke, not being satisfied with this answer of the Pope, and the latter saying that he had no money, the Bishop requested

Let the Ambassador do his utmost to bring about some sort of arrangement between the Duke and the Bishop, and in any case favour the Duke without positively offending His Holiness. The matter is fraught with danger, Geneva being, as it is, very much disturbed just now. After all, an agreement is desirable under present circumstances. As to the expedient proposed, of raising money by the creation of Cardinals, it is a dangerous one, and must be abandoned; the Ambassador must not recommend it any how.

* That of Sora. † That of Moriana?

‡ Petrus IV. de la Baume, cardinalis episcopus Vesontinus from 1523 to 1544.

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him in his (Sylva's) presence to create some cardinals, which the Pope does not seem at all inclined to do.

The affair of Don Juan de Foneseca, &c.—Rome, 26–29 April 1534.

29 April. **50.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

As the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) was returning to Paris he met at Bologna an excusator of the king of England, with a servant of his, journeying to Rome for the purpose of appealing "*ad futurum Concilium*," and having all proceedings in the Queen's cause suspended in the meantime. The Bishop told them that it was too late, for sentence had already been pronounced. The French resident ambassador here [at Rome] says that the Bishop (Du Bellay) had written to him that the above-mentioned excusator and the King's servant were actually bringing a mandate to appear in the cause; which seems to him (Sylva) highly improbable.

King Francis has written [to the Pope] that on hearing of the sentence in the matrimonial cause, he (the King) had been greatly disappointed and much vexed, because he of England is sure in consequence to do all the harm he can to the Apostolic See, and cause the Pope to lose his authority in that kingdom. King Francis further said in his letter that the sentence must needs be modified, or the expedition of the executory letters suspended. Hitherto, however, His Holiness has refused to comply with the demands of France. He (Sylva) knows this from the Venetian ambassador (Cornaro), to whom the bishop of Macon,* residing here for king Francis, related it.

Let him insist upon the sentence being published, such as it is, without modification or amendment of any kind, and get it into his power to use hereafter as may be advisable. As to the executory, let him follow instructions.

* Here Bergenroth's copy had *Monçon* instead of Macon, which is a mistake of the scribes; the former town, which was never the see of a bishop, being in Aragon, whereas Macon is in Burgundy.

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Spoke to the Pope concerning the speedy despatch of the bulls for the archbishopric of Toledo, and the appointment which had been made. The Pope made some difficulties, being rather discontented at the precipitation with which, he says, the vacant see has been filled, and likewise at the rigour with which certain [ecclesiastical] delinquents are treated in the kingdom of Naples.

Ambrosino Doria has left with 8,000 ducats for the arming and fitting out of the seven Papal galleys.

Prorogation of the bulls of the Crusade for Sicily and Sardinia.

In conversation with the Venetian ambassador concerning the relief of Coron, His Holiness said to the former that evidently the Emperor's idea in surrendering that fortress to the Turk was no other than that of making the Signory feel Solyman's vengeance. No sooner was he (Sylva) informed of this than he called on the ambassador and told him that His Majesty, would observe to the letter the agreement made with the Signory. If to undo the mischief that may have been done in that quarter by His Holiness' malicious surmise, the Emperor should deem it advisable to send some agents hither, Lope de Guzman might come here [to Rome] and Tello be sent to Venice.

The Ambassador did well in speaking as he did. The Venetian who resides here has been minutely informed of the causes there were for the abandonment of Coron. Should the Turk in revenge attack the Signory, the Emperor will do as much for the defence of their territory as he would for his own. As to sending persons there to represent these things as he (Sylva) proposes, it will not do, because by attaching too much importance to such false reports, we might give rise to suspicion, &c.

Bulls granted to the Venetians granting certain tithes on ecclesiastical property, the whole to be employed in the defence of Italy against the Turk.

Sends account of men raised by the king of France.

Is on the best possible terms with Leyva and Toledo, who generally send their despatches open that he (Sylva) may peruse them.

The chief standing difficulty in the expedition of the Toledo bulls

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are cardinal Cesis' pension and the reserves made by the Emperor, without mentioning the names of the favoured individuals. All here at Rome expect to get something on the vacancy.

The Pope is trying to raise 500 light cavalry, part of whom are quartered seven miles from San Germano.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

—— **51.** DELIBERATIONS in the EMPEROR'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

S. E. L. 1458, ff. 65–7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 151.

Since an answer has come from His Holiness in reply to the memorandum and letters sent from Monçon by Capt. Aponte, respecting what he himself from Marseilles first, and after his return to Rome, was pleased to communicate to the Imperial ministers, giving his own ideas concerning the intentions of the Most Christian King, and his own view of public affairs in Christendom, it seems important, nay, very necessary, to deliberate on the said affairs, and the following particulars:—

First of all, with regard to matters of Faith, it behoves us to consider whether it will be expedient to make some sort of reply to His Holiness, who has lately shown much coolness on that score, principally in what concerns the convocation of the General Council, leaving the affair to follow the natural course of events, and entirely in the hands of God,* as may be inferred from his breve to the king of the Romans, notwithstanding that Faith is now-a-days in a more perilous condition than it has ever been, perhaps worse still, if the bad practices and intelligences of the French and English kings be taken into consideration, &c.

* "Dexando la cura en las manos de Dios, y á beneficio de natura."

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Whether, in case of a reply, His Holiness ought to be reminded of the resolution taken by the States at the recess of Ratisbon, fixing a time within which the General Council was to be held with the Pope's consent and authority, and, if not, with that of His Imperial Majesty, and, failing that, a special one of their nation to be convoked in Germany. As His Holiness makes light of this circumstance without expressly mentioning it in his breve, and the matter is so important, owing to the inconveniences likely to arise out of a national Council, especially if convoked without the consent and intervention of the Pope and Emperor, the Council inquires whether, in the reply to His Holiness, if any, the said considerations and others ought to be mentioned, &c.

Certainly they must, in order to avoid the many inconveniences that might result, were not His Holiness to be reminded of the resolutions taken at the Diet.

Whether some sort of protest ought not to be registered (tacitly or expressly), that the Emperor may hereafter vindicate himself from the charge of not having sufficiently attended to needful measures in matters of Faith, and promoted the convocation and meeting of the General Council, thus justifying his conduct before God, before the world at large, and before the princes of the sacred Roman Empire.

Whether these last ought to be informed of His Holiness' breve, in answer to the Emperor's application, and whether it would be expedient to insist thereon in order that the Prince Electors of Germany may again write to His Holiness,—which, however, it is by no means probable they will do, to judge from their past conduct in this affair; or whether it will not be better to leave matters as they are, and give

Certainly, and let it be done at once.

* "The last-named seems the most acceptable of the three means proposed."—Note by Covos as well as the rest.

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up entirely the General Council, or again to place the affair in the hands of the king of the Romans.

Respecting the Turk, the Council asks whether we ought to insist upon His Holiness contributing a larger sum, or giving more efficient help, through himself, as well as through other Christian powers to the repulse of the Infidel; or whether it would be better at once to fit out the galleys that are to meet the Turk, in case of his coming to the coast of Italy, or resist the attacks of Barbarossa and the Jew.

Should His Holiness, as we have confidence he will, fulfil his engagements on this point, there is no need reminding him of them, nor can we either ask him to help more efficiently.

With regard to the general peace, whether His Holiness ought not to be asked to explain his intentions in that particular; how he purposes to act, and what means he has in his power to co-operate in such a desirable object. What answer is to be returned to his assertion that the 1,000 Spaniards now in Italy are quite sufficient for all purposes, and to obviate the war of the ultramontanes.* Whether we ought not to insist upon the said infantry being kept at the joint expense of the Pope and of His Majesty, each taking an equal share. Whether so small a number of Spaniards could, as the Pope suggests, defend Naples, Sicily, and Coron, as well as meet the ultramontanes, should they cross the frontier. In such an event what would the Pope do, and what means has he of opposing the invaders? On what captains and "condottieri" does he rely, whom he could engage to be ready and prepared on the emergency to join the defensive league under Antonio de Leyva?

That, of course, must be tried first, though, according to Cifuentes, there will be but little chance of success.

Whether it will be expedient, to avoid further troubles and complications in Italy, that His Holiness persuade Leonello de Piis,† his

* By "ultramontanos" the French are meant.

† That is Leonelo Pio da Carpi, son of Alberto, who died in 1531, in January.

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servant, to restore Novi to Antonio de Leyva as captain general of the League. Also that he refrain as much as possible from helping persons who directly or indirectly used violence against the Sienese, Luquesa, or any other Italian communities, putting strongly before him the violence which Pirro Colonna has lately used against the Sienese, boasting that he had permission from His Holiness to pass through their territory in arms.

What answer is to be given to the application the Pope has made through Carniseca that count Della Concordia should consent to La Mirandola being deposited until the justice of his claim be acknowledged, provided, however, he is not made answerable for the murders at the taking of it. His Holiness thinks the proposal acceptable, and we wish to know whether his opinion is to be adopted, or whether we must insist on the unconditional restitution of that castle and estate, owing to the cruelty of the case.

In case of the restitution of Novi and La Mirandola not taking place, what is to be done with regard to the judicial proceedings now being instituted in the name of certain parties; what with those refusing to give them up, especially with Leonelo Pio, who is known to have made a most insolent answer when summoned to give up Novi. Whether, such being the case, and they refusing to surrender, steps should be taken to dispossess them; or, whether, considering the present state of Italy, and the rumours of war now prevailing, it would not be better to dissemble for a while, or remit the affair entirely to the decision of Antonio de Leyva.

Lastly, should Leonelo and count della Concordia absolutely refuse to give up La Mirandola and Novi, what is to be done with the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) and the

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heirs of count della Mirandola, who claim respectively the possession of those two castles; how are they to be pacified and made to wait; and whether the ambassador of the former, who is now here, and the solicitor representing the heirs of the latter, are to be spoken to, and told that the Emperor's wish is that the restitution be made unconditionally.

Both ways might be tried.

Whether it would be advisable under present circumstances to delay the application to His Holiness for the renewal of the promise he once made at Bologna of not breeding enmity against the Duke on account of Modona, Rezzo (Reggio), and Rubiera, during a certain space of time. As the term of 18 months then granted by him will expire on the last day of August, it seems quite unnecessary to apply for a prorogation of it.

Since there is still time for doing what is proposed, the Count ought to be instructed to let us know when and in what terms His Holiness should be addressed on the subject.

Whether, in case of a rupture with France, steps ought to be taken with the Venetians in order to persuade them of His Majesty's pacific intentions, and of his determination to abide by the treaties of alliance and confederacy with the Signory, in order to oppose French designs on Italy.

Whether count Cifuentes or Antonio de Leyva ought to put themselves into communication with the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo), and ascertain from him what his intentions are, should war break out. The Duke has not yet complained of the Pope or of the king of France, and he is no doubt dissembling.

Whether, in virtue of their applications, the viceroy of Naples (Toledo) and Antonio de Leyva ought to be instructed as to what each of them is to do in case of a rupture, and of the French invading Italy. Whether the answer to their questions is to be conceived in general terms, leaving to the said Leyva, Doria, and viceroy the

Approved, though always adding the clause, "that His Imperial Majesty still doubts of there being any war, since he sees no reason for it."

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care of providing for the defence of their respective trusts, or whether each of them is to be addressed in particular.

Leyva and prothonotary Carazolo (Marino Caracciolo), who reside at Milan, must induce Francesco Sforza to look to the fortification and provisioning of the principal towns and castles of his duchy. Leyva, meanwhile might show great confidence in the duke of Savoy, communicate with him and with the other Italian princes and potentates, and attend to what has lately been written on the pensioning (*entretenimiento*) of certain German captains, apprising the officer of Besançon (Bonvalot), His Majesty's ambassador in Switzerland, of whatever he (Leyva) and prothonotary Carazolo (Caracciolo) may consider proper and most fit to prevent the king of France making levies in that country; the Duke [of Savoy], on the other hand, using the utmost diligence, and advising of what may happen, &c.

Let it be so by all means; the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo) might go to the Duke and ascertain what he himself intends doing on the emergency.

52. On the English Business.

28,587, f. 158.

Insist upon the chief cause being sentenced, and write to count Cifuentes, the ambassador at Rome, letting him know that whenever the opportunity may seem favourable, he is to say to the Pope how much His Majesty has done, and is doing, for him.

Whether the decision and definition of the principal matter in the divorce suit should be solicited and pushed on at Rome, as well as the suspension of the sentence "super attentatis," especially nowadays when things in England are so hostile to His Holiness and the Apostolic See, and when His Holiness, from a sense of duty or indignation, must necessarily be moved to determine the affair and issue sentence.

There is no necessity.

Whether any further steps are to be taken with the king of England in the matter, or whether he had better be left to himself, since all admonitions, persuasions, and so forth, have not only hitherto proved

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vain, but have, on the contrary, greatly increased his anger.

Whether something ought not to be said to the English ambassador residing at this Imperial court respecting the cruel and harsh treatment of the Queen and of the Princess, her daughter, urging upon the King that, in consideration of their great humility and the respect they entertain for him, and also of their condition and quality, they should receive better treatment.

Whether it will be necessary to call His Holiness' attention to the want of respect to Your Majesty in having had the marriage settlements of his niece to the duke of Orleans drawn out; or whether it will be better to leave things as they are, and wait for the course of events, keeping His Holiness all the time in fear of the contingency that Your Imperial Majesty may not consent to that of the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] with your daughter [Margaret].

Wait for His Holiness's answer.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 16.

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S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 83.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 155.

53. [Cardinal Merino?] to the Emperor on behalf of Cardinal Farnese.

Considering the Cardinal's many services, past and present, principally in the English suit, to be of so much importance for Your Majesty—he being a man of such authority, and dean of the Sacred College—considering also how very important it is to gain his good-will in this English business, as well as in others that may occur, it would be advisable that Your Imperial Majesty should favour him at the first ecclesiastical promotion (*consulta*); for not only does he deserve it better than any other cardinal here, at Rome, but it will be a stimulus to him to continue devoting himself entirely to Your Majesty's service.

Although all the cardinals present at the Emperor's coronation at Bologna were *ipso facto* declared to be naturalised Spaniards, or otherwise subjects of the Emperor, Farnese ought to have a full confirmation of such a grant. He is just now much aggrieved and offended because in the matter of a canonry of Coria, which he resigned in favour of one Francisco de Trejo, now residing at this Court, a "cedula" has been intimated summoning him to appear per-

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sonally or by proxy before the Council [of Castille] under the pain specified in the said "cedula," or else to lose both the canonry, which is held at present by Lic^te^ Baeza, and the naturalisation which he enjoys.

Spanish. Original draft.

10 May. **54.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, ff. 28–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 251.

On the 20th ult. Tello de Guzman brought me Your Majesty's letters of the 5th, which I will answer as follows.

Taking into account His Holiness' readiness to deposit his quota of the 25,000 ducats, that is 4,000 for the subvention to the Catholic cantons, and 8,000 for the Prince of Melphi * to arm galleys with,—considering that he had also promised shortly to determine the principal cause of the Queen of England, that politics upon the whole seem more settled than they have been for some time back, and that, generally speaking, there is at present no cause for alarm,—I thought it was more for Your Majesty's advantage to delay the message, which I was instructed to give verbally, about the General Council, and not deliver the letter in my credence; in short not to say anything that might cause His Holiness displeasure or uneasiness; for, to say the truth, the discontent he has lately shown in the matter of the bishoprics lately conferred by Your Majesty on natives of those kingdoms, was of such nature that I dared not speak to him on the subject of the Council without first consulting Your Majesty. I, therefore, beg to be excused if, for what I consider to be Your Majesty's best service, I have delayed until now mentioning the subject to His Holiness, and I can assure Your Majesty that should I receive fresh orders to resume the negotiation, no consideration shall prevent my executing your commands.

Meanwhile, and not to allow the negotiation to flag, I intend speaking to His Holiness on the subject at one of the many occasions that offer themselves of letters from Germany conveying news of the precarious state of affairs in that country, and the need there is of a prompt remedy. This I will do in general terms, without giving him cause or occasion for excitement.

Respecting the paragraph of my despatch of the 23rd of January, which has there (in Spain) been pronounced somewhat obscure and ambiguous, owing to my not having clearly specified whether His Holiness had confessed to having uttered the words reported by Aponte on his going back to Spain, I should think that, having written to Your Majesty that the words had been actually uttered in my very presence, and that Aponte had delivered his message correctly, without adding or retrenching a syllable of it, it was perfectly under-

* There must be some error in the items.

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stood that since the Pope did not contradict the statement it was quite clear that he had uttered those words.*

If any error has been committed may Your Majesty pardon me, and I will try to patch up the thing as well as I can. However this may be, one thing is certain, that His Holiness' demonstrations at the time, and the words he afterwards used, were indicative of the displeasure he then felt. As Your Majesty has since commanded me not to show resentment at Aponte having reported the words which the Pope said, I did not deem it necessary to ask him if what the former said was true or not, because it was as much as to hint that His Holiness was sorry for having said them.†

Some days after this, in order to make His Holiness declare himself more explicitly, I repeated to him, in Aponte's presence, the very words and message which he (Aponte) had brought from Your Majesty, which made Aponte feel ashamed (*se me corrio*) and complain of me, all the time thanking His Holiness for his good intentions, and declaring what Your Majesty's were. The Pope then told me distinctly that he would apply himself to the redress of these matters, and would do whatever was most conducive to the peace and welfare of Christendom. In this manner, and in general terms, did His Holiness satisfy all the points of Aponte's instructions, not denying, but, on the contrary, affirming with many demonstrations, that he had really said the words reported by Aponte; for otherwise he would most certainly have disowned them altogether. Besides, Your Majesty has only to order that my despatches be carefully read again, and it will be found that many a time have I written home the substance of the very words that Aponte related to Your Majesty as coming from the Pope.‡

On the 7th ult. Your Majesty's ambassador in England wrote to me that the King of that country complained that at the conference of Marseilles matters had been discussed, at

* "En quanto á lo que V. M^{d} me mandó screvir que no declaré bien con mi carta de los XXIII. de henero proximo pasado sy Su Santidad havia aprovado ser verdad aquellas palabras que á Aponte dixo Su Santidad, yo pensé que, como screvi á V. M^{d} que las havia referido en mi presencia, y no habia faltado en ninguna se entendia ser verdad haberlas dicho Su Santidad, pues no lo contradixo, y asi no me aclaré mas. Si algun error ha avido V. M^{d} lo perdone, y enmendarse—ha en lo porvenir. Mas à la verdad, Su M^{d} tenga por cierto que Su Santidad por la demonstracion que hizo y palabras que se confirieron, claramente se vido que él havia dicho aquellas palabras, y por obedescer á V. M^{d} que me mandó que no mostrase ningun sentimiento de haberlas dicho Aponte, no me paresció de preguntar á Su Santidad si era verdad lo que Aponte dezia."

† "Por que era dar á entender en alguna manera que ya estaba quexoso de haberselas dicho. Y otro dia porque se determinase mas claramente Su Beatitud, &^{a}."

‡ "Me dixo que él se offrecia al remedio de todas aquellas cosas y que haria lo que conviniese al bien y paz de la Christiandad, y asi Su Santidad cumplió con palabras generales á todos los puntos, no negando, antes afirmando con demostracion, haver dicho lo que Aponte refirió á V. M^{d} por que a no haverlo dicho assi Su Santidad lo negara, quanto mas que sy V. M^{d} quiere mandar ver mis cartas conocera que en diversas vezes havia yo ya scripto casi lo mismo que el dicho Aponte dixo á V. M^{d} de parte de Su Santidad."

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Your Majesty's instigation, which were detrimental to him. I answered him (Chapuys), that if the information transmitted was for the purpose of preventing the suspension of the sentence in the matrimonial suit, he and the rest of the world knew very well that every effort would be made on our part for the favourable issue of that affair, but that I had reasons to suspect that the King's complaint was not on that ground. It might happen that some people, for their own particular ends, had made the king of England suppose that something to his detriment or to that of his kingdom might be designed by Your Majesty, apart from the matrimonial suit.*

I have therefore thought fit to notify the ambassador that he may make such use of the information as he may consider proper, that several months before we went to Marseilles, and at Marseilles itself, Your Imperial Majesty sent me word that should any overtures be made at the conferences to the prejudice of the king of England, I was to take care not to listen to them, but, on the contrary, do my utmost that such matters should not be discussed at all. And that in obedience to Your Majesty's commands I had not allowed any conversations of the sort, notwithstanding that, had Your Majesty chosen, you might very well have listened to several like proposals; therefore, instead of complaining, the King ought to be very grateful to Your Majesty for what you had done.—Rome, 10th May 1534.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

10 May. **55.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER OF LEON.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, ff. 30–1. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 250.

After writing to the Emperor letters came from the Papal Nuncio residing at that Court, wherein he relates the conversation he had with His Imperial Majesty respecting the affairs of Germany. The Nuncio's account is substantially the same as that which Your Lordship sent me the other day. The Emperor, he says, had complained to him (the Papal Nuncio) of the arrival of the Lansgraff (Langrave Philip) in France, and of the subsequent troubles in Germany precisely after the conference at Marseilles. He had also complained of other things, and had not thanked him (the Pope) for the sentence in the English cause, nor for other good works of His Holiness.

This the Pope has felt extremely, and in such a manner, that I apprehend he may (which may God forbid !) come out

* "En esto ya sabia él y todo el mundo que se havia de procurar todo lo posible para el buen y breve despacho del negocio. Y asi sospeché que no havia [el Rey] dado la quexa por lo susodicho sino por que podria ser que algunos por sus propositos y fines le havian hecho entender que alli se trataria por parte de V. Mª en daño suyo y de su reyno fuera de lo del matrimonio."

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before his time, and not keep faith to the end. A little fear, and a certain sense of shame, have hitherto kept him to his engagements, or at least prevented him from showing his enmity; but should he lose all shame by our complaining of his acts, there is no saying what he may do.

Your Lordship may believe me when I say that the Emperor's words have made a profound impression on His Holiness' mind, and such that I could not convey an appropriate idea of it, were I to write a much longer letter than this.—Rome, 10 May 1534.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

11 May. **56.** ADVICES FROM PARIS.

S. E. L. 862, f. 119. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 254.

Two ambassadors of the king of England have come here, and the two kings have had another conference, more secret and confidential than the former; indeed it is reported that they are "amico del amico," and "inimico del inimico."

There is likewise here an ambassador from Scotland, who, they say, is asking for the hand of a daughter of the most Christian, and that the king of England, who at first opposed the marriage, now consents to it.

Military preparations are being made in Germany for the purpose of reinstating the duke of Würtemberg.

There are no rumours of war in foreign parts, but I understand that a gentleman has been sent post-haste to Spain. I believe the Queen (Eleanor) sends him thither, that he may inform the Emperor of the state of things [in France]. Should he meet with a better reception than last time, Monseigneur, the Grand Master, (Anne de Montmorency,) who is striving to keep the peace between the Emperor and his master, will also be sent thither.

Monsieur Renzo [da Ceri] is now here.

The ambassadors to the duke of Savoy [Carlo] have not yet left.

People here are much preoccupied with the affairs of the Turk. Advices lately received from Venice state that, notwithstanding the cession of Coron to the Turk—which has been principally brought about by means of the king of the Romans, and of the treaty made in Hungary,—that Infidel will send his fleet, estimated at 200 sail, and 30,000 men. Some people think that this armament of the Turk, and the troubles of Germany, will have the effect of inducing the Emperor to make a lasting peace with France, and grant this king some of his demands; whilst others are of opinion that the Emperor ought not to give in, and consequently that there will be war.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

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14 May. **57.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

V. Imp. Arch., *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*228, No. 32.

More than a fortnight ago the Scottish ambassador came to me, and exhibited, as I informed Your Majesty by my letter of the 22nd ult., the articles proposed to him and his colleagues for acceptance by this King's ministers; of two of which, perhaps the most important, I enclosed a memorandum by the last post. *The Ambassador, among other things, told me that he believed peace with this country would shortly be made, owing not only to the most pressing solicitations of these people, but also on account of the great need in which his master stood,* and for fear lest the English, seeing them (the Scots) *without help or aid from any quarter, should suddenly fall on them; for which Francis would not be sorry, but would, on the contrary, try indirectly to bring about the event in order, by putting extreme pressure on the king of Scotland, to oblige him to take to wife the woman designated by him and by this King, and thus effectually mar his master's project, which was to marry king Francis' eldest daughter, long ago promised to him. For this reason, he said, it was fit and even necessary to temporize with these people, and amuse them with the prospect of a peace, in order that this King should not prevent the marriage with the daughter of France, as he had all the time been striving to do. Once sure of this peace, king Henry would no longer have fears of the said marriage taking place, &c.*

This and other equally mysterious confessions I was able to extort from the Scottish ambassador, who added, that, whatever the terms of the peace they were about to conclude, that would not prevent the King, their master, from seizing the very first opportunity of waging war on the English, as they (the Scotch) would find plenty of legitimate causes for it. Of this, he said, he could give me every assurance. He could also promise me that he and his colleagues would never negotiate or treat of anything likely to diminish or impair in the least the friendship they had for Your Majesty and *for your subjects, nor the brotherhood lately established between you two by his admission into the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Ambassador ended by stating that these people had proposed for acceptance several articles the very opposite of what they wished in that respect, which articles they had indignantly rejected, declaring that it was the wish of their master that Your Majesty should be retained or rather included in the said peace, and that the Bishop his colleague, and himself, had received instructions to that effect.*

Since then the said Scottish ambassadors have been in almost continuous communication with the King, or with his Privy Councillors, especially since the return from France of Mr. de Rochefort, and Treasurer Feu Veullien (Fitz William), whose arrival these people expected anxiously for finishing up the affair they have in hand, imagining, perhaps, that they might receive from France help and

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encouragement.* Whether it has been so or not, they have acted as though it were, for immediately after the return of the above named the French ambassador, who previous to that had not attended the conferences between the Scottish ambassadors and the members of the Privy Council, was personally summoned, and the King's minister began from that moment to speak in high terms, and to demand certain disputed territory [on the borders], which by innumerable previous treaties has been adjudicated to the king of Scotland. After much contention and dispute, these ministers suggested that their differences about the disputed territory, and about other points, should be referred for arbitration to the king of France; to which the Scottish ambassadors would not agree, insisting upon the Pope being the arbiter. *I am told that when the* Scottish ambassadors mentioned their wish, *the duke of Norfolk said in a passion, "Which Pope do you mean?"—intimating, no doubt, that there were two,—one at Rome, the other in England, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury. Which repartee from the Duke gave the Bishop an opportunity to descant upon the Pope's authority, and condemn what was done here, in England, against him. I must add that the Scotchman's speech by no means pleased the company or the Duke, who was sorry he had ever said those words.*

My opinion, however, is that, after much disputing and contending, these people will, as far as I can judge, give in, and accept the terms of the Scotch, for they are really desirous of peace. Indeed, I am told that they have already made one treaty to last the lives of the two Kings, [of England and Scotland,] and for years after; though of its terms and conditions I have been unable to learn anything. *The Scottish ambassador, who used to visit me frequently, sent me, the day before yesterday, a message to know when he could come and speak to me. I replied that I would* wait for him any day and *hour he would like to appoint. He has not yet made his appearance, having, as I hear, been very much engaged with the Privy Councillors in framing and drawing up the clauses of the treaty. When he does, I will not fail to apprise Your Majesty of the result of the negotiations, and what he himself thinks of it. The other ambassador, the Bishop, has likewise sent me word that he wishes, before his return to Scotland, to confer with me for three or four hours. We have not yet met, for fear of arousing suspicion, but it is to be supposed that now the peace is made there will be no difficulty.*

On the return from France of Lord de Rochefort and Treasurer (Fitz William), though it was an extraordinary† day, the King and his mistress dined in public; and after dinner,

* "Le quel retourd, a ce quil semble, ceulx çy attendoint avant que estreindre laffere, pensant que de ce couste la leur raffraschiroit la faveur."

† "Oerez que le iour fust extraordinaire."

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within hearing of all those present, the former began to say how much he was bound to praise and thank God for having so completely and effectually attached to him so good a brother and especial friend, as the king of France was, always ready to run the same venture as himself, and to conform with his wishes and intentions; which assertion (he said) Lord de Rochefort and Treasurer (Fitz William), there present, might testify, and would not fail to corroborate. *Yet so unusual a ceremony and public statement makes many people suspect that the king of France begins to waver, for he has postponed till July next the interview which this King pressed so hastily.** *Indeed it is generally believed that the conferences will not take place after all, and that the bishop of Paris* [*Jean du Bellay*] *or some other high personage will come here on behalf of the French king, to hear, among other things, what this one purposes bringing forward at the interview.*†

Although I have many a time solicited the Queen (Katharine), your Majesty's aunt, for her opinion and advice respecting the execution of the sentence, it is only two days ago that I received from her the letter herein enclosed; which, besides the adjoined declaration of the Queen's sentiments in the matter, will perhaps be a sufficient excuse for her not writing this time to Your Majesty.‡ *She hitherto imagined that the Papal sentence once delivered and intimated to the parties, this King would return to the right path; but she now perceives that it is absolutely necessary to apply stronger remedies to the evil. What these are to be, she durst not point out—firstly, because she is afraid of her letters being intercepted; and secondly, lest she should contradict in the least what she has said and written on former occasions. She is also aware that Your Majesty knows best what sort of remedy matters in this country require.*§ *Whatever that remedy may be, it must be applied shortly, otherwise the evil will be irremediable; for, owing to the means this King and many others are employing or may eventually employ according to circumstances, all will be lost; and, what is still worse, every day this new Lutheran sect increases and is reinforced, and, when once it takes root in this country, those even who have taken the Queen's part will turn round, under the impres-*

* "Mais certes ceste cerymonye et publicacion non accoustumee fait souspeçonner que le roy de France commence de clocher, mesmes ayant remises les entreueues que ce roy hastoit si fort pour le mois de iuilliet."

† "Pour entre autres choses fere lecture des dites entreueues."

‡ "Ayant par pluseurs foys sollicite la royne, madame vostre tante, de son aduys pour leffectuation de sa senteuce depuis deux iours tant seullement elle ma escript la lectre quenvoye avec ceste, la quelle oultre la declaration de son dit aduys servira pour excuse de ce que la dite royne nescript a vostre maieste."

§ "Elle pensoit par ci-devant que estant donnee et rendue la sentence que ce roy se convertiroit, mais elle cognoit bien maintenant quil est besoing dy proceder par autres remedes, lesquells elle ne ose mectre en auant tant pour craincte que ses lectres fussent surprinses que pour non contrarier a ce quelle en a cy deuant dit et escript, sachant aussi que vostre maieste entend trop mieulx ce que convient pour le remede des affaires dicy que nul aultre au monde."

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sion that whatever efforts Your Majesty might make to redress the Queen's affairs here would not be so much for her sake as for the purpose of upholding the authority of the Pope, which they describe here as tyrannical. It is under that impression that this King thinks he can unite in his favour not only the votes of his own subjects, but also those of part of Germany. Were Your Majesty to hear only a portion of the complaints and lamentations which are daily being made respecting the tardiness of that remedy, I am sure that you would be greatly surprised. Which lamentations and wailings have so increased of late, especially since the merchants of this city have begun to prepare goods for the next fair in Flanders, that people say, "Whoever henceforth allows these merchants to ship their goods for Spain or Flanders must wish for their ruin." Your Majesty, however, knows what all this means, much better than those who speak about it. Your very great and incomparable virtue and prudence will, no doubt, make provision for the emergency.*

The Queen, Your Majesty's aunt, has lately removed to a house belonging to the heirs of Monsieur Richart Vuinfil (Wingfield),† who died at Toledo whilst this King's ambassador to Your Majesty. She is personally better lodged than she was, though the house is smaller. Some time before her removal the King sent two doctors-at-law for the purpose of making her swear to the two statutes newly made in Parliament, the copies of which I enclosed to Your Majesty, on the 22nd ult.; but, instead of swearing, the Queen, as a counterpart for the intimation, read to the doctor the sentence which the Pope had given at Rome in her favour; upon which the King's deputies retired after making the household servants swear to the statutes.

A few days ago, *the King asked the lady in waiting‡ of his mistress, who had charge of the Princess*, whether there were signs of her rebellious spirit and stubborn obstinacy being in any way subdued. The lady answered that she continued the same; upon which the King remarked, "Then there must be some one near her who maintains her in her fanciful ideas by conveying news of her mother to her." The governess replied, that, all things considered, the only person she could suspect was that very maid who, as I informed Your Majesty, was compelled to take the oath. Without further inquiry, the governess sent away the maid, who has been some days without resources, and without any one daring to receive her. At which the Princess has been much affected,

* The passage in the text stands thus: "Lesquelles lamentacions ont este plus frequentes fois quelques iours en ça que ces marchants commencent de fere leurs preparatives de charger pour la prochaine foire de Flandres disant que qui permectra deçormais ceulx-cy aller au dit Flandres ne en Espaigne que tout sen va (sera?) perdu."

† Sir Richard Wingfield died at Toledo in . . . . . .

‡ One word wanting in the clerk's deciphering: "Il y a quelques iours que ce roy demanda a la [tante?] de samye que eu (a) charge la princesse," &c.

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and not without cause, for she was the only maid whom the Princess could trust, and by whose intermediate action she received my letters, and those of other people. The Queen herself is much grieved at this, and, above all, at the King's having lately replaced the Princess' confessor, a worthy and pious ecclesiastic, by one, who is a Lutheran, and the King's right-hand man.

The King, perceiving that he cannot subdue the Princess' temper by rude treatment or threats, and influenced perhaps by considerations of another sort, has since then treated her more honourably than usual, and addressed her in more gracious words, intimating that, were she only to give up her wilful obstinacy, and entirely obey his commands, he would propose to her, before St. Michael next, such a marriage as would ensure to her the title and dignity of Queen. To which message she replied, among other good and wise words, "God forbid that I should be so blinded by error or ambition as to confess that the King my father, and the Queen my mother, have lived so long in adultery, or that I willingly contravene the ordinances and precepts of my holy Mother the Church, by acknowledging myself illegitimate." *The Princess firmly believes that such affectation of better treatment on the part of the King covers some design on his part. It may, perhaps, be intended to disguise the poison they intend giving her; for which, as she says, she cares not in the least, firmly believing and trusting in God that she will go straight to Heaven, and be freed from this world's tribulations and troubles.*

I am told that for some days past *this King has shown more vivacity and content than is his wont. I cannot say whether it is caused by this late peace with the Scotch, or by the news he has received of fresh dissensions in Germany, which dissensions he is sure to fan with all his might until some work be prepared for him to do at home.*

The Vayvode's secretary, whose business in England had been put off until the return of Lord Rochefort and Treasurer (Fitz-William) from France, is still in London, and has had no answer, as far as I can judge, to the overtures whereof he was the bearer.—London, 14 May, MDXXXIIII.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 9.

19 May. **58.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

V. Imp. Arch., *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*228, No. 34.

After my despatch of last Thursday,* on the ensuing Friday, the 15th inst., I received a message from the Privy Council by a gentleman, requesting me to meet them at Vuasmonster (Westminster) on Saturday, at seven in the morning; which

* See above, No. 57, p. 151.

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I did. I found already there the archbishops of York and Canterbury, the [High] Chancellor (Audeley), the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Dexceptre (Exeter), the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire), Master Cromwell, the bishops of London, Durem (Durham), and of Ili (Eli), Doctors Sampson and Fox, the Controller of the Royal Household (Paulet), and the Captain of the Body Guard, together with the chief magistrates of this kingdom. Having sat down, the said Dr. Fox commenced a long peroration in Latin, prepared some days before, the substance of which was: that the King, acknowledging the good offices that I (Chapuys) had always rendered in the fulfilment of my charge, and the praiseworthy inclination continually shown by me towards the preservation of the friendship between Your Majesty and his master, the King, in which inclination and desire he (the King) earnestly begged me to persevere, had considered it fit to inform me [the Imperial Ambassador] that his detestable and abominable first marriage having been declared nul by law, and he having contracted a fresh one, more for the repose and quietness of his kingdom than for his own pleasure, with the one who was at present his Queen, and having by the grace of God had issue of his blood, he had, at the urgent request of his whole kingdom, and for the sake of removing all doubts and scruples that might arise about the succession to the Crown, made a statute declaring the manner of the succession, which was, that the male children born of this present marriage should rank first, and after them his daughter Isabella (Elizabeth), whom the speaker called "Princess." That the said statute drawn in perfectly juridical form, and approved and sanctioned, not only by every member of the assembly of the General Estates of the kingdom, but likewise by the free consent and voluntary oath of all and everyone of his subjects—two women only excepted, namely, Madame Catherine and Madame Marie, as he chose to call them,—whom, notwithstanding all the means of persuasion employed by the King, and the remonstrances and exhortations of the principal personages of his kingdom, he (the King) had been unable to recall to reason, or to a sense of their respective duties. The King (continued Dr. Fox) wished me (Chapuys) to understand that, should the said ladies persevere in their pertinacious refusal, he would be obliged on his part to proceed against them according to the form and tenour of the said statute, of which a copy has been forwarded to Your Majesty.

In answer to the above address, I failed not to remonstrate strongly against the manifest iniquity and injustice of the said statute, which, as I had had occasion to tell the King before it was framed, could in no wise deprive the Princess of her right as true and legitimate daughter, and true heir to the Crown in default of male children. I maintained that the King could not deprive her of her right; nor could the statute

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ordain or decide in any way against the legal and legitimate marriage of the King to queen Catherine, that being a matter exclusively reserved to the Holy Apostolic See. The statute, therefore, being founded on false statements, was of no value whatever. Even if it had been well founded, and had its promoters or makers had the power of ordaining and legislating on such matters, it would be still an iniquitous and unjust proceeding, inasmuch as not only had the parties concerned not been summoned to appear, but I myself had been refused permission to attend Parliament and speak in favour of the just right of the Queen and Princess;—a very strange way of proceeding in an affair of this kind, which could not fail to surprise all those who might hear of it. This, I said, was a proof that they were not at all sure of getting Parliament to vote the statute, since they did not allow me to go thither and lay before the members the true state of the case. The King himself could not show better the invalidity of his own statute than by compelling, as he was actually doing, people to swear to it, which was a compulsory act much condemned by the best jurists, whose authority I then and there quoted. I said further I maintained that the rudest people in England had been heard to say that evidently the statute had no force at all, since they were called upon and obliged to swear beforehand a thing which had not yet been examined and tried. If Plato's laws were called cold (*froydes*) owing to their being headed by long preambles, what could be said of theirs, which, besides being preceded by an exposition full of lies, contained no truth whatever in themselves? To say nothing of the assertion that the King's subjects had requested him to make such a statute, and yet had hastened to take the oath. Whatever Dr. Fox may say about this, I know better; people swore because they dared not offer opposition, the penalty being forfeiture of life and property, and no one in these times wished to become a martyr; besides which, several reconciled themselves to the idea, by the notion that oaths taken by force, against morality (*bonnes meurs*), were not binding, and that even if the oath was a true and legitimate one they could contravene it more honourably than the archbishop of Canterbury there present, who, the day after swearing fidelity and obedience to the Pope, had issued a summons against the Queen, in spite of and against all the advocations, inhibitions, pains, and very grave censures, &c.

After which, and other similar words intended as a counterpart to the statute, which the Doctor had just read to me, I took upon myself to apprize him and the rest of the sentence issued by His Holiness, with the unanimous approbation of the Consistory, which had been attended by double the number of cardinals than there had been bishops at some of the councils, which they frequently quote in their allegations and writings in the King's favour.

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With regard to the second principal point alluded to in Dr. Fox's speech, namely, the stubborn obstinacy of the Queen and Princess, I said that those who accused those two ladies of being pertinaciously obdurate might be compared to those designing women who, when in dispute with others of their sex, generally accuse their opponents of the very vice by which they themselves were contaminated. If obstinacy there was in the affair, it ought to be attributed to those who, after 25 years of marriage contracted by princes so wise, with sound and mature deliberation, and after a most solemn decision of the Church issued in two different sentences, refused to acknowledge the truth, and that I could not guess what their motive and purpose could be in thus representing to me what they called "the stubborn obstinacy" of the ladies; for, even supposing they could persuade me that such was the case, I had neither the authority nor the means of dissuading them from their opinion in this respect; and I wished to let them know that even if I had sufficient power and influence over them to bring about such a change, I would not use it in such an undertaking; I would rather die a thousand deaths than try to dissuade them, unless I had express orders from Your Majesty. If, however, the warning they had given me was, as I thought, intended for Your Majesty's information, I would willingly write to you. "If such be your intention," I said, "I beg you to declare at once your master's wishes and purposes, that I may convey to the Emperor a full idea of what the Queen and the Princess have to expect at his hands." I cannot, I added, be persuaded that the King, your master, whatever you may say, will treat the Queen and the Princess worse than he has hitherto done; on the contrary, I think that, considering the great humility, modesty, and patience with which she and her mother have behaved up to the present moment, the King will be induced to treat them more honourably than in the past. Should he do otherwise, he will incur universal blame, and perhaps give cause of disapproval to His Majesty, the Emperor, and the rest of the princes, his relatives and allies, and convert into direct hostility the friendship which they profess towards him; for friendship does not consist only in fine and gracious words; it cannot be magnified and extolled unless deeds are in accordance with words."

I ended by entreating all those who called themselves friends of peace to take care lest, by exhausting the patience which Your Majesty has hitherto shown towards them, owing to the great love and affection you had for the King their master, something should be done to offend Your Majesty beyond bearing; for they ought to understand that you considered the Queen as your mother, and the Princess as your sister or daughter, and that although I had no express mandate to speak on such matters, yet I made bold to say that, in my

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opinion, Your Majesty could not do less than show yourself dutiful nephew and cousin in all that concerned the right and justice of the said Queen and Princess, especially when at the same time you were called upon to uphold the authority of our Mother Holy Church, whose protector and most dutiful son Your Majesty was. "To such course of action," I added, "the Emperor, my master, must be greatly stimulated by the words of one of your ambassadors at Bologna, who said that by following up and abetting the Queen's cause the Emperor would be the cause of the separation of this kingdom from the Holy Apostolic See, and that although it was not Your Majesty's province to remedy such things, they should remember that God, in His clemency and infallible justice, would ultimately be angry and put things in order."

After this reply of mine, the Doctor and the rest held parley together, though not for a long time, for there was no need of it, each of those who were in the room having some days before learnt his lesson by heart.* The consultation over, the bishop of Durem (Tunstall) spoke. He is justly considered as one of the most learned, prudent, and honest prelates in the whole kingdom, and has hitherto upheld the Queen's cause by his word as well as by his writings; but nowadays, not choosing to become a martyr, and lose such ecclesiastical benefice as his, bringing him 15,000 ducats annually, he has been obliged to swear like the rest, though under certain reserves and restrictions to satisfy, as he thinks, his conscience.† The better and sooner to induce him to take the oath, after placing before him the example of the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) and of Master Mur (More), they have goaded him in a manner which touched him more effectually; for having been summoned and invited to court (a thing which he had never been allowed to do before, as long as Parliament or the Convocation was sitting—for if he happened to come to town at such a time, he was invariably ordered to return to his diocese)—on this occasion, as I say, he was particularly requested to come, and two days after he had quitted his house certain royal commissioners arrived, broke into it, searched every corner, and made an inventory of all his property, which they sent to the King, along with all the papers and letters they could find.‡ But, to proceed:—After his return home, the Bishop began to say in public that the

* "Sur ma dite response ilz communicarent ensemble, non point longuement, aussy nen estoit yl besoing car de quelques iours ilz avoint tres tous estudie leur roule."

† "Il a este contrainct de jurer comme les autres, bien que lon dit que avec certainnes restrictions et reservations."

‡ "Lon luy donna ung aultre aguyllon que le touchoit de bien pres quest questant mande de la part de ce roy de venir icy (ce que ne luy avoit este permy durant les estatz, ains venant yl fust contremande) deux iours aprez quil fust party de la mayson certains commissaires du dit seigneur roy entrarent en sa mayson faysant ouverture par tout et description de tous ses biens, et furent apporteez au roy toutes les lectrez missives que les ditz commissaires trouvoirent."

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statute was a most considerate and well-established act for the quietness of this kingdom, and that for that reason no one ought refuse swearing to it. My answer, when I heard the Bishop say this much, was, that the true security and tranquillity of England depended entirely on the King's going back to his legitimate wife, whose arrival in England had been the means, by the sanctity of her life, and the assistance of her royal kindred, of preventing many troubles and revolutions [in England] which the father of this King [Henry VII.] had wisely foreseen before her arrival. With regard to the Universities, which the Bishop said had pronounced in favour of the King, I named to him several more [who had decided against him], showing nevertheless the practices used, the money spent by this King, and the vain efforts made in Germany, where neither bribery nor favour had been sufficient to obtain from the Universities any determination to suit their purpose.

As to the Papal brief, when the suit was first instituted in England, declaring the King's first marriage to be nul, which brief the Bishop called "epistre decretale," making it the keystone of his reasoning, I maintained that the said brief had been issued at Orvieto at a time when the Pope had just arrived from his castle of Saint Angelo, and was very angry at his detention, and therefore the brief was full of spite against Your Majesty. It was, I said, issued as much for pope Clement's private views and interests as for the gratification of the kings of France and England, who had at all times, but especially then, showed themselves his friends. Besides that, the brief had been sent without pope Clement communicating to and debating upon the matter [with his Cardinals], as His Holiness afterwards did when truth was investigated and solemnly proclaimed.

To the Bishop's asseveration that the Pope, whilst at the conference of Marseilles, had declared that if the King sent his procurator to Rome invested with sufficient powers to appear for him at court, sentence would be pronounced in his favour, I replied that it was not likely that His Holiness could have said such a thing; if he did, he meant, no doubt, that in pronouncing for the legitimacy of the King's first marriage, he sentenced in his favour, since his own honour and conscience were safe guarded, and the repose and tranquillity of his kingdom ensured through the sentence. It was to be presumed that a sentence thus pronounced before his own procurator would have been quickly obeyed by the King. In proposing that, if he ever did propose it, His Holiness had intended to follow the steps of some criminal judges, who, in order to extort the truth and drag out a confession from the accused, say kind words to them, and give them hopes of liberation. Such stratagems were allowable and praiseworthy as that which Solomon used with the two women who disputed the ownership of a child; and that if a procurator was wanted for the Pope to give sentence in favour of the

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King, certainly the archbishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) was well worth any ten of them.

To the above remarks the bishop of Durham made no reply whatever. After him came the bishop of London (Stockesley), who attempted to question the King's first marriage on the authority of St. Basile, St. Gregory, and pope Innocent III., whose works he quoted in support of his theory, though, to say the least of it, the passages adduced proved exactly the contrary of what the Bishop maintained. I will not annoy Your Majesty with the details of the dispute; suffice it to say that when the said Bishop stated that, though the King had been evidently in the wrong "when he separated from his Queen" and contracted a new marriage, yet the Pope, whom all here call the bishop of Rome, had been so iniquitous and partial, had shown such injustice and done such injury to the King, his master, in giving a second sentence against him, and issuing executory letters (*executoriales*) on the first, notwithstanding this King's appeal to the future Council, —which appeal, as the Bishop said, tied the hands of His Holiness and curtailed his power,—that king Henry was quite justified in acting as he had done. It was no new thing (said he) for princes to appeal to a General Council, for in the primitive Church this had often been done.

This last premiss the Bishop tried long to establish, until I told him that, although the manifest abuses of the pretended appeal authorised the Council to reject it altogether, yet I was ready to grant that the thing might be done, and the appeal taken into consideration. "However, (said I,) what has since taken place renders the thing absolutely impossible. The King could not now avail himself of, or found his appeal on solid grounds, for many reasons, of which I would merely mention four. 1stly. Because in the commission demanded by the King, and delegated by the Pope to cardinals York (Wolsey) and Campeggio—in virtue of which commission the suit began, was afterwards advoked to Rome, and lastly sentenced—there was a clause expressly forbidding any appeal. 2ndly. Because the first sentence was issued upon the 'spolio et possessorio,' respecting which Civil Law admits of no appeal unless the sentence be first obeyed. 3rdly. That the appeal must needs be made within 10 days of the date of the sentence, or of its notification, whereas the King's appeal came two months afterwards. 4thly. That the appeal of a contumacious pleader, such as the King undoubtedly was, could not be admitted at all." I went still further. I said, "The King ought to wish that the appeal had never been made, for the allusion therein contained to a former sentence, which no one has yet dared notify to him in due form, tacitly implies and acknowledges the jurisdiction of His Holiness. Should a General Council be assembled,—which will be as late as those who wish Germany to remain as it is now will allow,—I doubt whether

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the King would like to have his own private affairs discussed there; for having at times spoken to him about it, he has answered me that he himself had nothing to do with it, and that he could very well arrange matters and keep order at home without assistance or provision from a General Council; besides which (I added) might not that assembly, if convoked, remind the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) that he himself had presumed to overrule the Pope's judgment?"

The Bishop was silenced. After him spoke the archbishop of York (Lee),* who made only one argument against the validity of the King's first marriage, but so feeble and unsound that in two words he was reduced to silence, and no more was said on the subject. *Indeed, it seemed to me as if both he* (Lee) *and the bishop of Durham* (Tunstall) *were glad to hear their own arguments refuted, since they were obliged to stifle truth, and yet look approvingly on the occasion.*

After him the dean of the Chapel (Sampson), who following on the steps of Monseigneur de Norfolk, maintained that the Pope had no authority whatever in this kingdom; for his power and authority not emanating from God, but from a constitution made by men, it could very well be abrogated, as had been done here in England, and in former times by the Greeks, who would never acknowledge the Pope's supremacy. My answer was that, even if Papal authority was founded only on human constitutions, as he pretended, (though I was of a contrary opinion,) the King, his master, could in nowise refuse to recognize the jurisdiction of His Holiness and of the Apostolic See, not only on account of the immemorable prescription of so many years, and of the successive and continuous acknowledgments of that authority by the ancestors of this King, and by himself, but also on account of the prorogation of Papal jurisdiction, and of the act of application for the commission, consenting to the Queen's appeal, and subsequently again to the advocation of the cause to Rome.

In the midst of these disputes the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), not feeling strong enough to come forward, as the others had done, and perceiving that my principal attack was from the beginning directed against him, dared not formally enter the lists, and only said a word here and there to the others, to show that he was concerned in the affair, and did not sit there for nothing. Among other suggestions I overheard him make to the bishop of Durham (Tunstall), one was that he ought to have brought forward as an argument against me, that the Pope, being a friend of Your Majesty, and at the same time dreading your power, could not be considered a competent and impartial judge in the case, inasmuch as the matter under discussion was whether the Pope had, or had not the power to dispense for such a marriage as that of the

* Dr. Edward, since October 1531. See vol. iv., part ii., p. 248.

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King and Katharine, formerly married to prince Arthur, his brother; and that it was evident that, for the sake of upholding the authority of the Roman See in such matters, the Pope would ultimately sentence in favour of the Queen and against the King.

The Archbishop, however, must have repented of having ever suggested an argument resting on so weak a foundation; for by doing so, (and he of Durham taking it up, which he actually did,) he gave me the opportunity of allegating ten or twelve arguments against his being the proper man to pronounce sentence in a divorce case; among which there was one, which must have touched him to the quick, for he remained for some time silent and thoughtful.

Whilst the above-named bishops and doctors spoke, the [High] Chancellor (Audeley), the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Wiltshire, and Master Cromwell looked contented and satisfied as if they had gained a victory; but when they saw that the contrary was the case, and that my opponents were being defeated, they began to say, that there was no need of further disputation. The duke of Norfolk observed that since the King's second marriage was a "fait accompli," all discussion about that was pure loss of time. Everything had been settled by a statute, the force and validity of which no one dared to impugn. Such as it was, he (the Duke) would maintain it against whomsoever should dispute it to the last drop of his blood; and whoever in England should dare go against it would at once be considered as guilty of high treason "læsæ Majestatis." Such being the case, those two ladies (meaning the Queen and her daughter) ought to be careful, and not play with such matters, for otherwise they might suffer. The King himself, he said, could not do less than obey the statute, which not only concerned his Royal person, but likewise the welfare and tranquillity of his subjects.

After this speech of the Duke's, the Chancellor (Audeley) spoke for awhile in a similar strain. My reply to them both was a mere repetition of the arguments I had used before in my answer to Dr. Fox; merely adding, that English laws seemed to me like those of Mohammed, which that pseudo-prophet caused to be enforced at the point of the sword, not by dint of persuasion and reason; and yet there was (I said) something in that in which the English were deficient. Mohammed did not compel his people to swear to and keep his laws, whilst they (the English) exacted oaths from their own countrymen, as well as from foreigners, by which measure they showed that their laws and statutes must be very weak, since they required the support of the popular abjuration of their allegiance to the Queen. Everything (I continued) was for them a subject of suspicion; even those poor ladies, the Queen and Princess, who, being more closely confined than common prisoners in this realm—having neither the will nor the power nor the means to trouble the peace of this

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kingdom, whose welfare they desired much more than any Englishmen—were spied and watched as though guilty of high treason; whereas they never, to my certain knowledge, had ceased praying God for the prosperity of England. Indeed I could certify to them—and would take my solemn oath upon it—that the Queen had always written and protested, whenever there was need for it, that no war should be made on her account, for she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than be the cause of such a misery; and that even if Your Majesty had any hostile intentions, which you had not, the Queen herself would have interfered in the quarrel so as to prevent the effusion of blood. I ended by requesting the assembly to consider my words, and try their utmost for the preservation of that amity and friendship which they professed to have towards Your Majesty.

The answer of the Privy Councillors was that it would not be their fault if my wishes were not fulfilled; they would make their report to the King, and let me know his intentions. I fancy, however, that they will go on playing their game without letting me know what they are about, fancying, perhaps, that they have done enough in the affair by letting me know that York (Lee) and Durham (Tunstall), both of whom have the reputation of being learned and moral ecclesiastics, and were formerly on the Queen's side, have actually become turncoats. I should have much preferred, and indeed it would have been more reasonable, that the councillors should have given me audience at the time that the said statute was being framed; but, on the other hand, I cannot help thinking that some ground has been gained by their affording me an opportunity for refuting, in the presence of such an assembly, part, if not all, of their errors, especially when they had been deputed to make me take one thing for another.*

The conference at an end, I took Master Cromwell aside, *and said to him in confidence that the King would gain much in repute by ordering the Queen and Princess to be better treated now than they were; and I again represented to him the danger of acting otherwise. He promised to do everything in his power to obviate the inconvenience; but I very much doubt his doing anything in the matter; he will not dare, for fear of the King's mistress.*

Cromwell also promised me that Spaniards residing in London would be exempted from swearing obedience to the statute, and that in all other matters he would do his best to favour Your Majesty's subjects; telling me, at the same time, that two Englishmen, imprisoned [by the Inquisition] in Spain for having in their possession certain [heretical] books,

* "Toutesfoys encoires a ce este quelque chose de leur pouvoir avoir bien expressement remonstre en telle assemblee partie de leurs erreurs, et estant iceulx altiltrez (?) pour me donner entendre [une] chose pour aultre."

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had been released by Your Majesty's order, and that both their ambassadors residing at the Imperial Court, as well as the one in Flanders, had frequently written concerning my good offices here, even in the case of the packet of letters seized at Calais in April, and in accepting the excuses then offered, for which the King was thankful.

I then took the opportunity of returning thanks in Your Majesty's name for the favour shown to your subjects, promising to write home on the subject; and, having taken leave of him, went away without accepting his invitation to dinner.

I heard this very morning that the King has again sent the archbishop of York (Lee), the bishop of Durham (Tunstall), and Dr. Fox to the Queen, to exhort and summon her to acquiesce in the prescriptions of the statute, threatening her, in case of refusal, with all the rigour of the law. *For fear this intelligence, as well as the threats uttered during the above debate, should be true, I have hastened to inform the Queen, that she may not be taken by surprise.*

It is, indeed, to be feared that upon the obstinate refusal of the Queen and Princess to comply with his wishes, the King, at the instigation of this accursed concubine of his, will play them both a bad trick. The general belief here is that, when about to cross over to France, he will at least confine them both to the Tower, for fear of what may happen during his absence. And I believe him quite capable of impressing many people here with the foolish notion of applying to Parliament for a sentence against the Queen and the Princess, and making all people, without distinction, subscribe the same,—a thing in which he would meet with little or no resistance on the part of his subjects, intimidated as they are. In such an event I do not hesitate to say that prompt and efficacious measures will be needed, as I have pointed out in several of my despatches.*

The Scottish ambassador, who was here at first, came the day before yesterday to see me, announcing that peace had at last been concluded between England and Scotland, to last during the lives of the two Kings, and one year after; and that on his colleague and himself trying to have Your Majesty comprised therein, this King made no objection whatever to the application, provided you were also named and included in his own, but declaring that on no account would he consent to the Pope being mentioned in it.† I then asked the ambassador whether, in case of the Pope sending his own mandate against the English, they (the Scotch) would make difficulties about obeying it. His answer was, that they

* "Et seroit le dit roy bien home pour envelopper pluseurs gens en la folye de faire sentencier par le parlement les dites royne et princesse, et faire subscripre tout le monde en la sentence, en quoy ny auroit resistance, pour quoy, sire, seroit besoing de quelque prompt remede."

† "Et que pour ce quilz voulurent comprendre vostre maieste en icelle que ce roy la voulut aussi nomme[r] et comprendre en la sienne [paix], mais quil navoit voulu laisser fere mencion en sorte quelconque du pape."

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would not, but that most likely they would at first make a certain show and pretence of displeasure at their not being able to do otherwise. The ambassador told me likewise that between the King and his colleague, the Bishop, there seemed to be some secret understanding; the King had thrown out hopes of a marriage between the Princess and their King, James, provided the latter first attended the interview which king Francis and himself are to hold on the other side of the Channel in July next; and that the Bishop, notwithstanding the peace just concluded, had applied for a safe-conduct to return from thence (France) in case it should be necessary for him to negotiate concerning the above affair. I did not fail to observe, and make the Scotch ambassador understand, that the promised offer of the Princess' hand was but a bait to decoy the King, his master, across the Channel, and whilst there have him married in France, according to the taste and future plans of both Kings, and prevent him from contracting alliance with Your Majesty, which is the thing they (the kings of England and France) dread most. The ambassador replied that he did not think his master would cross the Channel at all, and that in case he did, he would not fail to convey to him the advice and admonition I had just tendered, and that of this affair, as well as of any other of equal importance, he would keep me "au courant" by way of Flanders, addressing his letters to the Consul (Conservateur) of his nation at Antwerp. I then asked him if he had news of the man sent by Your Majesty, and if he was already in Scotland or not. He answered, that since the Bishop's arrival [in London] no news had been received from that country.*—London, 19th May 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: From the Imperial ambassador in England. Received on the 8th of June at Avila.†

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 15.

21 May–1 June.
S. E. L. 861, ff. 53–4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 256.

59. The CARDINAL OF JAEN to the HIGH COMMANDER.

Returns thanks for the Emperor's letter of acknowledgment.

Cardinal Salviati and the viceroy of Naples.

His own affairs, and how very deserving he is that the Emperor should think of him.

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* "Et que levesque nonobstant toute la paix a demande saufconduit pour pouvoir retourner de pardeça en cas quil fut besoing de traicter des dites affaires."

† Avila del Rey in Castille, 22 leagues from Madrid. Vandenesse's Itinerary, however, translated by Bradford, *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, London, 1850, makes no mention of this town, now city, as having been the Emperor's temporary residence in May 1534.

‡ This and the preceding paragraph are in the handwriting of the Cardinal.

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The Papal bulls in favour of Rodrigo Pacheco have been expedited.

The duke of Urbino is so attached to the Emperor's service that no one surpasses him in that respect. He complains of the viceroy of Naples [marquis de Villafranca], who, he says, will not pay him any respect. Not only has he quartered soldiers on the estate the Duke possesses there, but has caused him great annoyance by favouring people who dispute his rights, and have actually instituted a law-suit against him.

Giovan Battista Savelo (Savelli), returns thanks for the favour he has received from him [Covos].

Begs him to place in the Emperor's hands the enclosed letter on his own private and personal affairs. Only wishes His Majesty to be acquainted with the truth.—Rome, 21st May 1534.

(*Cipher.*) P. S.—We are to-day the 1st of June, and I cannot help remarking that the condition of things being so precarious, we ought not, in my humble opinion, to goad the Pope unnecessarily; for he might, through fear or indignation, throw himself into the hands of our opponents. I say this much because though I admit that it was wise to show sorrow at what he may have said or done at the Marseilles conferences, yet I think it is not prudent to goad and over-irritate him, leaving him no time or opportunity to repent his error, or, if he has not erred, to persevere, as hitherto, in his good purpose; for anyone who knows his nature may expect repentance from him, and if there was no real error on his part he might better every day. If, on the contrary, you wish him to be goaded and enraged before his time, that is surely the path to be followed; he will go off sooner than you think. In my opinion they ought to be better provided than they are with weapons to fight him. God knows the purity of my intentions in writing as I do. Of the displeasure and annoyance caused by the Count's conversation and allusion to the General Council I consider Your Lordship to be already well informed, and, therefore, I will add nothing of my own, except say that I really believe that to potions (*xarabes*) of this sort is the Pope's late fit of gout and weakness of stomach to be attributed.

(*Common writing:*) Advices from Genoa say that a Genoese merchant coming from Normber (Nuremberg) had brought news of a battle fought between the troops of king Ferdinand and those of the Landgrave, in which, he says, the former had been defeated. No confirmation of this intelligence has come from other quarters, &c. Should the news turn out true (which may God forbid), I apprehend great disasters both in Germany and here, in Italy, and therefore I confirm my proposition.

That Your Lordship may better understand how matters stand here at Rome,—though, having often conversed with

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the Count on the subject, I dare say he has already informed you,—I will enter into a few more details. On the Pope's return from the conferences of Marseilles we immediately perceived that he was very much on his guard, and afraid that the Emperor, in consequence of the said conferences, might suspect him. This is evident from various signs: First of all, the time and mode of the restitution to the Turk of the fortress of Coron; second, the mode and time of the provision of Toledo; and last, not least, the Council and other causes of complaint (*desabrimientos*) which there, as well as here, he has had. I write this that Your Lordship may know that if this man is to be preserved [for us], the wounds must be scientifically treated,* because, in my opinion, with courtly manners and tokens of love, he may still be retained and continue friendly. That Your Lordship may maturely consider this affair, which I deem of the greatest importance, I will add, from a most authentic source, that after next November His Holiness intends sending to the Emperor post-haste one of his own chamberlains, begging him to deliver the duchess of Florence (Margaret), to be here married to the duke Alessandro, because, he says, the term fixed will then have arrived. It is important that the Emperor should know of this in order to be prepared, &c.

(*Common writing*): Yesterday, whilst I was in chapel at vespers, which His Holiness did not attend, owing to his gout, several cardinals came up to me rather agitated, wishing to know what Spaniards those were who were coming in this direction. I answered them that I knew nothing about it, —which was the truth. But as they are tutored by experience (*escarmentados*), and recollect what happened once, they insisted on my answering. I replied that for the last two days the Pope and the [Imperial] ambassador had known of their coming, and of their having already passed Terracina, which is in the lands of the Church. On my return home, I learned through the Count the truth of the affair, and this morning I myself gave the cardinals all manner of explanations and assurances, allaying their fears as well as I could. The affair, however, is of no importance; only that it would have been far better if the said Spaniards had not been allowed to quit Sicily, because in case of emergency they might have been employed in that island; and, what with the infantry at Naples, the Coron garrison, and the rest of the Spanish infantry in the Emperor's various kingdoms, might have formed a compact body of troops in these troublesome times; (*cipher*) whereas, if the Italians see Spaniards going about in mutiny, they will lose all respect for them, especially if in the districts and towns through which the

* "Scrivo esto afin de que si juzgaren que es bien entretener este hombre, que sepan medicar las heridas."

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soldiers happen to pass they do harm, or receive it, which would be still worse. Arrived in Lombardy the men are sure to bring Antonio de Leyva into trouble, not only as regards their pay and quarters, but by threatening to join their comrades, and breaking into mutiny. I presume that it has been decided to send them, when they come here, to the coast of Siena with two commissaries, one from the Pope, the other from the count [of Cifuentes]. In my opinion their destination and route has probably been chosen for some mysterious purpose, perhaps in order that the annoyances and worries attending the quartering of undisciplined troops may fall on the Siennese and the Luquese, who happen just now not to be in good odour with the Pope. (*Common writing:*) There might also be danger at their crossing the Florentine territory; but the duke Alessandro governs himself so prudently, and with so much respect to the Imperial ministers, that I have no doubt everything will go on right there.

Signed: "G[abrielis] Car^{lis} Gienn[ensis]."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon, of the Emperor's Privy Council, and his first secretary."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 10.

29 May. **60.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

V. Imp. Arch., *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*229, No. 37.

On Saturday, the eve of Pentecost, I received notice from the Queen, Your Majesty's aunt, to the effect that the bishops and members of the Government sent by the King to make her swear to the statute framed against her and her daughter, the Princess,—as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty,—after uttering many rude and uncouth words in order to oblige her to acquiesce in it, actually threatened her with the penalties contained in the said statute, having, at the same time, expressly warned her that, should she persist in her refusal, she might possibly incur the pain of death. This much did the King's commissioners tell the Queen in order to frighten her; but she remained more firm than ever in her determination, telling them, among other things, that if any one of the commissioners had charge to execute the said sentence upon her, he might come forward and do his duty at once; the only prayer she made was that she should not be put to death in her own room, or in any other secret place, but publicly and before the people.* I (Chapuys) was likewise informed that certain maids in waiting of the Queen's, having refused to take the

* "Ylz lavoint expressement mennasse de la poine comprinse au dit statut, luy desclayrant nommemant quil y gisoit la mort, pensant de ce lestonner; mays elle sen monstra constante davantaige respondant entre aultres choses que sil y avoit quelcung que fust venu pour fere telle execution quil savançat et ne prioit daultre sinon selle (si elle) debuoit mourir que ce fust en public et non point en chambre ou aultre lieu secret."

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said oath, had been arrested and locked up in a room; that her confessor, apothecary, and physician had received orders not to quit the house, and that four more officers of her royal household had been sent to gaol. To remedy which, and in obedience to the Queen's commands, I immediately started for Richemont, where the King then was, taking care to inform him on the way that I was coming, though without declaring what the object of my visit was. On the receipt of my message, the King was astonished, and somewhat displeased, as I presume, at my sudden appearance in Court, without my having previously asked for an audience, as is customary in such cases; yet he gave orders, though late in the day, that the duke of Norfolk* should wait, and ask me to dinner,—which he did. After which the said Duke, in the hearing of the marquis [of Exeter], of the Treasurer (Fitz William), of the Comptroller (Paulet), of Rochefort, of the bishop of Ily (Ely), and of the captain of the Guard there present, began to say that the King, his master, had been very much astonished at my sudden appearance without any previous notice, especially at a time when it was well known that Your Majesty had forbidden my witnessing the pageants and carousals of London, or otherwise going to Court without express invitation, and the permission of Mr. de Grandvelle.† The King (continued the Duke) suspected that the said prohibition had no other origin than my having written home that whenever I (Chapuys) had applied for an audience, it had been refused. The Duke went on to say that he also had to complain of me, inasmuch as I had suspected him of having purposely on one occasion delayed the King's audiences.

My reply was, as to the former point, that I was not aware of Your Majesty having issued any such orders; if you had, there must have been strong and cogent reasons for it, at which the King, his master, could in nowise show his discontent. With regard to the second point, I related to him what passed before writing my last despatch to Monseigneur de Grandvelle, which was the fact, that whenever I had applied for an audience from the King it had been readily granted, that is, when asked for a fixed time, not alternatively, for then it had been sometimes delayed, as was the case with that about which I had written.‡ The Duke was quite satisfied with my answer, as was also the King himself, as the Duke told me afterwards.

* "Toutesfoys yl ordonna quelque heure tarde que fust que le duc mattendist a disner."

† "Me commença a dire que le dit seigneur roy avoit este esbey de ma venue pour estre contre la prealleguee coustume, mesmes aussy que vostre maieste avoint faict deffendre a son ambassadeur de non se trouver aux festez et triomphez *de vostre maieste* sans y estre appelle, ni entrer en court que premierement yl ne fust appelle, ou quil eust parlé à Monseigneur de Grandvelle."

‡ "Que laudience ne ma oncques este reffuzee quant ie lavoye demande precise, et non point alternativement, comme je faysois lorsquelle me fust delayée."

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After the above dispute the Duke signified to me that if the business which took me to the King was private, and not pressing, he should much prefer not to be troubled with it, knowing, as he did, that the members of his Privy Council could sufficiently treat it. If, however, it was important, he would see to it himself. My answer was that the affair which brought me to Court was of such importance that it seemed to me as if the King might willingly take the trouble of listening to me; yet, knowing, as I did, the many virtues and good qualities of his Privy Councillors, and their anxiety for the good conduct of affairs, and the preservation, nay increase, of friendship between Your Imperial Majesty and the King, their master, as well as between the countries and dominions of both,—being also sure that through their acknowledged dexterity and prudence they would find out the means, much sooner and better than myself, of ingratiating themselves with the King, and reporting on what I had to say, —I had no objection to mention the cause and object of my calling; which I then and there proceeded to explain in the most courteous and gracious terms possible, engaging them, by several and various reasons which I consider unnecessary to mention in detail, to work earnestly for the redress of the aforesaid innovations. After remonstrating with the councillors, and telling them what I considered most suitable the councillors withdrew to a corner of the hall, in order to deliberate on my proposal before reporting to the King. Shortly after which the King, who wished to start as soon as possible for a hunt in the adjoining park, sent for the councillors, and having conversed with them for a good while the Duke came back with the following answer :—The King acknowledges no superior, equal, or controller, in this his kingdom or elsewhere: no one can have anything to do with the laws and statutes of the realm, which all his subjects are bound to obey. With regard to the innovations above alluded to, he (the King) could not give an answer until one of his clerks, who was away, had returned; when, after hearing what I had to say, he would make, or cause to be made, sufficient answer to my application, not only as regards the innovations I complained of, but also touching the permission I wanted for visiting the Queen,—which is the thing she most ardently desires, as she has sent to say. After this, the Duke and his colleagues proceeded to assure me that the King had been much pleased with my answer to the complaints laid down by the former, and that they thought I should be equally pleased with that which the King, after hearing the report of his clerk, would undoubtedly make to my application, without which it was out of the question for us to discuss or decide in the matter. For this reason the King, considering the audience quite unnecessary, had gone to the hunt.

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This matter at an end, I next spoke to the councillors about a Biscayan ship from St. Sebastian, captured last year by the English, showed them the letters received from Your Majesty on the subject, and remonstrated strongly against the indignity offered in the case; which they promised to look into, and redress according to justice.

Now, though it is a known fact that since Easter several of the above-mentioned clerks have returned to Court, I must say that up to the present day no answer has been made to my pressing solicitations on that score. Yet, yesterday, Master Cromuel sent me word to wait and have patience until Monday next, when, he says, I am to get one without fail.

Nobody doubts here that one of these days some treacherous act will befall the Queen, considering the rude and strange treatment to which she is daily subjected, both in words and in deeds, and which is on the increase; especially as the King's mistress has been heard to say that she will never rest until he has had her put out of the way; and that since a prophecy exists that a queen of England is to be burnt alive, she is quite justified in trying to avert that fate from herself, and make the Queen play the part of the person doomed to the faggot. Indeed, many people here suspect that the forebodings of some of the courtiers, who continually keep saying that ere long great things will be seen* [*in London*], *are in allusion to the Queen, and to the hurt they intend doing her. A few days ago the Chancellor, whilst speaking in a passion to three or four of the principal foreign merchants, said to them that in his opinion, and in that of his colleagues, all foreigners residing in England ought to be treated as they deserved, and the wings of very great people clipped;† which threatening words the said merchants interpreted as alluding to the Queen. These are, indeed, monstrous things, and not easily to be believed, and yet such is the King's obstinacy, and the wickedness of this accursed woman* (*Anne*), *that everything may be apprehended.*

The third day of Easter, Master Cromwell wrote from Court to the French ambassador that the landgrave [of Hesse] had completely defeated six thousand men of the king of the Romans. *On the evening of the same day the French ambassador sent* his steward to the King with a hasty message,—*whether for the purpose of asking money for the said Landgrave, or of covering any designs there may be between them, I cannot positively say; but the fact is*

* "Tout le monde ne doubte quil [ne] soit fait quelque mauvais tour a la royne actendues les rudesses et estrangetez."

† "Et ny a guieres que le Chancellier, parlant en collere a trois ou quatre des principaulx marchans estrangiers, il leur dit que silz estoient de croyre, tous les estrangiers de ce royaulme seroient traictez commilz meritoient, et que lon [en] racourciroit de bien grans."

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that next day the ambassador went to visit the said Cromwell at his hotel, for the purpose, as some people assure me, *of congratulating on the said news and concocting fresh plans for the future, for the ambassador was accompanied by the agent of the Vayvod* (Zapolski), *and by Gregory de Cassal, whose brother is now ambassador in Rome for the said Vayvod; besides which it is rumoured here that this King is about to send Gregory to Venice, in room of another brother of his, who is to go as this King's ambassador to the Vayvod.*

Your Majesty's letters of the 29th ultimo were duly received the day before yesterday, together with the papers and instructions therein enclosed, of which I intend making use according to your Imperial commands. I have not yet forwarded those addressed to the Queen, in the hope of being the bearer of them myself, and telling her verbally *whatever I may think fit to add on the occasion, should I find cause and opportunity for it, which, I must say, I consider rather difficult under present circumstances. I will not, however, fail in forwarding those for Scotland and Ireland.*

One of those whom this King sent once to Saxony boasts of having rendered great and signal services to his master; but I have been unable yet to learn what those services consist of. He has, moreover, brought back with him the copy of a letter from the king of the Romans to the Grand Turk,—no doubt a forgery,—wherein the grossest abuse and threats are heaped upon the Turk, this being the reason, as some infer, of the descent of the Infidel.

Thanks for the pension just granted on the archbishopric of Toledo.—London, 29 May 1534.

After writing the above some one has come to tell me that Mr. de la Guyche,* who was here three years ago, has arrived. He comes alone, though it was said some time ago that the embassy would be composed of two or three gentlemen of higher rank.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 29th of May. Received the 16th of June at Salamanca, the day of the Emperor's entrance into that town.

French. Original. pp. 6.

7 June. **61.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*229, No. 41.

Mr. de la Guiche has brought his master's resolution concerning the interview of the two Kings, which, as it appears, is to take place in the month of August, in the same

* Claude de la Guiche, who came in January 1531 as Francis' ambassador.

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towns as the last,* without, however, any attendance of ladies, or a very numerous suite. The said De la Guyche left this very morning for France, in company with the Vayvod's agent, who goes thither for the purpose of having his master's affairs settled.

According to a message received yesterday from the Queen, Your Majesty's aunt, it would appear that this King has, since my last application to the Privy Councillors, shown a little more commiseration for her. He has ordered the release of her confessor, physician, apothecary, and other officers and servants of her household; which measure, added to the letters which Your Majesty has been pleased to address her, has been of great consolation to her. She has already sent me three or four messages, urging me to ask the King's permission to visit her, as she says she wishes to talk to me. I have, accordingly, applied for such permission over and over again, and yesterday Cromwell sent me word that as soon as two doctors whom the King had lately sent to the Queen returned to Court, I would receive such an answer as would completely satisfy and content me.† Of the result of which, as well as of any other event worthy of notice, I shall not fail to advise Your Majesty.—London, 7 June 1534."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received on the 14th of July."

French. Original. 1 *p.*

30 May. **62.** CARDINAL FARNESE to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, f. 82.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 261.

Returns thanks for the Emperor's holograph letter acknowledging his services in the determination of the matrimonial cause.—Rome, 30 May 1534.

Signed: "Humilis Servitor, El Cardinal Farnese."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæsareæ Maiestati."

Italian. Holograph. 1 *p.*

6 June. **63.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.‡

S. E. L. 862, ff. 32–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 262.

My last despatch was dated the 11th of May. Since then Your Majesty's letter of the 1st has come to hand, which I hasten to answer as follows:

* "Que se fera au mois daoust aux lieux ou la dernière; that is, at Calais and Boulogne.

† "Et menvoya hier dire Cromuel que deslors que se roint de retourd deux docteurs envoiez vers la dicte royne, que auroes response dont me contenteroye."

‡ The notes in the margin are in Cobos' hand.

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I gave Your Majesty's holograph letter to His Holiness, and thanked him in your name for the sentence in favour of Her Highness, the queen of England. Gave him also the letters in my credence, which he (the Pope) perused, and then told me, "Now that justice is done, it is to be hoped, and I wish it very much, that the king of England will obey the sentence." I answered him as instructed, that if he did not, Your Imperial Majesty would do your duty as a Christian Prince, Emperor, and King Catholic, and would not fail in helping him to the execution of the sentence. The Pope replied that so he hoped.

All this paragraph to be answered as resolved in Council.

After this, on the receipt of a letter from Your Majesty's ambassador in England, I had occasion to call again on His Holiness, and deliver to him your message respecting an embassy to be sent to the King of that country. I asked what he thought about a personage from Your Majesty, accompanied by the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys), and another from him (the Pope), going thither together for the purpose of inducing that King to turn from the erroneous path in which he was walking, and obey the Papal sentence. I failed not to represent to him the many just reasons and causes for such a course, so prudently and wisely alluded to in the instructions. Should no other advantage (said I) result from that step, it would at any rate serve for greater justification before God and the World, and would make the justice of the Queen's cause more conspicuous to English subjects.* I assured him that Your Majesty

* "Para quitar á aquel Rey del error en que está puesto, y atraerle á obedecer la sentencia dada por Su Santidad y Sacro Collegio de los Cardenales diciendole las causas y razones tan prudentes apuntadas por V. M^{d}; porque aunque no se sacase otro fructo de esta diligencia serviria para mayor justificacion con Dios y con el Mundo, y para haser mas favorable la justicia de la Ser^{ma} Srã Reina con los mismos subditos yngleses."

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would not listen to any arrangement or concert on that particular affair without his previous consent. Thereupon His Holiness answered in his usual placid manner,—that which he generally employs when the subject of conversation is disagreeable to him, or does not entirely suit his views,—"I do not believe that the measures you speak of will be of any use towards inducing the king of England to obey the sentence. Yet, though useless, I see no harm in adopting them; it will be a sort of complimentary form, which, if it does no good, can do no harm. The personage sent by the Emperor ought to carry instructions in his pocket, so that, should the King disregard the kind admonition intended, a protest should at once be legally entered, couched in such words as the Emperor may deem fit." My answer was that in such a complimentary formality, Your Majesty's extraordinary ambassador ought, in my opinion, to be accompanied by another ambassador from himself, in order that in the event of the King not acquiescing therein, the steps mentioned in Your Majesty's letter should be taken at once. Here the Pope observed that his duty was merely to do justice by Papal authority and in virtue of his office, neither more nor less. I replied, that it was a sort of thing in which he (the Pope) would lose none of his own authority: on the contrary, by acting thus, he would please God and the World, since, being our Common Father, he was thereby bound to admonish and warn his sons, and bring them to a sense of their respective duties. His Holiness then said that he would send orders to his Nuncio, now at the court of France,* to ask king Francis to do

* "Dixome que embiaria á su nuncio, que ahora está en Francia (?), para que hablase al rey de Francia."

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his utmost at the interview he intended to hold with king Henry, and persuade him to listen to the personage whom he (the Pope) would shortly send to England for the purpose of warning the King, &c. "King Francis (continued His Holiness) will, I think, be glad to interfere in this matter; yet to send any one from hence to England, without informing him of it first, is not, I fear, the right thing; besides which I believe that king Henry will not receive him."

My reply was, that I imagined that at the next conference of the two kings nothing would be discussed likely to promote the peace and welfare of Christendom, and, therefore, it seemed to me a very dangerous experiment to delay the proposed measure, or allow the French king to interfere. Nor was it necessary, in my opinion, that His Holiness should ascertain beforehand whether king Henry will receive his Nuncio or not.

I said thus much, because I knew through cardinal La Minerva that for some days past he (the Pope) had been considering, and in fact consulting him and others, as to whether the king of England ought not to be asked first if he would, or would not, like to see at his court an ambassador from Your Majesty; "for" (said the Pope) "should the king of England refuse to see the Emperor's ambassador, there is no need for me to send him one." Knowing His Holiness' sentiments in this respect, I said to him that to save time, and just because the king of England would refuse (as he thought) to receive the Imperial ambassador, it was better to send him on without applying for permission; "for," (said I,) "knowing that the ambassador went thither by the Emperor's express commands, people in general would see Your

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Holiness' benevolent feeling towards the King, and, if things came to extremities, would know better how to appreciate matters, and feel indignant at the King's not choosing to listen to the Papal Nuncio, especially the English nation, the great majority of whom think that the King has acted wrongly in this matter of the divorce and second marriage."

In spite of all my arguments His Holiness did not make up his mind to send a Nuncio to England; nor do I think he will in future, unless great pressure be put on him. Indeed, it he take any steps in the matter, the utmost he will do will be to write to his Nuncio in France to bring the matter forward at the future conference of the two Kings. Thus does His Holiness think that he fulfils his duty towards His Imperial Majesty and towards the rest. I will, however, go on insisting, as if it came from myself, according to Your Majesty's instructions.

I have since spoken on the subject to cardinal La Minerva, whose opinion in the matter is that Your Majesty may certainly send some one to the king of England, but that His Holiness cannot do so until it be first ascertained whether his Nuncio will be received or not. To the other cardinals I have had no leisure yet to speak on the subject, nor thank them individually for what they have lately done, but will do so as soon as I am disengaged. Nor have I had time yet to communicate Your Majesty's answer to the memoranda (*apuntamientos*) sent from hence respecting the matrimonial cause. Everything, however, shall be attended to, and the Imperial commands faithfully executed.

With regard to that part of the letter in which I am told that it is not convenient just now to push on

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too warmly the prosecution of the sentence, without, however, giving signs of weakness or relaxation on that score, Your Majesty's orders shall be punctually attended to.* I knew already that such was your desire; but having since received new orders to that effect, will take care not to precipitate matters, though, I must say, no great efforts of mine are needed; for having many a time applied for the executory letters (*executoriales*), they have delayed them until four days ago, when His Holiness of his own accord sent me the minute of them for inspection and approval. However, two very objectionable paragraphs having been introduced in them, as Your Imperial Majesty will be able to judge by the enclosed copy of the minute, I will keep them in my possession until Your Majesty decide on this point. Some suspect that this is done merely on purpose to delay the execution of the sentence until they hear the result of the interview, at which the king of France purposes to speak to king Henry, having most probably promised him beforehand that nothing will be said or done to his detriment.

On this very subject the Pope told me the other day that, had he not gone to the Marseilles conferences, the king of France would certainly have refused obedience to the Church, just as the king of England has done, and would have created a patriarchate in his own kingdom. He is even now afraid that some day or other king Francis will do that, because, says he, the king of England has earnestly begged him to imitate him in that respect. This the king of France himself

* "Y en quanto á la consideracion que se ha de tener que no sientan tibieza ni flojedad en pedir la prozecucion de la sentencia de la dicha Ser^ma^ Señora Reyna, y que se mire, sin embargo, á que no conviene mucha presteza en ello [ya yo] estava bien advertido, mas estarlo he agora por lo que V. M^d^ manda."

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told His Holiness, assuring him that he (Francis) had flatly refused to comply with the wishes of the English king, all the time making of that refusal a meritorious work, for which His Holiness ought to be grateful.*

The Ambassador's answer could not be fitter or better.

My answer to such objections on the part of His Holiness has been that it is very remarkable that the Most Christian King's convictions on matters of Faith should be of such slender weight as to apprehend that he may one of these days abjure it, &c.

My last despatch must have sufficiently explained my reasons for not speaking to His Holiness about the Council, especially at a time when we are soliciting the sentence in favour of the Queen; but since one of the articles in the instructions brought by Tello de Guzman refers particularly to the said General Council, and Your Majesty commands me again to press the subject on His Holiness, I have since done so more than once. After raising his usual objections and difficulties, and saying that this is no time to think of councils, when the affairs of Germany are so troubled, and Christendom is in so great danger, he (the Pope) promised to appoint a committee of cardinals to examine the affair and report thereon, &c. I consider it superfluous to tell Your Majesty how very disagreeable any negociations respecting a Council are for His Holiness, for Your Majesty knows it as well, nay, better than I do. Yet, that Your Majesty may judge, I will relate the following anecdote. On the night

* "Que sino fuera á las vistas de Marsella el Rey de Francia huviera quitado la obediencia a la yglesia, como lo ha hecho el de Inglaterra, haziendo un patriarca en su reyno, y que aun se temia que lo haria, porque el rey de Inglaterra se lo havia embiado á pedir, no embargante que el de Francia le havia respondido que no lo queria hazer, y que esto mismo han hechado (*sic, echado*) por cargo al papa."

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of the day when Poggio's despatch* arrived, His Holiness could not shut his eyes. He sent for the bishop of Geri,† the agent here of the duke Alessandro, and said to him, "The very moment that the duchess of Florence (Margaret) attains marriageable age, I shall not wait one single day. I will despatch a courier to the Emperor, asking for her hand for my nephew, as promised; and should the Emperor raise the least objection, or try to delay the marriage, I will have the engagement to the duke Alessandro broken off, for certainly there will not be wanting an Infanta to marry him to.‡ The person who furnished me with the above information added that he was sure the duke Alessandro, though urged by the Pope, would not do save what was Your Majesty's pleasure. I am of the same opinion; I think that whatever pressure the Pope may put on him in this, as well as in other matters, the Duke is sure to do your bidding, not only from his saying so to all those who speak to him, but because he is wise and prudent, and knows that no friendship is so beneficial to him as Your Majesty's; besides which, I am told, he is now rather discontented with His Holiness for not having attended to him in many things since his taking possession of Florence. As to the cardinal [Ippolito], the brother of Alessandro, I hear that he still persists in his old idea of renouncing the purple. He keeps saying to His Holiness that he wants to be a layman, and marry the daughter of the duchess of Camarino. To others he says that he is determined to

* Micer Giovanni Poggio, Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court since 1533. See above, p. 6.

† From 1519 to 1540 the auxiliary bishop of Ceri (in the Roman states) was Antonio Venanzi.

‡ "Que no esperaria un solo dia de embiar á V. M^d un correo propio demandandogela, y si V. M^d lo ponia en dissimulacion de querer alargar esta cosa, que no faltaria al dicho duque una infanta."

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marry her, unless Your Imperial Majesty give him the hand of the duchess of Florence (Margaret). Indeed, I am told that one of his secretaries, lately gone to Spain, has been instructed to ask for her hand, and that the present Pope is afraid that, owing to this, the marriage of the duke Alessandro will not take place so soon, and that Your Majesty wishes to gain time by temporizing with the Cardinal, his brother. The French, on the other hand, knowing the latter's inclination and wishes, have, it is said, offered him a wife in France, and, besides that, the duchy of Namos (Nemours), which once belonged to his father (Julio). This last statement, however, is contradicted by what I once wrote to Your Majesty on the authority of the bishop of Paris, who related it to me, namely, that his master's will was that he (Ippolito) should remain cardinal, and not become a layman. The Pope has lately been trying to divert his thoughts from that by coaxing him. It would even appear that about All Saints matters were already arranged between them, on the uncle promising to increase his monthly pension by 700 ducats; but I am told that since then the Cardinal has changed his mind, and says that he does not choose to wait any longer; that he is determined not to be an ecclesiastic. I have communicated with him occasionally, and told him what I thought would tend to keep him friendly with us. I will continue doing so, as Your Majesty commands me, but he is so restless and versatile that I am afraid he will be of very little use to us.*

The Cardinal's secretary is here at Court, but since his arrival he has not spoken one single word on this matter or on any other. He goes continually about with the Duke's agent. We shall soon see whether he has anything to say on behalf of his master.

* Yo le doy parte de algunas cosas que me paresce para entretenerle, y lo haré de aquí en adelante por mandamiento de vña md., aunque le tengo por tan inquieto que aprovechará poco."

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The Papal Nuncio has not declared to us His Holiness's wishes on this particular matter, because he has been unwell. When he does he (the ambassador) shall hear, and in the meantime let him follow his instructions on this point.

His Holiness' answer to the proposal made by Poggio, the Nuncio, respecting the prorogation for 18 months more of the duke of Ferrara's admission into the League, has been in the negative. His Holiness will in no manner agree to it, as I am informed from an authentic quarter.

News has been received here that the Landgrave of Hesse (Philip) has collected a force of 20 or 25,000 men with which to invade the duchy of Würtemberg, and carry out other purposes, as the Lutheran that he is, the friend of the kings of France and England, and consequently the sworn enemy of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand). No sooner did I hear of it than I myself called on His Holiness, and caused the agent* here of king Ferdinand to come with me. We both represented to His Holiness the many evils that might come over Christendom, the probable increase of Lutheranism, and the urgent necessity there was of applying a prompt remedy. Nothing seemed to us so convenient for the purpose as the grant of a sum of money by the Pope, without which, we said, the king of the Romans could not successfully cope with the Lutherans. It was the intention of these latter to invade Italy, come to Rome, and depose him (the Pope). His Holiness, knowing the importance of the case, said that he considered the motion urgent, and would certainly help, but that his means were scanty. Would to God that his will was not scantier still than his means! for I am certain that if he assists us at all, it will be a very small assistance, nay, so small that we had better not accept it. A rumour is here current that Your Majesty, on hearing the news, dispatched colonel Tamisa with a

* Gabriel Sanchez.

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sum of money to the king of the Romans, who has by this time a good force under arms; and that some Imperial towns, though their inhabitants had embraced Lutheranism, had shown signs of being ready to assist the King also.

The bishop of Alessandria [della Paglia] has renounced his bishopric in favour of one of the Pope's chamberlains,* a native of that town, who has there many relatives and friends, all of them opposed to the duke of Milan (Sforza), whose brother is actually residing at the court of France. Although the Duke's agent here applied to His Holiness not to allow the said renunciation, because of its being a scandalous affair, and injurious to the Duke, his master, the Pope, nevertheless, consented to it, on the plea that it is understood the Duke himself is in favour of the renunciation. The agent maintains the contrary, and has distinctly told His Holiness how very sorry the Duke his master will be. This latter will not give the new Bishop possession of his see, and I myself have begged His Holiness to redress an affair which may have the worst possible consequences. But his argument is that he cannot; the thing is done, and the renunciation cannot be revoked.

If so, the ambassador must dissemble, and do all he can in favour of the Duke.

The viceroy of Sicily and the briefs allowing the clergy of that Island to raise a "donativo" (grant in money.)

Of the 2,000 ducats remitted for paying the fees, &c. of the sentence, 400 remain in hand.—Rome, 6 June 1534.

Signed: "El Conde Alferez."†

* "El obispo de Alexandria ha renunciado el obispado á un camarero del Papa, que es de aquella ciudad, y [hombre] de muchos parientes [y amigos], todos ellos deservidores del duque de Milan, que tiene un hermano con el rey de Francia." The bishop here named was Pallavicino Visconti, who in 1533 resigned his bishopric in favour of one Ottaviano Guasco, who succeeded him from May 1534 to April 1564.

† That is the Count, pennon bearer [of Castille]. On the meaning of the word "Alferez," and the dignity implied by it, see vol. iv. part ii. p. 888.

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6 June. **64.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, f. 10.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 280.

In addition to the information contained in my despatch to the Emperor, I have to state that out of the 2,000 ducats received for the lawyer's fees (*propinas*), and which have been distributed with the greatest possible care, 400 still remain in hand. Should the sum borrowed be still owing to the merchants who lent it to me, let it be deducted from their bill, and I will make it up here. Perhaps, however, as further expenses will be incurred in this matter of the "executoriales" and their expedition, I ought to retain them. It is for your Lordship to decide.

There is no objection, provided the renunciation be made in favour of natives of these realms.

The cardinal Camarlengo asks for permission to renounce certain ecclesiastical benefices as contained in a memorandum he is now sending home.

Pirro Colonna has arrived at the calling of cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici, who, they say, sent for him. He was, I hear, much offended, and complained bitterly of the manner in which he had been treated. The grant of land which the Emperor had ordered for him had been suspended, whereas others had had their full share. People would think that the cause of this neglect was his having been found guilty of treason. Told him that the Emperor had, no doubt, done it with a view to calm the passions of the Sienese, and protecting him against them; but that the moment matters were adjusted in Siena, I had no doubt that his grant would be confirmed, since he professed to be so good an Imperialist.* Pirro being such a dangerous man, especially on account of the harm he can do to the

It has been resolved to send you the despatch, that you may use it when most convenient, and give it him.

* "Que Su M^{d} lo habria hecho por verle libre de las passiones que tiene con Seneses, pero que dandose orden en ellas y sabido de quan firme está en el servicio de V. M^{d} le mandaria despachar la dicha merced."

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Sienese—protected and encouraged as he is by the contrary party—must be temporized with. I would propose that the deed granting him an estate be sent to me to keep until he has made his peace with the people of Siena, and there is no longer fear of disturbances in that quarter, as otherwise he might, with the favour and assistance he has from these people, harass and destroy the Sienese.

The Ambassador must know by this time how averse Leyva always was to employ force, especially if the Pope had any interest there.

With regard to La Mirandola, though the Pope's opinion has always been that no undertaking by force of arms should be made, he has at last decided to write a letter to abbot Negro to return and do whatever Antonio de Leyva and prothonotary Caracciolo should think proper; and as Diego de Leyva, who was the bearer of the Pope's orders, has been drowned whilst crossing a river, a duplicate has been sent by another messenger.

In consequence of the wishes expressed by the duke of Milan, by Antonio de Leyva, the prothonotary Caracciolo, and the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo), that the secretary of the latter should be sent to Switzerland, and give the Catholic cantons to understand that everything that the prior of Besançon had hitherto done was with the knowledge and consent of His Holiness, he was despatched thither, and has since received instructions to conform entirely to the Prior's acts.

No news yet of what he has been able to accomplish.

The viceroy of Sicily has written to me that 400 Spaniards from Coron had, by his order, been placed on board two vessels bound for Spain, touching first at Naples. The Viceroy [marquis de Villafranca] wrote that on no account would he receive them. The men, however, sent him word that for fear of Moorish pirates they dared not go direct to Spain, and they landed at Mola with the intention, as they

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The Ambassador was right in acting as he did. Leyva is to receive shortly instructions on that point.

said, of joining Antonio de Leyva. Ascanio Colonna having also informed me of the landing of the Spaniards [at Mola], I sent one of my servants to them, and His Holiness appointed also a commissary, in order that during their passage through the estates of the Church they should be provided with food at their own expense. Seeing, however, that they dared not go to sea again,—as they are few in number and without a captain,—I have resolved to ask the viceroy [of Naples] whether there is any means of employing them in that kingdom. Should the answer be in the negative, we (the Pope and I) will depute some one to accompany them to any part of Lombardy where Leyva may be at present.

We have written to Flanders and to Burgundy, asking for copies of the documents and deeds bearing on this affair. The Emperor's right is notoriously clear, and for the last thousand years the same thing has been done. To deny it now would be a great offence done to our master.

I have lately been trying, though to no purpose whatever, for the suit at law on the abbey of Monbenoist to be remitted for judgment to the ecclesiastical court of Burgundy. His Holiness will not consent to it.

The Genoese ambassador has told me of the engagement between the troops of the king of the Romans and those of the Landgrave, which, by-the-by, the French had magnified without measure. The prior of Besançon has also written since, and forwarded papers relating to it. As I presume that your Lordship is already well acquainted by the King's chamberlain, now in Spain, with all facts, I need not enter into particulars. I will, however, go on asking His Holiness for assistance and money for two different purposes,—that people may not think that these had their origin at the conferences of Marseilles, and that we may better judge of His Holiness' tender heart.

A few days ago the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] sent one of his servants to the castle of Forli, be-

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longing to the Church, and a very important place. The governor was the president of Romagna. Little by little the Duke's man introduced himself inside, and became warder of it. His Holiness has sent for the Duke's agent in this city, and told him to restore the castle at once; but the Duke has taken no notice of the message, and it must be said that His Holiness does not seem to take the thing much to heart.

I need scarcely tell your Lordship that neither the Pope nor his cardinals seem much pleased with our Emperor just now; the former on account of our continually reminding him of the General Council, which is the thing he dislikes most; the latter because so little has been made of them. Nor are the lawyers satisfied either, whence Your Lordship will gather how difficult is the transaction of ecclesiastical business, to say nothing of political.

His Holiness had the other day a rather severe fit of gout, accompanied by vomit, which took away his appetite and troubled him much. All those who know what I told him about the General Council fancy that the cause of his sudden indisposition was no other than my conversation with him the other day.

The moment the Sienese heard of the suspension of Pirro's grant, they gave evident signs of their unwillingness to adhere to the agreement on the point of being made, which would effectually have put an end to the differences between Pirro and them. The latter fancy that the Emperor will order the cause to be tried at Siena, not anywhere else; and that is exactly what Pirro wants to prevent, for he says that he cannot see justice done to him in that city. That is

The deeds go by this post that the Ambassador may make such use of them as he may think proper.

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why I think, as I have told the Emperor in my despatch, that should the grant be suspended, Pirro will at once desert the Imperial service, and do all possible harm to that city.—Rome, 6 June 1534.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."*

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

11 June. **65.** The EMPEROR to the PRINCE OF MELFI.

S. E., L. 29, ff. 2–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 284.

We wrote on the 27th ult., answering your letters, and giving you instructions as to the best manner of defending Naples and Sicily from the attacks of the corsairs, called the "Jew," and "Barbarossa," as well as from the Turkish fleet.

We have since received intelligence from Germany that the landgrave of Hesse, and Count William de Furstemberg having joined the duke of Würtenberg (Ulric), at the head of a force raised, as it was said, to assist the bishop of Munster against the anabaptists, his vassals, have lately invaded the duchy of Würtenberg, from which the aforesaid Ulric, owing to his many misdeeds, was expelled and deprived by the Suabian League. The duchy having become ours, through the sale that was then carried out, we have effectually passed it over by cession to our brother, the king of the Romans, who writes that a force of 10,000 foot and 1,000 cavalry, which he had left for the defence of that duchy, had been attacked by an army much superior in number. The Palatine Philip, in command of the Royal troops, having been wounded in the encounter, our men were obliged to retreat; which was done with very little loss either in men or artillery, and in good order, the best fortresses in the whole duchy still holding out for the king of the Romans.

It is considered certain that the army of the confederated rebels has been entirely recruited with money furnished by king Francis, inasmuch as both the Landgrave and the Count went the other day, as you know, to the court of France, and took his orders as to what they were to do [in Germany], and received from his hands a sum of 40 or 50,000 crs. Since then king Francis has remitted to them another large sum of money, on the plea that he wishes to pay for certain lands bought from duke Ulric. There can be no doubt, however, that, should the confederates take possession of the duchy, they will not stop there, but will go on interfering with matters of Faith, aud possibly also go to Italy, and create disturbances there, if they only find an opportunity for doing so. Such at least seems to be the

* Of this despatch of the Count there are two copies in Bergenroth's Collection, vol. xv.; one of them at fol. 262, the other at fol. 272. The latter, however, which is only an abstract (*relacion*) for the Emperor's perusal, has marginal notes, or rather observations, by Cobos, to each paragraph.

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object and aim of the French just now, and the cause of their giving money to, and promoting that rebellion. Such is also the opinion of Antonio de Leyva, and of all those who have written to us on the subject. Military preparations are (they say) being made in France; Germans and Switzers are coming down; the Admiral of France (Chabot) is passing muster to the men-at-arms in Burgundy; galleys are being fitted out for sea; artillery is being cast, provisions and all other necessaries of war are being stored. Yet, although all these are signs of imminent war, it must be owned that up to the present moment, we hear of nothing positively alarming in France, with the single exception, perhaps, of this German affair, which, we are told and also believe, has been entirely got up by that King. Considering the nature and importance of this business, it seems to us as if we could not come to a rupture with the French king without ascertaining first whether what is now happening in Germany is entirely done at his instigation and with his authority, and what are that King's plans for the future; and to this end we have written to our ambassador in France, and sent to our brother, the king of the Romans, the required letters patent and provisions, commanding all those who are with the said Dukes and Landgrave to forsake and abandon them, also to the Dukes, Prince, Elector, and others of the Empire, to give assistance and help to our said brother. We have likewise remitted to him a considerable sum of money, and sincerely hope that the harm done will be rectified.

Meanwhile and during these preliminary steps we write to Antonio de Leyva to be vigilant, and take care that the duke of Milan keeps the most important fortresses in the duchy in good order, well provided with artillery and ammunition, and secures the services of 6,000 or 7,000 Germans, under experienced captains, to be ready whenever they may be wanted. Should the emergency be so great as to leave no time for consultation, then in that case Antonio will place in the most important parts of the Duchy the 1,000 Spaniards now in Lombardy, and moreover, as captain general of the Italian League, take such measures as he will consider fit and conducive to the defence of the Duchy, consulting you, and informing the Italian princes thereof, that the funds of the League may be conveniently spent for the defence of that country, as stipulated in the treaties.

The above measures to be only preventive, and whilst we ascertain what are king Francis' plans, because, once informed of them, it will be seen what had better be done, not only to oppose and counteract his plans, but to oblige him to relinquish them, and keep quiet if he can.*

* "Se mirará lo que converná no solo para estorbar el fin de sus intenciones y desseos mas aun para constreñirle que se dexe de ellos, y tenga por bueno de reposar si pudiere."

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Beginning from this hour to reflect on what measures ought to be taken in order to counteract and defeat any plans of the king of France respecting Italy, we cannot help thinking of what Antonio de Leyva and you proposed to us one day whilst discussing French affairs. We recollect very well your saying to us that in case of war it would be advisable to seize a good fortress or seaport town on the coast of France, whence we might carry on hostilities to the interior, because by so doing he (the King) would be obliged to relinquish his plans, and attend to the defence of his own kingdom. This advice we consider excellent; so much so that we from this moment take it, and command you, that, on the least rumour of war, you, in connexion with Antonio de Leyva, fix the time and place of the enterprise, taking care that it is attempted, undertaken, and executed before the enemy can be aware of it; for, what with our troops quartered in Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, and what with those which could speedily be sent from other parts, a coup de main might easily be prepared and accomplished before the enemy was aware of it, inasmuch as the required preparations and storing of provisions might easily be assigned to Barbarossa's impending attack, &c. It also strikes us that there would be no great difficulty in seizing the French fleet of galleys, provided a fit time and opportunity should occur. Could it be done, we need not tell you of how much importance this would be for the purpose of disabling our enemy.

Should war break out, these two things ought to be attended to. We, therefore, beg and request you to consider how, when, and with what materials the above two undertakings, and each of them, can be successfully achieved; because, should the attempt prove unsuccessful, besides the consequent loss of reputation there might be cause given for the French king's using greater precautions. You ought also to consider whether your own galleys, those of Antonio Doria, as well as those of Naples, Sicily, and Monaco, having on board the infantry of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, and, if necessary, the Spaniards lately returned from Coron, will be a sufficient force for carrying the above two plans into execution; or whether it will be requisite to have other and larger vessels, and, if so, of what class, and what artillery, ammunition, provisions, and so forth, will be necessary.

You will communicate with Antonio de Leyva with respect to this point, but let it be in great secrecy, so that nothing transpires, for there is no other person in the world who knows of it except you and Leyva; and when you have fixed on a plan let us know immediately. Meanwhile we will write to our Ambassador at Rome (count de Cifuentes), as well as to our viceroys of Naples and Sicily, that the preparations, if any, are destined to meet the attacks of "Barbarossa" and of the "Jew," and tell them to have in store the quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions that you and Leyva

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consider necessary. You will take care that everything be ready for the time you designate for the undertaking.

As Andelot, whom we now send to our brother the king of France, has orders to stop at Genoa, and talk to you about these matters, we will not say more.—Avila, 11 June 1534.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

17 June. **66.** Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 862, ff. 35–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, L. 289.

Wrote on the 7th ult. Will now answer the Emperor's letter of the 27th.

Micer Stephano de la Insula has arrived here with the memorandum and instructions which the officer of Besançon gave him. Great difficulties for the conclusion of the proposed Swiss league. That the seven Catholic cantons should join it seems to Stephano an impracticable thing; and to make it only of three or four cantons, seems a dangerous experiment altogether, as it would offend the rest. There are various opinions on this point, but the most prevailing is that in order to give time to maintain the Catholic cantons of Switzerland in the Emperor's and the Pope's obedience for the conclusion of the league, it is requisite that a subvention of 1,000 florins or ducats a year be granted to them, to be divided among the chief inhabitants. This would be very beneficial to the Emperor on many grounds, and principally because king Francis could not then enlist men in those cantons. Has written to Antonio de Leyva and to the Prothonotary (Caracuolo) about this, that they may also take the opinion of the duke of Milan, and let him (Sylva) know the result.

He (Sylva) wrote last to His Majesty, informing him of what had occurred when he spoke to His Holiness about sending two persons to England,—one from hence, another from Spain,—that they might work in the interests of peace, and exhort the King of that country to return to the obedience of the Holy See; also what was His Holiness's answer on the occasion. Has since spoken with all those cardinals who seem best acquainted with the matter; all having been of opinion that though the step recommended would most likely be of no avail, yet nothing would be lost by His Majesty and His Holiness sending such persons to England. His Holiness himself told him (Sylva) so a day or two after, and again last week. Indeed, whilst speaking to him of other affairs, His Holiness said very warmly, and without his having broached the subject, "I have considered what you (Sylva) told me the other day respecting that paragraph of your instructions which has reference to the Emperor and to myself, and likewise to the future conferences of the kings of France and England." These are the very precise words he used before on two different occasions. His (Sylva's) answer was that it did not seem to him a fit

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thing for them to send a person to the interview, because, as stated in one of his former despatches, nothing was likely to be treated at the conference tending to promote the welfare of Christendom. To which His Holiness replied in a rather cool manner (*tibiamente*) that he intended sending a trusty person to England to that effect. If he does, he (Sylva) imagines that it will certainly not be in company with the Emperor's man, as proposed, but separately, as if the Nuncio came directly from himself. At least there can be no doubt that such is his intention, for some days ago he said so to one of his chamberlains, who came and reported it at the embassy.

With regard to the executory letters (*executoriales*), the Pope said that there was no actual need of taking them out, but merely of invoking the assistance of the secular arm. He (Sylva) answered that there was no occasion to innovate in an affair of that sort, but to let things go on in their usual and regular way according to justice, because, should it be otherwise, it might appear as if a derogation from the old custom was intended. The Pope ended by saying that he would see to the expedition of the "executoriales." He (Sylva) will look to it in accordance with His Majesty's orders and instructions, though it must be said that Simonetta's actual indisposition—he is suffering from an attack of the gout—may still prove an obstacle to the speedy termination of this affair.

Was also told by His Holiness that the ambassador of the duke of Savoy, who resides here at Rome, had requested him to interfere in the quarrel between his master and the king of France, and that he (the Pope) had answered that he would most willingly mediate in it, provided he spoke with him (Sylva) first, for he disliked very much having to meddle in that affair without the knowledge of the Imperial ambassador. Was rather astonished to hear this admission from His Holiness' lips, inasmuch as, having had lately frequent occasion of conversing with the Duke's ambassador, he had never mentioned the subject before. His (Sylva's) answer was that His Majesty had not written on the subject, nor was he aware that the duke Carlo had communicated with His Majesty's ministers, but he was pretty sure, however, that whatever was intended for the preservation of the Duke's estate, as well as that of any other prince or potentate in Italy, would be highly approved of at the Imperial court.

After that, touching on the attempt made by the landgrave [of Hesse], with the help of France and England, to disturb the peace of Germany, having inveighed in the strongest terms against that Prince's behaviour to the Holy Apostolic See, to His Majesty and the king of the Romans, his brother, he (Sylva) seized the opportunity of asking His Holiness for his aid and assistance, as did also Gabriel Sanchez, residing here for the king of the Romans; and not only did His Holiness

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promise at the time to do everything in his power, but he has since held two consistories, at which the matter has been brought forward and discussed. The Cardinals' resolution has been to grant help, though they say it will be very difficult, for the expense is great, and money very scanty. In such terms, he hears, has the King's letter been answered.

The matter of the General Council was also discussed at the above two consistories. Though the Pope himself brought the motion forward honestly and straightforwardly (*con honestas palabras*), it was easy to perceive how much concerned he is about it. The Pope himself has not declared what resolution was taken at the meeting, but he (Sylva) hears from one of the cardinals there present, that it came to this: The Christian Princes not agreeing as to the expediency of the General Council being convoked and assembled, except with the consent of all parties, the dissidents would inevitably have another one assembled,—which might cause a schism in the Church. It was therefore resolved to acquaint His Majesty with that difficulty, for him to decide what had better be done. His Holiness' illness, which, as hinted in a former despatch,* was entirely caused by this motion respecting the Council being brought forward, is no doubt the cause of the above resolution not having yet been communicated to him (Sylva). As soon as he recovers, he will not fail to call on him again, and represent how much bound he is to remedy matters of Faith, and not prevent the meeting of a national (general?) Council such as His Majesty wishes.

Has been told of some one having said to His Holiness that upon king Francis asking the landgrave [of Hesse], when in France, what he thought about the General Council, the latter answered that no German Prince wished for it. This, however, seems to be one of the many French tricks to persuade His Holiness that general opinion in Germany is actually in favour of the Landgrave and of his adherents.

Did not fail to ask, as instructed, in the Emperor's name, for a Cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), though with the express understanding that his appointment was not to be made an excuse for a new creation. Knows that His Holiness has since complained most bitterly of it, saying that it was tantamount to tying his hands, and preventing the use of his prerogative. Has not yet spoken to him on the subject, and offered due satisfaction, because the person who brought the information particularly begged him (Sylva) not to say a word about it. Intends, however, in the course of time speaking to him on the subject, and showing what small ground of complaint he has of His Majesty on that score. Really believes that the cause of the Pope's displeasure is no other than his being at this present

* That of the 6th. *See* No. 64, p. 188.

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moment meditating the creation of no less than seven or eight cardinals, for the purpose, as they say, of increasing the party of his nephew, and promoting his elevation to the Papacy. The report is that some days ago the latter was heard to say that he really meant to take orders and remain attached to the Church. That is the reason why it is generally believed here that Verona, Capua, Forli, Faença, Sipontino, Gambara, the "Maestro di Casa," and perhaps one or two more, will be promoted. And although the general belief, as above stated, is that such creation of cardinals is intended for gaining votes for Ippolitos' future election, he (Sylva) cannot help thinking that his principal motive for acting thus is the Emperor's insistence on the Council being held. Will try and do what His Majesty commands in this particular. Will again speak to the Pope and to the cardinals, if necessary, but is almost sure that all his remonstrances will be of no avail; for he hears that His Holiness has lately said in a very decisive manner that he is quite determined this new creation, not having hitherto, as he says, created any cardinals except at the special recommendation and request of princes; also because the cardinals themselves are disgusted, and without hope of obtaining favours from His Majesty. As this, moreover, is considered a sort of offence against the Pope, the majority, whatever he (Sylva) may say to them, will not follow his advice.

Spanish bishoprics. Cardinal La Valle. Rome, 17 June 1534.

Spanish. Original. pp. 11.

19 June. **67.** The Cardinal of Jaen to the High Commander.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, f. 46.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 295.

We are anxiously expecting to hear how the Emperor has taken these last movements,* and what has happened lately in Germany; the friendships and alliances that are being made, and what remedy the Emperor intends in each particular case; because many here seem to think that were His Imperial Majesty to treat with the Princes and Free Cities of Germany, they might at last be persuaded to join him and the king of the Romans. All, indeed, seem to think that any work done in that quarter would be beneficial towards dissipating the many clouds that obscure the horizon. They are right; because, as I have frequently informed your Lordship and the Emperor, our opponents put much stress upon that, and profit by the opportunity and the mention of the Council wherever they can.†

* "Esperando como ha tomado Su Mag^{d} estos motiuos, y lo que en Alemania agora ha sucedido."

† "Los adversarios nuestros hazen mucho fundamento en esta cosa, y se valen de esta occassion y nombre adonde pueden."

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Things here are as usual; that is, they go on worse and worse, will and taste changing every day. I am very sorry to see it, considering the great harm and inconvenience that may thereby result to Christendom, whose preservation depends upon the union of these two princes.* I humbly entreat your Lordship to cause all possible mildness to be used in the negociation with the Pope, for affairs are not in such a sad state that they cannot be still retrieved with good handling and certain diplomacy, &c.†—Rome, 19 June 1534.

P.S. — Since the above was written Giovan Battista Castaldo has told me that, although the Emperor once promised him the county of Ogento,‡ he would now be contented with what remains of it. Castaldo is a very faithful servant of the Emperor, and well deserves reward.

This post could not carry the two small cushions (*coxinetes*). He only takes one for your Lordship; the other for Mr. de Grandvelle will go by the next courier.

Signed: "G[abrielis] Card[inalis] Gienn[ensis]."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

23 June. **68.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 44.

About eight days ago two ships, well manned, came into this river, having on board the ambassadors from Lubeck and Hamburg in equal number; that is to say, three deputies and eighteen servants for each city. Those of Lubeck are handsomely dressed in red cloth with bands of yellow and white satin, with an inscription on the sleeve. *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos.* The Hamburghers are more modestly dressed, in black, with the following device: *Da pacem, domine, in diebus nostris.* They have not yet had audience of the King. Whether the delay is caused by the King expecting the return of the doctor lately sent to Lubeck, who is coming here by a land-route, in order, as some think, to talk to the people of Bremen and other confederated towns, I cannot say; certain it is that up to the present they have not seen the King. *The cause of their coming here remains still a mystery. I am told, however, that this King has asked them with importunity to come to London, assuring them that it will be to their profit. It is even surmised that, among other things, the King wishes to make a treaty of commerce with them in the event of the ports and markets in Your Majesty's dominions being closed against his subjects, which measure these people suspect and dread above all things. By these*

* "Pues en la union de estos dos principes (?) consiste la conservacion de ella."

† "Suplico a V. S. que no dexe de procurar por su parte que se ponga toda la miel y dulzura que possible sea, pues no está el negocio en terminos que con buenos modos y maña no se pueda acá y allá tornar al ristre y reduzirlo al termino que conviene."

‡ Ussento in the Terra d'Otranto (Naples).

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means the King intends to attach the confederated towns to his interests, strengthen himself with their alliance and help, and perhaps, also detach them from Your Majesty's devotion. Even if the arrival of these men had no other effect than that of persuading his own subjects that he has secret intelligences in Germany and other foreign lands, the King, who knows very well the way of conciliating his people, is not likely to omit this opportunity of increasing his reputation. It may also be that the King has expressly sent for them to render the people of Flanders jealous of the Lubeckians and Hamburghers, as well as fearful of losing their trade with this country, and thereby compel them to disobey Your Majesty's commands in case the intercourse of trade shall be suspended; a thing which, the King maintains, the merchants of Flanders will never consent to, since they are opposed to it. I really believe that the Lubeckians may come to some agreement respecting Danemark. As to the Hamburghers, I am told that they at first made difficulties about coming, and, according to a friend of mine who visits them almost daily, they intend, as soon as their business here is dispatched, to go over to Flanders, and present themselves to the Queen [of Hungary].

Although since the eve of Pentecost I have not ceased applying for an answer to the communications I made to the King's Privy Council, as well as asking for permission to see the Queen—*which she urges almost every day—up to this hour I have not received an answer to my application. Master Cromwell some days ago observed to my secretary, whom I sent for the purpose, that he considered my petition quite reasonable, but that the ladies were not to be believed implicitely.**

Since then he has sent me word that he would call on me that we might talk the matter over; but he has evidently forgotten his promise and all the rest. Having subsequently reminded him of his promise by my said secretary, he has answered that the duke of Norfolk and he wished to speak to me about the business in question, as well as about a letter which the King, their master, had lately received from Spain. Yesterday was the day fixed for the conference, but, owing to certain engagements, they have sent me word to have patience and wait two or three days more. These dilatory expedients have had the effect of keeping the Queen in a state of anxiety; for the King has in the meantime deputed certain clerks to exact the oath from the ladies of her household, and in case of refusal to bring all of them prisoners to London. This order of the King the commissioners would have executed at once, had they not been deterred by the

* "Maistre Cromuel donna entendre il y quelques iours a mon home que ce que demandoye estoit tres honeste, mais [que] les dames [n]estoint de croyre (*sic*)."

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difficulty of causing so many ladies to come to this capital against their will and by force, besides the pity and commiseration which they must have felt at leaving the Queen alone and without servants, besides her own entreaties not to proceed further without informing the King first of the state of things. The commissioners arrived in town yesterday, but I cannot guess what orders they will receive next.

Upwards of ten months ago I had sent to the Queen a protest for her daughter, the Princess, to sign. This I had reason to believe had been complied with, otherwise I should have taken measures to that effect. Finding, however, that it was out of her power to obtain her daughter's signature, the Queen sent it back to me some time ago, and I have at last succeeded in making her sign the document, as Your Majesty will see. No words of mine can express the industrious and clever means which that angelical and peerless Princess has employed to get the said protest into my hands, and distract the attention of the guards by whom she is surrounded.

A gentleman worthy of credit has this day sent me word that the Queen's mistress has said more than once, and with great assurance, that the very moment the King crosses over [to France] to hold his interview with king Francis, and she remains governess of the kingdom, she will certainly cause the death of the said Princess by the sword or otherwise. And upon Rochefort, her brother, saying that by doing so she might offend the King, she answered him that she cared not if she did, even if she were to be burnt or flayed alive in consequence. The Princess knows very well the good intentions of that lady; but thinking that such a death is the best way of gaining Paradise, is nowise concerned at such threats, placing her trust in God, whom she has served so well at all times, and now serves better than ever. After speaking to her on the subject, whenever the permission be granted, I shall not fail to follow her advice, and address my remonstrances to the King Whether these will be of use or not is more than I can say at present.

I humbly beg Your Majesty to pardon me if I repeat things of which I have already written, but the importunities of several worthy personages inclined to the welfare and service of Your Majesty prompts me to it. Unless Your Imperial Majesty at once looks to the affairs of this country, all hope of remedy will vanish for ever, owing to this [Lutheran] sect, which is beginning to spread, and which, as the King thinks, will not only be a stimulant for his subjects to resist Your Majesty's attacks, but will likewise conciliate for him the favour of Germany, and principally of the maritime towns, such as Lubeck and others. Whilst the King himself has nothing grave on his hands, he will be able to get from his subjects, by fair means or foul, anything he wishes, as he is doing daily, and at the same time raise discontent both

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in Germany and France against Your Majesty. Even if Your Majesty showed satisfaction at his past conduct, I have no doubt he will go on all the same with his intrigues in the hope of annoying Your Majesty, and because he fears that in the end he will get what he so richly deserves. Indeed, these people fancy that the true bridle to curb both the French and the Germans, and prevent them from kicking, would be to take measures here in this country. By such means did the Emperor Maximilian defeat his two competitors, as described in the chronicles of England. This would be now-days, in the present state of affairs, the easiest thing to accomplish; for all the people, great and small, are only waiting for an opportunity, however trifling, to declare in favour of Your Imperial Majesty and of the Queen and Princess, of whose life certain fears are to be entertained unless a prompt remedy be immediately applied. Your Majesty cannot imagine the hundredth part of the almost universal annoyance caused in this realm by such delays, nor the reproaches daily addressed to me by all parties, except those of the new sect. I have not hesitated to inform Your Majesty of these facts lest you should think that the compulsory oath of the statutes has changed in the least the affection of the English.*

The archbishop of Canterbury having reserved to himself the declaration, definition, and determination which he proposes making in a year's time, of certain questions, *i.e.*, whether there be purgatory or not; whether it be proper to pray to, and worship saints; whether it be allowable for the priests to marry; and whether pilgrimages to shrines and churches are to be considered as meritorious works, has prohibited and forbidden by public and express commands that any preacher should be bold or imprudent enough to inveigh against the said articles. *All of which, if I am not mistaken, are only preparatory steps to facilitate the work of next Parliament, thus promoting a schism in the Church for the King's own particular designs; that is, to dispossess the churches of England of their own,—a work which he has not yet commenced, for fear of mixing up together such and so many scandalous matters.*—London, 23 June MDXXXIIII.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 6.

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 23 June and 7 July. Received on the 3rd of August at Palencia."

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* "Et oyres que vostre majeste monstrat estre contente de tout ce quil a fait, si croi ie quil ne cesseroit a fere toutes les susdites menees tant pour quelque enuye que doubtant tousiours que a la fin il auroit le gueridon quil merite; et semble a ces gens que la vraye bride pour arrester la france et lallemaigne et les garder de ruer seroit de pourvoir yçi, et par tel moyen lempereur Maximillian supedicta ses deux competiteurs, comme le contiennent les croniques."

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27 June. **69.** The Cardinal of Jaen to the High Commander.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, f. 46.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 307.

(*Cipher:*) I may appear importune, troublesome, and even suspicious in so often writing about the same thing, but the time will come when I shall be excused for having done so. I have said many a time, and I repeat it again, that it behoves us to treat His Holiness with greater consideration and regard than we are now doing, and not show so much suspicion of him, because if he (the Pope) ever becomes afraid of losing the Emperor's confidence, he is sure to lean on France. And, inasmuch as I perceive that the Imperial ambassador rather mistrusts the Pope, I am afraid that the reports the Count (Sylva) makes to Spain may one of these days provoke measures highly unfit for the present times. My opinion is that, though the Pope may have made promises or taken engagements with our opponents, still he will not declare openly against the Emperor, and that if he be temporized with, and treated considerately and with fair words, he may yet repent and be a good friend.* This is supposing that he (the Pope) has done wrong; for if he has not, our treatment of him ought to be one of implicit trust, for there would be then no earthly excuse for our dealing with him otherwise. It is not for me to determine what our treatment in the negociation ought to be; but I do not hesitate to say that, under present circumstances, great expansion (*soltura*) ought to be used, and that we ought to aim at gaining what we can of him, in time, as well as in money and favour, and that it would be proper, and even necessary, to send here some person who might show him greater confidence. The person appointed might be useful in other matters, though, if you wish to conduct yourselves with purity and simplicity as in time of peace, I fancy that such a person will not succeed. However, in these matters I refer entirely to the Emperor's wisdom and prudence, your own, and that of the other members of the Privy Council.†—Rome, 27 June 1534.

Indorsed: "Deciphering of letter from the cardinal of Jaen to the High Commander."

Spanish. Original in cipher. pp. 2.

7 July. **70.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 45.

Since the date of Your Majesty's letter of the 12th of June, received the day before yesterday, several of my despatches must have come to hand, the substance of which has, no doubt,

* "Y entreteniendolo con buenos modos podria facilmente arrepentirse y ser buen amigo."

† "Pero bien oso desir que para todos eventos al presente convernia soltura, y ganar lo que se pueda, assi de tiempo, como approvecharse de su hazienda y favor, y no seria sino bien, y aun necessario embiar persona propia para mostrar de nuevo querer tener mayor confianza. Y este tal haria otros buenos effectos, [porque] sy en estos tiempos quereis governaros con la [misma] puridad y llanura que en tiempo de paz, pienso que no se acertará. Todavia me remito al prudente juizio de Su Mag^{d} y de vosotros señores."

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informed Your Majesty of the point of view here taken of German affairs, as well as of the resolution concerning the interview of the two Kings, first fixed for the middle of August, and afterwards postponed till the 1st of September. *On this latter point I must say that several people here are of opinion that the negociations must have been broken off altogether, inasmuch as, according to a message sent me by the earl of Montagu, the king of France has lately sent word that Henry must not think, when they meet together, of proposing or speaking about matters against the Faith, the Pope, or the Apostolic See, for he (Francis) fully intended following the steps of his predecessors on the throne of France,—and living as a Catholic Prince, just as he (Henry) had done after his recent quarrel with your Majesty, that he may have an opportunity and the means of gaining and corrupting those who surround the king of France.**

This King, meanwhile, is having a quantity of silver and gold plate of all kinds and forms wrought, at which all the smiths of this city are daily working without daring to undertake any other work. And I am told by a man who has seen the list of the plate, as well as of the persons in France to whom it is destined for presentation, that no less than 12,000 marks weight of it have been commanded,—whether of the English marks, worth two nobles each, or of those weighing eight ounces, I cannot say. I really believe that, besides the said silver plate now being wrought, the King will take to France, to be distributed among the courtiers, a quantity of other silver plate, and even gilt cups, which he has in store. *The Queen herself is afraid that the small quantity of it which she herself owns will have the same destiny as her rings and jewels.*†

Respecting the *marriage of the king of Scotland to a daughter of the king of France, this King,* as I have already informed Your Majesty, has many a time *told and assured the Scottish ambassadors that, owing to a treaty existing between him and Francis, stipulating that no daughter of France should be given in wedlock to the king of Scotland, the marriage could in nowise take place. And since this King's suspicions about the French have considerably increased of late, it is not to be supposed that he (Henry) will consent thereto.* I am told that *the treaty in question was made shortly before this King's late visit to France; but that, considering the alliance and friendship between king Francis and the Pope,* and also *the circumstance that the*

* "Quil ne failloit quil pensat de vouloir traicter ny mectre en avant, quant ilz seront ensemble, chose quil fut contre la foy, le Pape, ou le Siege apostolique, car il entendoit suyvant les vestiges de ses predecesseurs vouloir suivre catholiquement, comme il avoit jusques depuis les querelles nouvelles, pour avoir moien de gaingner et corrompre ceulx que sont autour du roy de France."

† "La royne se doubte bien que ce peu de vacelle quelle a [sera] senvoye a ce coup avec ses baghes et ioyaulx."

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former has obtained no favour from His Holiness with regard to him,* he fears that, *should the said marriage take place against Francis' will, all friendship between them might be at an end. There can be no doubt, however, that the French are encouraging the Scotch, for fear they should apply to Your Majesty for a wife for their King, and most likely because they are desirous of such matrimonial alliance, inasmuch as they could not place the daughter of France in better hands than his. Indeed, the Scotch ambassador assures me that, though the marriage to the daughter of Allebrech (Mr. de Labret) was one of those offered to them, it was only a feint and a blind, the more to alienate the King, his master, from Your Majesty on the Navarrese quarrel ;† but he (the Ambassador) thought that on no account would his master listen to such a proposal. The danger now lies in the said king of Scotland agreeing to attend the proposed assembly, according to the wish and solicitations of these people and of the French ; but up to the present there is no sign of his consenting to that. I have dissuaded the ambassador as much as is in my power ; and the personages whom Your Majesty has sent to Scotland, and who, according to the report of a Spanish sailor, must have arrived there already, will do the rest.*

With respect to Coron, news came here some time ago that the garrison which Your Majesty kept in that city had abandoned it altogether. Various are the constructions put on that measure, and many the persons who daily speak to me about it. My general answer is, that when Your Majesty had undertaken the conquest and keeping of that place, it was for the purpose and in the hope of opening a gate for the invasion of the Turkish empire, through which other Christian Princes might enter, and then conquer separately and for themselves the dominions of the Infidel ; perceiving, however, that not only no one followed in your steps, but that some of them even murmured, and said that the keeping of Coron might over-irritate the Turk, and stimulate him to a sudden attack on Christendom, Your Majesty had decided on its evacuation ; *which terms of complaints, by-the-by, are exactly the same which these people and the last ambassador from France have daily used to me.*

On St. John's Day the ambassadors from Lubeck and Hamburg waited on the King at Antoncourt (Hampton Court), and were very well received and entertained (*festoyes*). They again returned on the ensuing Sunday, when the Doctor who comes in company with the ambassadors of that town, and seems to be their chief head, delivered a lengthy oration

* "Ioinct que le dit roy de France na riens impetre envers sa sanctite contre le grey de ce roy."

† Ever since the conquest of Navarre by Ferdinand in 1512 the dethroned family of the Albret, or Labret as the Spanish historians call them, kept the title of kings of Navarre, which title Henry IV., issued from that family, united to that of king of France.

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in Latin, of nearly three hours, during which, among other tauntings, he (the Doctor) spoke most fiercely about the authority of the Pope, and praised beyond measure the acts and conduct of this King, and principally, as he said, his very high doctrine and his divine inspiration, which he said had brought him to the knowledge of the truth and right as far as Papal authority and the illegitimacy of his marriage were concerned, observing that he could not and ought not to leave without punishment the offences received from His Holiness in the matter of his marriage. Nor did the Doctor forget to praise and extol at the same time the power of his countrymen, the Lubeckians, who, he said, were free and independent, and could without impediment of any sort treat or ally themselves with whom they pleased. The Doctor touched on several other points, which I omit for the present, since I hope shortly to obtain by some means or other a copy of the whole peroration, and forward it to Your Majesty. *But there can be no doubt, as many have assured me, that this King did really send a message to the Lubeckians, requesting them to appoint an embassy, and that he himself or his ambassador furnished them with the materials and arguments for their peroration.* The Doctor, however, has played his part so well that I am informed by a confidential friend of his that the King has offered him a very handsome pension if he will take service in England; which offer the Lubeckian is likely to accept. The Doctor is a native of High Germany, though generally residing at Lubeck; and I am told that he and his colleagues were to have brought with them another Doctor, of whom they speak in the highest possible terms, extolling his doctrine and his power of persuasion over and above that of Melancthon and other Germans, but when the embassy was about to start he fell ill, and was obliged to remain behind.* I am told, however, that as soon as he recovers, his colleagues offer to make him come, *that he may persuade and convince those who consider this last marriage of the King as illegitimate, and who make still difficulties about joining the Lutheran sect, the said ambassadors from Lubeck affirming and taking upon themselves that on the Doctor's arrival here no one he talks to on the subject, but will at once be persuaded to follow his opinions.*†

I have not yet heard of the said ambassadors having discussed or talked of any affairs with these people, *nor is it to be presumed that when called upon to counsel, as it were,*

* "Les ditz ambassadeurs debuoint encoirez amenner ung aultre docteur quilz estollissent (?) en doctrine et grace de persuasion dessuz Melanthon, et la (*sic*) reste dallemagne, mays sur le partement yl tombast en maladie de la quelle estant relevé les ditz ambassadeurs ainsy quay entendu ont promis de le faire venir."

† "Pour conuertyr ceulx qui contrarient au derrier marriage et que font difficulte dentrer en la secte lutherienne, et affirment les dits ambassadeurs et preignent sur eulx que le dit docteur ne parlera a personne quil ne le conduise a son oppinion."

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respecting marriage and Lutheranism, will they agree to act directly against Your Majesty, though possibly they may be called upon in an indirect way to enter into some treaty or defensive league of this King against the Pope and all others who, on the plea of Christian religion and Papal authority, might make war upon him; in which treaty anything else likely to prevent the execution of the Papal sentence in favour of the Queen would naturally be included.

Notwithstanding that the earl of Childare (Kildare) is suffering alike from his wound, which is incurable, and in his brain, and has no sense or power to do good or harm, yet he was a week ago arrested in the King's name and taken prisoner to the Tower, *where, as I am told, he would have been lodged the very moment he arrived in this city, had it not been that the King thought he might by his means decoy and seize the person of a son of his, who, I am told,* is a young man of much wit, brave and bold, and who is very popular in that country. But it appears that not only *has the youth refused to come here, but he has collected troops, seized some pieces of ordnance belonging to this King, and done many other things equally offensive.* But since Your Majesty will be better informed *through the personage appointed, and who, according to the report of certain Spanish sailors, must have landed in Ireland ten days ago,* I will not dwell any longer on the subject, save to say that there is a rumour afloat *that count Desmond has joined the son of Kildare; which, if true, is a thing to be attended to by the person Your Majesty has appointed to go thither. About three months ago the provincial of the Franciscans, who went to Ireland on a visit to the convents of his Order,* promised me that he would do anything there for the preservation of the authority of the Apostolic See. If so, he can do wonders, especially among the wild clans of that country, where the observant friars are much respected and feared, and almost worshipped, not only by the peasantry but by the lords also, who revere them to such a degree as to receive blows without resenting them.† The inhabitants of that country being in the mood I have just pointed out to Your Majesty, ought to be encouraged and helped from time to time, or at least entertained with hope. Ireland, from its vicinity to Wales—the strongest country in England—is a very important country, and ought to be secured for our plans; the Irish only want a chieftain to rise like the others. News has come to Court that the son of Kildare, or some other chieftain of his party, has been heard to say that were the Irish to rise in arms they would immediately get the assistance of* 12,000 *Spaniards. This*

* "Le prouincial des cordeliers obseruantins allant au dit hirlande pour visiter ses convens."

† "Speciallement outre les sauluaiges ou les dits courdeliers sont crains [et] obeyz et quasi adorez non seullement des paisans mais des seigneurs, les quelz leur portent reuerence jusques a endurer deulx des coups de baton."

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intelligence, which, as I am informed by a worthy citizen, has reached the King's ears, the Privy Councillors are much concerned at, and so is he; and many think that unless the dissensions which trouble and divide the country just now are put down, the interview of the two Kings will not take place, in which case this King might possibly get into trouble with only the appearance or sign of armament in Spain. The pleasure which people of all classes feel at the mere announcement of such news is not to be described.

Some time ago the King appointed a new governor of Ireland in the room of the above-mentioned earl of Kildare; his name is Master Schevenden (Skeffington); he was once master of the Artillery, and had some official capacity in that country. Some doubt, however, of his accepting that charge, inasmuch as a secretary of his has been sent to the Tower in consequence of certain letters which have come from Ireland.

Whether to do pleasure to these people, or for some other reason, the Lubeckians have spread the news that the Dutch have broken the truce, and sent six ships to some port of Abrbuegue (Auvergne) whither, according to the articles of the said truce, they are only entitled to send four.

On the receipt of Your Majesty's orders, I immediately communicated with the Queen, Madame, your aunt, who was marvellously comforted at hearing of your prosperity, and the tender care you take of her affairs as well as those of the Princess, her daughter. The former has lately sent me word to say, as she does almost every day, that the greatest service I could render her under present circumstances would be to obtain the King's permission to visit her. And yet I must own that, notwithstanding my continual and most importunate solicitations, I have yet been unable to obtain a resolution on this point. I will not, therefore, trouble Your Majesty with further details of an affair respecting which the most extraordinary terms have been held to me, reserving the account thereof for my next despatch.—London, 7 July 1534.

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 8.

16 July. **71.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 228, No. 47.

Six days ago Sir de Rochefort (George) left for France, for what purpose I cannot positively say. *Perhaps the reason is that this King begins to suspect that he of France would gladly get off his engagement, as his language respecting Papal authority seems to indicate;* or else that, as I had lately the honour of informing Your Majesty, Monsieur de Rochefort goes thither for the purpose of *persuading king Francis to send to Scotland an ambassador who may counteract the plans and*

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negociations of the Imperial agent residing in that country, of which they have received intelligence. Perhaps, too, the King's wish is to complain of the agent whom Your Majesty has lately sent into Ireland, and invite king Francis to take measures and join in some undertaking against Your Majesty.

The ambassadors of Lubeck and Hamburg have not been to Court since St. John's Day; nor has there been an opportunity offered to them of discussing what they come about, or even communicating with the Privy Councillors. Yet they dined yesterday at the archbishop of Canterbury's, *where, I am told, chancellor Cromuel, two Bishops created by this new Pope, and Dr. Fox, were among the guests. After dinner they remained a long while together, and I am told that the conversation turned principally on several articles of the Lutheran sect, such as the authority of the Pope, and other matters, on which these people wished to have the opinion and advice of the Lubeckian doctors, and find the best means of persuading the English to such a radical change in religious matters.*

This conjecture is the more probable because *the only persons invited to that dinner were the two above-mentioned Bishops, the strongest Lutherans in the world. I will make my best endeavours to obtain positive information on these topics*, and, if I do, will not fail in advising Your Majesty.

The day before yesterday the earl of Wiltshire and the Comptroller went again to the Princess to persuade her to renounce her title. If she did, they told her, the King would treat her much better than she could expect or even wish. In case of refusal she would meet with an opposite treatment. The Princess' answer was so prudent and wise that the commissioners went away in confusion. I had the day before informed her of the visit which she was about to receive, and wrote what I thought necessary to strengthen her in her good purpose, and keep her in good spirits and hope, as I am doing almost every day. I cannot say whether I shall in future have such opportunities, *for they are threatening to have her shut up in her rooms.*

Yesterday, whilst Cromwell was at the archbishop of Canterbury's in company with the above named, I wrote to him that since he was unwilling to grant me permission to visit the Queen, which I had applied for since the Pentecost, I had decided to start the day after for her residence in the country, where the porters would, no doubt, inform me whether I could be admitted to her presence or not; and that in order that the said porters might know how to act, and as I did not intend to have any underhand ways, I had hastened to inform him of my determination. Having received my note, Cromwell communicated its contents to his colleagues, and made my man repeat my message word by word; after which he said that up to that hour he had been unable to persuade the King, his

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master, to grant me the required permission, but that, seeing my determination, as expressed in the note, he had no doubt that the King, to whom he was about to send my note by one of his secretaries, would grant my request. At any rate I should receive an answer this very evening.

There was question these last days of assembling a certain number of hackbutiers and gunners to send to Ireland, under the deputy-governor of that country; but it seems that they are not in a great hurry; nor do I see that other provision has been made, though they may have done so secretly for many reasons.—London, 16 July 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 2.

21 July. **72.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, ff. 121–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 309.

Wrote last on the 29th ult. Since then the Emperor's letter of the 7th, brought by captain Balat,* was received on the 3rd inst.

(*Cipher:*) With regard to the Council, he (Sylva) spoke again to His Holiness, telling him the answer which was about to be made [by the College of Cardinals]. His Holiness' reply was that he himself would write to the Emperor. He also showed sorrow for what he (Sylva) had said to him. Next day he had a relapse of his pains in the stomach and gout, and consequently kept his bed. It is, therefore, impossible to go on with the negociation; most probably he will not be able to write for some time.

The Emperor is much disturbed at hearing of the Pope's bad state of health. He does not send a person to visit him, because he expects and hopes that by this time he will be well already.

Since His Holiness is so hard in this matter of the General Council, and much disinclined to take measures until it be known how the affairs of Germany will end, the Ambassador must not press the Pope too much.

Spoke to him also on the affairs of Germany. Showed him a memorandum of the measures the Emperor had decided to take; which he (the Pope) approved, saying that nothing could be better. (*Cipher:*) He owned that the king of France had helped the enter-

* Elsewhere Andalot and D'Andalot, unless he be a different person, though it must be said that the clerk who made this abstract (*relacion*), or else the modern scribes at Simancas must have blundered considerably to mistake D'Andalot for Balat or Balart. Mistakes of this sort occur so often in papers of this time, especially Spanish, as to render it unnecessary to call the attention of the readers to them.

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prise, and was furnishing money towards the expenses of the war in Germany. No further proofs (he said) were needed. He (the Pope) knew for certain that, besides the sums remitted on a previous occasion, the King had lately sent more money to the landgrave [of Hesse] and duke of Würtenberg. The Pope knows more of king Francis' doings than any one else; and yet, strange to say, he keeps on the best terms and most intimate correspondence with king Francis, on the plea that were he not to maintain friendly relations with him, he might do as the king of England has done.

Respecting the affairs of Italy, the Pope said that there was at present no cause for alarm. He knew for certain that king Francis would not invade it this year. This notwithstanding, he said he was ready to write to the Abbé del Negro, and give him permission to spend at once and without further consultation as much money out of the funds collected by the League as he and Antonio de Leyva and the Prothonotary (Caracciolo) thought fit; of course that would only be in case of positive news coming that the League was to be attacked. He (Sylva) replied that the Emperor did not wish the money of the [Italian] League to be spent without the certainty that king Francis meant to invade the country. There was no fear of that at present, besides which Castaldo had lately been the bearer of despatches to the Abbé, &c.

He answered well; but let him know that the prior of Besançon went home on account of illness.

An answer has been received from Caracciolo respecting the subvention to the Catholic cantons. He is of opinion that the 7,000 ducats to be distributed among them had better be deposited in Milan. The prior of Besançon is of a different opinion; he thinks

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it is of the highest importance to secure the good-will of the Swiss, and prevent their furnishing men to king Francis. Stephano da Insola is of the same mode of thinking.

The Emperor is persuaded that the Count did everthing in his power. The affair has been left entirely in the hands of Leyva.

With regard to La Mirandola he (Sylva) duly forwarded to Antonio de Leyva a copy of the despatch which Carniseca said had been sent by the Pope to the abbé del Negro, and also of the orders he had since received to act in concert with that captain. This was on the 19th of May. It happened most unfortunately that Diego de Leyva, who was the bearer of it, was drowned on the 25th whilst crossing a river. His papers, however, were recovered, for they came into the hands of the duke Alessandro, who immediately forwarded them to Leyva. Meanwhile, a duplicate of the letter was sent, both of which (the original and the copy) he (Leyva) received on the 28th. The siege of La Mirandola would therefore have been undertaken, had not Leyva himself thought it more prudent to leave matters as they are for the present.

Let the Ambassador proceed in this affair according to his instructions.

With respect to the prorogation for 17 months of the period of time during which the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) is to be considered as virtually included in the League, His Holiness has made difficulties. He (Sylva) explained the reasons the Emperor had for wishing it, and how very important it was for the peace of Italy. The Pope replied that for that purpose he had no objection to part with the greatest city in the estates of the Church. It was of no consequence to him if the term of the Duke's incorporation in the League was prorogued or not, as peace would in no wise be disturbed, &c. Begged him (Sylva) to leave matters as they were. As to the compensation to

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be furnished by the Duke, the Pope made no answer. In his humble opinion it would be better and more profitable to the Emperor's interests to leave His Holiness and the Duke to settle their own matters together, or rather keep up their differences. As a proof, there is a rumour here, at Rome, that His Holiness and cardinal De' Medici have been discussing together the expediency of sanctioning the Emperor's sentence in the Ferrara affair; firstly, because the latter wants the money which the Duke is bound to pay; and secondly, because the French themselves wish it for their own ulterior plans. He (Sylva) does not believe it, but still the rumour is prevalent here, at Rome, and the Duke's agent has heard of it also.

Let him bear in mind what the Emperor has written about this, and should he learn anything more let him advise.

(*Cipher:*) The Emperor wishes to know what truth there is in the report of the various marriages proposed to Isabella Colonna. All he (Sylva) knows about the matter is that several have been offered, but that she has accepted none; nor is it believed she will, except she has the Emperor's previous consent. It is, however, considered certain that she will come here in September or October, and that her son will also be allowed to come back with her at the request of cardinal De' Medici and to please him, notwithstanding the opposition offered by her father-in-law. One of the principal causes of her journey to Lombardy was the recovery of the castles and lands which formerly belonged to her deceased husband, which they said will not be restored, as His Majesty has, no doubt, already heard from Antonio de Leyva.*

* "Tienese por cierto que verna aqui por Setiembre ó Octubre, y que le dan su hijo por contemplacion del Cardenal de Medicis, el qual no le havia querido dar su suegro, hasta agora, [ni] el castillo ó tierras de su marido por lo qual era una de las cosas [por] que allá avia ydo. Dizen que no se lo daran. De todo esto terná V. M^{d} mejor aviso de Antonio de Leiva por estar en Lombardia."

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Letters written by the king of the Romans to his agent in this city, and to Antonio de Leyva at Milan, inform us that peace had been made with the landgrave of Hesse and the duke of Würtenberg, on condition of the duchy being held in future in fief of the House of Austria, and, on the want of lineal male descent, returning to it; also that their army should be disbanded without causing any harm to Germany or to the dominions of Austria, and that the artillery taken should likewise be restored. Also that the elector of Saxony should swear obedience to the king of the Romans, for himself and his allies, which he had hitherto refused to do.

(*Common writing:*) It is needless to say how much the French here, and many others of their party, have felt this. Some still think that the Landgrave will not disband his army, but will put it at the disposal of the king of France. Should this turn out true it is generally believed that before the year is over king Francis will invade Italy; otherwise, they say, he will not come either this year or the next.

His Imperial Majesty hopes that on the receipt of his letter His Holiness will have recovered from his illness. Should God dispose of him it is not to be supposed that cardinal De' Medici enlisted so many men to procure his election by force of arms, but merely to guard his house.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness has had a relapse, and is suffering from gout in the stomach; which, they say, has passed to the kidneys; he has so little appetite, is so broken down and so apprehensive of death, that his physicians really fear for his life, although he has only had three or four accesses of fever, and that not very high. He had enlisted, for the defence of Ancona and of the coast, 450 light horse; but has since removed them thence, and placed them in Viterbo, Corneto, and Toscanella, on the frontiers of Siena, which, by-the-by, do not seem fit places for such a force, if intended, as was said, to defend the coast

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from the attacks of Barbarossa. He (Sylva) does not believe that any forces have been enlisted besides the above 450 horsemen, 150 of whom the cardinal (Ippolito) brought lately to this place. It is also said that the latter intends recruiting some infantry. What his object may be, it is impossible to say, though some think the Cardinal destines them for his own protection in case His Holiness should die. He (Sylva) will try to ascertain the truth of this matter, and inform the Emperor thereof, that a prompt remedy may be applied, without giving rise to scandalous revolutions, as at other times. To this end, and should His Holiness die, he (Sylva) is thinking of raising 500 foot, with whom, and with the Imperialists in this city and its immediate neighbourhood, the Cardinal, boastful as he is, will not dare attempt anything to the Emperor's detriment.

(*Common writing:*) It is thought that His Holiness will still create some cardinals, in order to secure the election of his nephew, cardinal Ippolito de Medici, to the Pontificate; at least such is Carniseca's belief; though others say that the object of the creation is merely to increase the number of the learned and wise, who are in a minority. He (Sylva) told Carniseca that he considered it a dangerous experiment to create more cardinals, not only on account of the confusion which generally originated therefrom, but because it would give cause of complaint to all the enemies of the Apostolic See, the Lutherans and the king of England, besides other reasons equally powerful. The Emperor might complain, since he had written recommending that no more cardinals should be made, especially if Verona (Gio. Mattheo Giberti), the auditor of the Apos-

The Emperor thinks that when this answer shall reach Rome, His Holiness will have recovered. Should God order otherwise, we cannot bring our mind to believe that cardinal Ippolito de Medici will collect troops for any other purpose than defending his own home, if attacked, certainly not to forward his own election to the pontificate. For, should that be his intention, and should his colleagues hear of it, they would undoubtedly resent it, and try to defeat his plans, and prevent his enlisting more men on the Pope's decease, if such should be his design. This is, upon the whole, a matter for consideration, and which requires much previous thought. Should His Holiness die, the Ambassador will take counsel from Santa Croce, Barry (Merino) (?) and the others whom he knows to be good servants of the Emperor, and proceed after mature deliberation, to see what the other ambassadors will do; for if they saw him collect men it is likely that the French would take umbrage, and also collect troops on the plea that we wished forcibly to influence (*violentar*) the new election. If, however, after taking the advice of the above cardinals and others, the Count saw that the armament was necessary for the preservation of the Imperial dignity and its authority, the peace of Rome, and the preven-

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tion of riots, so that cardinals may freely vote according to their conscience, then in that case, not otherwise, the Ambassador may make the levies he speaks of.

The Ambassador must keep to his instructions on this point, and do everything to prevent the appointment.

tolic Chamber, and the bishop of Faença (Rudolph Pio da Carpi), all of them enemies of the Empire, were to be among the creations. Carniseca's answer was that he believed three more, all of them reputed friends of the Emperor, would be appointed, such as Capua, Simonetta, and bishop Gambaro, &c. Besides (added Carniseca), should His Holiness decide to create new cardinals, it would never be till September or October.

According to Carniseca, letters from France of the 26th ult. announce that king Francis had declined giving his own daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, and that the latter had refused the hand of the daughter of Vendome, and that if the Emperor was willing to give him his own niece, daughter of the king of Denmark, the proposal would be gladly accepted. His (Sylva's) answer was that he knew nothing of the Emperor's intentions on that score.

Very well answered, and let him dissemble as best he can. Should he hear more about this he is to inform us.

Has been told as a fact that a secretary of the king of Scotland has arrived in Rome, and that he brings a message from his master to the effect that the king of England has requested him to be present at the conferences which he is to hold soon with the king of France; but that king James has refused, owing to his being an obedient son of the Church, whereas king Henry of England is her enemy. He would never go to the interview unless with the consent of the Pope. In this matter, should the Scottish king accept the invitation and go thither, it will be evident that he does it with His Holiness' consent. To this may be added that, according to the Pope's account, the kings of England and Scotland had lately concluded a peace, in which both had comprised the Emperor.

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The Papal Nuncio who resides in France (said Carniseca) writes that the Vayvod [of Transylvania] had sent an ambassador to the king of England, asking for the hand of Her Highness, the princess of Wales. The King had refused the Vayvod's request, but had proposed instead of her a relative of his and of the king of Scotland,* whom the Vayvod had refused to take as his wife. King Henry, moreover, had proposed to the Vayvod's ambassador that if his master would at once renounce his allegiance to the Apostolic See, he (the King) would do wonders for him. The ambassador had indignantly replied that he wondered much that His Highness, the King, could counsel the Vayvod to go against the Church, when he himself had counselled and admonished him not to bring the Turks [into Europe] for the purpose of recovering his own lost estate.† On his passage through France to return to his master, the ambassador had from the king of that country the offer of 25 or 30,000 ducats if his master would make war on the king of the Romans; and the ambassador replied that it was too small a sum for the Vayvod, his master, to make war on so powerful a prince.

The Papal Nuncio in France (continued Carniseca) also writes that the landgrave [of Hesse] has sent word to the king of France that he had collected a fine army, and that, should he want to employ him or his men, he had only to tell him where to go. Answered Carniseca that among other conditions

* "Al qual el dicho rey de Inglaterra no habia querido dar la Serenissima Señora princessa por muger sino una otra parienta suya y del rey de Escocia; que él no la havia querido, y que el Rey havia dicho al hombre del Vayvoda que se apartasse el dicho Vayvoda de la obediencia del Papa, &c."

† "A lo qual el dicho hombre respondió que se maravillava mucho de su Alteza aconsejarle que fuese contra la Iglesia habendole dicho y reprendido que no metiese turcos a proposito para sostener su estado."

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of the peace one was that the army of the Landgrave should be immediately disbanded.

(*Cipher :*) Told His Holiness, as coming from him, the Emperor's message respecting the means to be employed to form a league with France to the detriment of England. His answer was that he had no doubt the king of France would join in an undertaking of that sort, only he (the Pope) was afraid that when the matter came to be discussed, the Emperor would take the part of the king of England, and leave the friendship and confederation of France. His (Sylva's) answer was that if the Emperor consented to that, he must know it was not his habit to deal craftily and deceitfully, but with perfect fairness, as he had done up to this time.*

Let him ascertain as much as he possibly can about this, and make inquiries, though without letting them know that His Imperial Majesty has any knowledge.

Brief respecting the Crusade.

Cardinal Trivulcio and his archbishopric of Rijoles.†

The auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) is exercising great pressure in the law-suit of Maltha. The prior of Rome and the procurator of the Order of St. John have requested him (Sylva) to act as intermediary. They have offered him 400 ducats pension, but he will not take less than 500.

His Holiness insisted on sending some one to France to mediate in the quarrel between the duke of Savoy and king Francis. The person appointed was Ubaldino. Will not fail writing to the Imperial ambassadors both in France and in Savoy that they may inquire what is going on. Such at least is Carniseca's account, and the message

* "Que no acostunbraba á negociar con cauthelas ni con tales mañas, sino muy á la real, como hasta aqui havia fecho."

† Rijoles is Rh'gium Julii in the kingdom of Naples. Between 1512 and 1529 two members of the Triulzi family, Agostino and Pietro, seem to have been bishops of that place. *See* Gams, p. 917.

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No more correspondence about this. The instructions must have reached the Ambassador by this time.

he brought from His Holiness. Answered him that it would have been very opportune to send the same person to the king of England on such an errand as the one recommended and which His Holiness had approved. Carniseca affected to know nothing about this.

The same Carniseca begs for the bishopric of Tortosa, which, he says, is vacant by the death of cardinal Anquifort. He pretends that at Bologna Mr. de Granvelle promised him in the Emperor's name that he would not be forgotton. Though he knows he has as yet done but little for the Imperial service, he hopes to be more useful henceforward.

Advocate Luis de Aragonia asks for the bishopric of Bossa in Sardinia for a brother of his, also an auditor [of the Rota]. The See is vacant by the death of Bernardo Gentile, and is worth about 500 ducats.

Let the Ambassador first ascertain what the father and son want, and what they promise to do; for the father (we hear) is a Knight of the Order [of the St. Esprit] in France (*tiene la orden de Francia*). When the Ambassador knows all that, he may write home, and we shall decide upon what had better be done in that particular.

(*Cipher :*) Has contrived to drag on the negociations with Lorenzo da Cheri (Ceri) and his son Giovan Paolo, both of whom have lately pressed him [Sylva] so hard that he could not do less than write about them. Giovan Paolo says that his father will soon return from France on the plea that, being a man and "condottiere" of some importance and experience in military affairs, he wished to let king Francis know the real state of the country, and, perhaps, in the emergency represent him in Italy. Father and son would give every security of serving the Emperor, provided the same pension, even a lesser one, which his father and he have in that country, should be allotted to them.

The viceroy of Naples (marquis de Villafranca) sends news of Barbarossa, who, it is thought, will not come down this year.

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The prince of Melfi has decided to come over.*—Rome, 21 July 1534.

P.S.—His Holiness has just this moment sent me a message to request that Carniseca should be appointed to the bishopric of Tortosa.†

Indorsed: "Summary of a despatch of count Cifuentes of the 21st July 1534."

Spanish. Original. pp. 19.

21 July. **73.** ——— to the High Commander.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, f. 144.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 308.

The Pope rides on Carniseca.‡ The archbishop of Capua and cardinal De' Medici, who know how matters stand, dare not do anything but write in his favour and ask His Majesty for the bishopric of Tortosa for him. It is for your most illustrious Lordship, who has the government of State affairs in your hands, to consider whether the services of a man of the stamp of Carniseca can be compared with those of a most Reverend Archbishop like Schomberg, who *directè* or *indirectè* governs the whole world here. There can be no doubt the Papal Nuncio himself would spend thousands of ducats in favour of Carniseca, knowing, as he does, how His Holiness the Pope laughs at him.§ That is why I again say that it is very important that your most illustrious Lordship take care that the Emperor show this poor Archbishop [Capua] some favour, and help him to get the red hat through the influence of cardinal Medici. If you wish to promote the Emperor's interests in this city, let not the Cardinals' hats be given to beardless youths, but only and exclusively to men of mature age, who may conduct your affairs‖ . . . . . .

. . . . . .

—Rome, 21 Julii 1534.

Addressed: "To the illustrious Lord the Adelantado of Cazorla,¶ High Commander of Leon."

Indorsed: "On the Carniseca affair."

Spanish. Holograph, without signature. pp. 1½.

* Another copy, with the usual minute of answer to each paragraph, is at fol. 319.

† On the death of the bishop of Tortosa (Cardinal William Enkewoërt), which happened in June 1534, that see remained vacant until 1539, when a Spaniard, native of Aragon, Fr. Antonio Calcena, was appointed to it.

‡ "El Papa cavalga, quiero dezir ode á Carniseca."

§ "Por que sabe la burla que acá el Papa, su amo, le haze."

‖ The remainder of the letter, alluding to Carniseca's intimate relations with pope Clement is so coarse that I may feel justified in suppressing it altogether. See *Int.* to *Part* ii. of vol. iv. and p. 1000. The letter itself is anonymous; it was probably written by Matheo Palmero, bishop of Accerenza and Mattera, not yet a cardinal, or by some other ecclesiastic attached to the Emperor, and friend of Schomberg (Ortiz?). I must, however, observe that here, and in other places, Carnisseca or Carnesseca is called, perhaps by derision, Carnizuza.

¶ Covos had by this time been promoted to the dignity of Adelantado de Cazorla in the archbishopric of Toledo. He was then the Emperor's principal secretary for Foreign Affairs.

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21 July. **74.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, ff. 139–40.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 329.

(*Cipher :*) In addition to my despatch of this date addressed to the Emperor, and my private letter of the 6th inst., I must needs submit to Your Lordship's consideration the following remarks.

(*Cipher :*) I really believe that His Majesty the Emperor may have wished me to be more explicit with His Holiness concerning the General Council and the affairs of Germany. Respecting the Council, I did not do it, for fear of irritating the Pope and making him angry. I was sure of doing no good that way, and should have caused mischief in other matters. As I have told your Lordship many a time in my letters, never will the Pope consent to the Council; on the contrary, he will try to prevent it as much as he can, looking out for excuses and obstacles still greater, though they may turn out to the detriment of those who sincerely wish for it. It seems to me as if the Emperor had done enough for God and the world in proposing the appointment of a General Council. If he is determined to have it, I see no other way to it than the employment of authority and force. I say this, notwithstanding my being one of the persons who desire it most.*

(*Common writing :*) I have ascertained from His Holiness' first physician, a man of great learning and talent, *who is always by his bed-side, that his illness is not so dangerous as Your Majesty will most likely be told.* It is, however, serious enough to cause apprehension. I do not concern myself much about it, knowing, as I do, what Your Majesty's intention and will are *in the event of the Pope's death, and of a new election.* I therefore keep quiet, nor will I intimate what many are daily pointing out to me, namely, *that Osma and Burgos should be summoned to come at once,* because as Anquifort (Enkiwaërt) is not present, and La Valle is on his death-bed, and they say will not rally, the presence of the above-named is not required to encourage (*para dar calor*) others in the College.†

His Holiness wants the bishopric of Tortosa for Carniseca, and has begged me to write home about it, as Your Lordship will see by my despatch. As these people appear to be *more satisfied since the news of the agreement made in Germany has come,*‡ I am of opinion that a commission should be given to us to arrange matters here between Carniseca and Tribultio. The former might have his pension or the archbishopric of Rijoles, and the latter take one on Tortosa. *Should your Lordship find no disposition there to give Tortosa to Carniseca, as His Holiness wishes, I should be told beforehand, but in such a way that I may show him the*

* "Y si Su Md está determinado á hazelle yo no veo otro aparejo que es usar de su auctoridad y poder. Esto digo sobre ser una de las personas que mas lo han gana."

† In this paragraph the sentences in italics are in cipher.

‡ "Pues estos paresce que muestran querer mas contentar despues que vino el concierto de Alemania."

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answer, and temporize with him. At any rate I would recommend the greatest caution, for the Papal Nuncio there may prove a great antagonist of Carniseca; for, should he hear what we are about, and that I recommend him (Carniseca), he is sure to counteract all our plans.*—Rome, 21 July 1534.

Signed: "Conde Alferez."

Addressed: "To the Most Illustrious the High Commander of Leon, His Majesty's Secretary, and one of the Privy Council, &c.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

27 July. **75.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien. *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*229, No. 48.

Your Majesty's letter of the 8th inst. came to hand the day before yesterday. Since then several of mine must have been received, informing Your Majesty of what passed at Richmond with the Queen, Madame your aunt, and the officers and servants of her household, who, after considerable personal annoyance, were at last set at liberty, and reinstated in their respective offices as they were before the arrival of the archbishop of York. With regard to the so-often promised answer to the complaints laid by me at Richmond, as well as here in this city, before the Privy Councillors, nothing has yet been decided, notwithstanding my pressing solicitations, the excuse being that both King and Council had found it more expedient to address Your Majesty through the English ambassador at the Imperial Court. I therefore calculate that the note presented by the official, and to which allusion is made in my last despatch, must have contained this King's answer to my application respecting the Queen. For not only has there been no answer concerning the above points, or the permission to visit her—which I have asked for over and over again with the greatest insistance, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my last despatch—but they have behaved most rudely to me,† and in such a manner that, were I to attempt a full description of the whole transaction, I could not do it. Suffice it to say, that after delays and excuses innumerable, which Cromwell invariably put forward to delay the interview,—after my stating from the very beginning that my sole object was to ask permission to see the Queen,—after my offering, if he liked, to call personally on him and explain my motives,—I lost patience, and requested him, in the most formal terms, *to appoint a day and hour when I might talk to him concerning the Queen, and other affairs.* Cromwell then appointed the same day at three o'clock in the afternoon. One hour after, however, he sent an excuse saying that he

* "V. S. mande tener advertencia del Nuncio, por que sé que en este caso ha de ser gran *ventor*."

† "Lon a tenu bien saulvaige façon de faire, que seroit tropt longue a raccompter plainement."

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could not possibly receive me, as the King had summoned him to Court. This, of course, was only an invention of his; for, having set out as if he were going to the King, he only went to a country house of his, half a league from this city. Since then I have pressed him three or four times to grant me an audience; but he has never consented, finding always some excuse not to grant my request; seeing which I wrote to him the letter of which I spoke in my last, and although he assured me that before my departure [for Richmond] I should undoubtedly get an answer from the King, his master, besides which he threw out hopes that I should have permission to wait on the Queen, yet neither the answer nor the permission came.

On the appointed day, which was the 17th inst., I set out on my journey to the Queen, accompanied by 60 horse of my own suite, and of certain Spanish merchants here resident; and it happened very opportunely for my purpose that the way lay through the whole length of this city.* On the second day of our travelling a gentleman rider (*chevaulcheur*) of the King came galopping by, passed us, and shortly after returned to the place where I intended to stop for the night. The rider was accompanied by a worthy man, whom the Queen's chamberlain and steward sent forward to inform me that orders had just been received from the King, forbidding my entering the Queen's apartments or speaking to her. My answer was that it was not my intention to displease the King in that or any other matter; but that, having persistently applied for an answer to my petition, and having come thus far,—five short miles from the Queen's residence,—I could not go back unless they showed me their orders in writing. The day after, early in the morning, arrived another man of greater authority than the first,—one of the Queen's oldest and best servants,—to assure me (as officer and servant of the King that he was) that both the chamberlain and the steward had express charge from the King to send me the message which I had received the day before; adding, in the name of the said chamberlain and steward, and in his own also, that it seemed to him that I ought to abstain from going as far as the Queen's residence, or passing even through the village which is within bow-shot of it. The King, their master, they believed, would take it in bad part if the news of his refusal got about; it might lead to much scandal.

To ascertain more especially the will and resolution of the said chamberlain and steward, I sent one of my own men, to whom they held similar language. However, as my man was returning from the place he met one of those whom this King sent last year to Germany, a "fine gallant," who,

* "Et vint le mieulx a propoz du monde pour leffect pretendu que nostre chemin saddonoit necessairement de passer tout au long de ceste ville."

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as it appeared, was also going to the place where the Queen is. I waited all that day to see whether the King's gentleman would send me a message, and at the same time whether I could hear of the Queen's pleasure. I was not mistaken, for she sent me word that she was highly pleased at the journey I had undertaken for her sake, and felt under great obligation to me for the service I proposed rendering her. As to passing on to our lady of Valsinguen (Walshingham), she left it entirely to my discretion. *She could not possibly write then, but would do so very shortly at full length. A gentleman of her chamber then gave me to understand that, though the Queen herself dared not say anything about it, he knew for certain that she would be highly pleased at part of my suite showing themselves before the place; which was accordingly done the next day, to the great consolation, as it seemed, of the ladies of her household, who spoke to the men from the battlements and windows* [*of the tower*], *with as much astonishment and joy on the part of the peasantry in the neighbourhood, as if the Messiah had actually come down.*

Considering that had I myself gone to Valsinguen (Walsingham), it might have been thought that my principal object was not to visit the Queen, I resolved not to go further, but remain where I was. As an excuse to the personage whom the King had sent thither, I sent him word that, wishing above all things to please the King, his master, not only would I abstain from going to the said village, agreeably to the wish expressed by the Queen's chamberlain and steward, but I would also, for the same consideration, desist from my pilgrimage to Valsinguen (Walsingham), in order to remove all matter of scruple and suspicion, and not deviate from the path which I have always followed, but perform every good office suitable to the charge which Your Majesty has deigned to confer on me. The personage in question attempted to conceal from me the object of his mission; nor would he at first own that he had come by the King's express commands. He tried to persuade me that the message brought by the Queen's chamberlain and steward originated in themselves, not in the King. At last, however, he found himself entangled, and was obliged to confess that he had come by the King's command.*

My man having returned, I started on my journey back by another and different route, that the people on the road might see me, and take cognizance of the object for which I had come,—since, after all, there was nothing blameable in it. The personage in question, being informed by his spies of my departure, followed me closely, but did not show himself to me or to my people until the very day when I was about to enter this city. Then he came to salute me, and to ask whether I had any orders to give him. I begged him to tell

* "Mais yl sentretailla et fallust quil confessa[t] verite."

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Master Cromuel in my name that, in my opinion, it would have been far more polite and suitable for the King and himself to have let me know their intention before my departure from London. Had they done so, I might have been spared the trouble of travelling so far, besides the annoyance and humiliation caused by a case which I could not suitably qualify or name.* But since such was their pleasure, the Queen had, no doubt, to give them many thanks, inasmuch as the roughness (*rudesse*) with which she was treated could no longer be disguised, and would consequently become more notorious and public. I added that I myself felt grateful to the King for the opportunity thus offered to me of showing to the world that it was not my fault if my duty as an ambassador was not fulfilled. There was no need, I said, for the King to send men after men to prevent my seeing the Queen, for had I known beforehand that I should be prevented, I certainly should not have attempted to enter the Queen's presence without ascertaining first the King's wishes in the matter. That was the reason (I said) why, before my departure from London, I had written a note to Master Cromwel.

Thereupon I parted from the King's man without saying one word more to him, though he evidently seemed desirous of holding a conversation with me. Then hastening on as if he intended to arrive in London before dinner, he stopped at the place where I took mine, and dined with me. The dinner over, besides hinting at the two above-mentioned affairs, he said to me that both the Queen's chamberlain and high steward were of opinion that I ought not to take so much to heart the refusal of my application, inasmuch as there were many specious reasons for it. If on a former occasion (said the King's gentleman), when there was true peace and amity between Spain and England, the ambassadors of this country had been refused permission to speak to queen Dona Juana, Your Majesty's mother, a true lady and legitimate queen of Spain, nowadays when there was a disturbance and some sort of quarrel between the two countries the king of England considered himself justified in not granting leave to see the Queen. My answer was that the cause of the refusal had nothing to do with the above-named ambassadors themselves, who had never been courtiers, and were as ignorant in those early times of the practices of diplomacy as I myself was.† If, however, the observation was made in the King's name, I could answer him with that well-known proverb, "Malefactum excusando facies deterius." The gentleman, however, denied having received any such commission,

* "Pour non manifester a tout le monde ung tel cas, que ne sçavoes modestement baptiser ne nommer."

† "Je luy dis que ce motifz ne procedoit des susnommez, que oncques navoint este gens de court que maintenant, et que aultant sçavoint ylz de lenvoy ne charge des ambassadeurs du temps quil vouloit parler, comme moy, quen estois bien loing."

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saying that he thought and believed that the King and his Privy Councillors would, when applied to on the subject, bring forth such reasoning as would completely satisfy me. I replied that, as far as I was personally concerned, I was perfectly satisfied, and had nothing to say; it was Your Majesty who needed satisfaction; and it was my firm belief that, matters being well and distinctly explained, Your Majesty and the King, his master, would remain as great, and perhaps become greater, friends than before.* "In this manner," said I, "I would much rather put my head between two mill-" stones than do a single thing adverse to the preservation and " fostering of the friendship between His Imperial Majesty " and this King." I ended by begging the King's gentleman to ask Cromwell, in my name, what his pleasure was respecting the last occurrence. Was I to report to Your Majesty, and write the whole truth; or what was I to say? The gentleman interrogated me several times as to what was my object in seeing the Queen. My answer was, "That is no " business of yours, but should the King or Privy Council " wish to know, I will tell them plainly what it was." This much I said to him to make him believe that I had a commission of some importance from Your Majesty, and thus incite the King to send for me and inquire.

I cannot imagine what makes the Queen so extremely desirous of seeing me at this moment, since she has still the means of communicating with me in writing, or sending me verbal messages, unless it be that she wishes all people to know that Your Majesty has not entirely forgotten her, as the courtiers of the opposite party are daily proclaiming. If that be her intention, I own that she could not hit upon a better expedient for showing to the world the treatment to which she is subjected; nor could I do more than I have done to serve her plans, to the great discomfiture of the Lady and of those who may have advised the dilatory expedients used in this case, at which game they have been now, I guess, pretty well caught.†

Your Majesty may well see, know, and judge by the above description of the whole affair the *extremity in which matters are, and the veracity of this King's ambassadors in their report respecting the Queen's treatment, which is worse than ever it was. Indeed, one might almost say that she is actually the King's prisoner, for not only has he taken away her property, but has forbidden a Spanish lady, who has all her life been in attendance, to serve her at her own expense, or even see her. True it is that the house where the Queen*

* "Mais quil convenoit satisfaire a vostre maieste, et que comme ie pensoes, les choses bien entenduez, et sequestreez les affections vostre maieste et le roy son maystre demourroint aultant ou plus amis quauparavent."

† "Et pour cest effect il nestoit possible den user mieulx au contentement de la dite royne, que lay fait, ne plus au creuecueur de la dame, et de ceulx qui ont donne conseil de me mener si longuement sans responce, de quoy ilz se tiennent bien par le bec."

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is now residing is well kept, and abundantly provided with food, though, as the Queen informs me, not for her present household, which consists only of five or six, and about as many ladies in waiting, exclusive of the men, whom she considers as guards rather than servants.*

Should there be an opportunity of inquiring about the subvention promised or given to the landgrave of Hesse, I shall not fail to follow Your Majesty's instructions. This King, however, has not been much pleased at the appointment of the said landgrave, nor at the news brought from France by Rocheford, among which is the postponement of the interview till the month of April, owing, as people here say, to the wish expressed by Madame de Boulans (Anne Boleyn) of being present at the conferences; *which is quite impossible* by reason of her pregnancy.†

The Hamburg doctor, whom the Lubeckians announced, has arrived, and yet they say that this King has sent for Melancthon and for another one. The ambassadors of Lubeck and Hamburgh have of late been in frequent communication with the Privy Council of the King, who came three days ago from Richmond to the house of the archbishop of Canterbury, and entertained them most magnificently. It is not yet known whether anything has been done, but, according to information received from one who frequents their house, it would appear that the Hamburghers do not exactly agree with the Lubeckians.

The King has had some pieces of ordnance put on board two ships bound for Ireland, and it is reported that one or two thousand men besides will be sent to the Welsh frontier. Scheventon (Skeffington), the deputy governor of that country, has not yet left for his command. Neither has the King sent thither any ships of his own, for he has now but few to dispose of. Indeed, notwithstanding their usual bravadoe and their bragging that orders had been given for building several, the King has only six in this river fit for service; two of which have been lately repaired, a third bought from his treasurer, and one large one which is being caulked.‡ I myself went the day before yesterday to see them all, when I was told that the King had been that very morning inspecting them on his way to Heltham (Eltham) to see his bastard daughter. I am told that before his arrival there, he sent a gentleman of his chamber to make the Princess retire to her rooms for fear of her seeing him.

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* "Que en la mayson ou est la royne yl si faict assez grosse depence de mengallie (*sic*) mays a ce que dit la dite royne, ce nest pour ses serviteurs."

† "Et dient ceulx-cy estre la cause de ce que la dame de Boulans y veult entreuenir, ce que nest possible a cause de sa pourtee."

‡ "Le roy ny envoye nulle naviere sienne, aussy nen a [t]yl de sobrez (?), car quelque braverie que lon aye use de fere fabriquer navierez, yl nen a en ceste riviere que six dont yl se puist seruyr, dont il a faict raccontir les deux et une en a acchattee de son tresourier, et une grande yl fait reffere."

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Some days ago the sieur Dacrez (lord Dacres), accused of high treason, and a prisoner ever since the peace with Scotland, was taken before his judges to hear his sentence. Every one thought that he would be condemned and sentenced to death, the King having beforehand confiscated the whole of his property, which was marvellously large, not inferior perhaps to that of any other great lord in this realm. But *although the Lady has worked wonderfully against him, owing to his having always been a staunch partisan of the Queen and Princess,* the culprit did play his cards so well, and spoke so long in his own defence—no less than seven hours—that the 24 lords who tried his case unanimously proclaimed his innocence; immediately after which 12 judges, according to the usage of this country,* absolved him from all penalty. This is such a novelty in England that for the last two hundred years nothing like it has been heard of; nor has a man of his class, accused of such crime and brought to such an extremity, ever escaped alive; to which must be added that never, on any occasion, was so much joy manifested among the inhabitants of this city, as when the innocence of Mr. Dacres was proclaimed, and himself set at liberty. The duke of Norfolk sat as president of the Court in the King's name, and the French ambassador, in disguise, witnessed the whole trial from a window. *I am told that the Duke and his colleagues, the Judges, could not well disguise their disappointment when they heard the declaration of the jury, fearing that if Cromwell once laid hands on such prey he would follow on as the Cardinal had done.* But, notwithstanding the above absolution and the declaration which followed of the said sieur Dacres having always served the King as faithfully and loyally as any lord in England, he is still in confinement, closer even than ever before, owing to his having refused to sign a paper (*cedule*) asking for the King's grace *that he may, as they say, get back his property, or part of it; which is enough to disgust not only his own relatives and friends, but likewise all the lords*† *in the realm.*

The Queen, having these last days ordered the payment of two bills drawn by count Cifuentes, one of 160 ducats advanced by him long before the issue of the sentence to the notaries and proctors acting in the suit, the other of 140 ducats for the expenses of the courier who brought the sentence here, has insisted on my receiving a sum of money as gratuity for those who had anything to do here with the delivery of that document. In vain have I remonstrated, and written to her many a time that Your Majesty had already provided funds for that service; she insists on her resolution,

* "Toutesfoys il debattit si tres bien son cas sept heures de long quil fust desclayre incoulpable par xxiii. seigneurs concordez et unanimez et subsequentement au mesme instant absoutz de douze jugez selon la coutume dangleterre."

† "Et ce pour avoir les biens, ou partie, quest bien pour faire despiter non seullement ses parens et amys, mais aussi les dits seigneurs."

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saying that it is not for the sake of saving Your Majesty's money, *but because she considers that any money in her hands may shortly share the same fate as all her jewels.* Please Your Majesty send me orders as to what is to be done.—London, 27 July MDXXXIII.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 8.

— July. S. E. L. 3, B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 331.

76. ACCOUNT of what has passed at ROME respecting the MATRIMONIAL CAUSE.

After His Holiness' return from Bologna, the English [ambassadors], having heard of the breves obtained against their master, did their utmost to have them revoked. This the Imperial agents tried of course to prevent. His Holiness then committed the affair to cardinals Monte and Campeggio, as well as to auditors Simonetta and Paolo de Capisuchis (Capisucci) and to the Datary. These three met together several times, and there was on one side and the other much writing of papers and drawing up of reports, until at last what the English petitioned for was denied. About this time count Cifuentes* arrived in Rome, and a few days after news came from England that the King of that country had actually married Anne [Boleyn]. From that moment the Imperial agents began to apply for a declaration setting forth that the King had actually incurred the censures and penalties specified in the breves.

On the other hand, no less than five remissory letters were produced for the principal cause, no more being presented owing to want of time, as the holidays were close at hand; yet the utmost diligence was used in putting matters in order and bringing a report before Consistory. Matters in this state, Rodrigo Davalos† arrived from Spain; and after examining the instructions whereof he was the bearer, and deliberating about the best course to be pursued, it was resolved to urge the expedition of the principal cause only. Accordingly the Count and Rodrigo Davalos waited upon His Holiness, and gave him the Emperor's letter. After reading which, and hearing what the ambassador had to say, His Holiness instantly ordered the auditor of the Rota, Paulo Capisuchis, to refer the cause in Consistory; which the auditor did in three different sittings, during which the whole time was spent in explaining the cause, and the evidence obtained in virtue of the remissory letters. Besides that, His Holiness ordered the whole process to be again examined at the Rota. The auditors met, and had three extraordinary meetings, at which the cause and the proofs (*probanças*) were duly

* D. Fernando de Sylva, whose arrival at Rome in 1532 has been recorded.
† Davalos remained at Rome from May to August or September 1533.

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examined, besides another one to come to a resolution and vote. By this time there had been several reports (*informaciones*) upon various articles and dubious points, "de jure divino," as well as "de jure canonico." All cardinals and auditors of the Rota were informed many a time, because on the part of the English many doubts were started, and in the Consistory there were, and are still, many French cardinals and others attached to the English king. At last a resolution was passed in Consistory, as well as in the Rota, respecting the principal cause, namely, that justice is entirely on the side of Her Highness the Queen, and that the prohibition in her case was not of "divine right," as far as it had been possible to ascertain.*

The cause being in this state, and nothing else remaining to be done except to issue sentence in favour of the Queen, two days before the last Consistory the English looked out for some device to impede the expedition of the executory letters, maintaining that at the time that the cause was in England in the hands of the two legates [Wolsey and Campeggio], the King had had witnesses examined, whose testimony had not yet been brought forward, and that the Pope could not well dismiss so important a cause, and one of such gravity, until he had seen the whole of the evidence.† The answer was that the Queen had sent a copy of all legal proceedings in England up to the time when she had herself challenged the judges and appealed, and that the appeal had been presented. Nothing was known of other proceedings in England; there could not in fact be any other legitimate party to institute them. Secondly, that the Queen had not only committed her appeal in the first instance to Rome, but had again renewed it "per iram querelæ" against the King, "super molestationibus et matrimonio," and that by force of that commission the King was again summoned to appear, and the cause re-instituted. And, therefore, all that was said of there being more proceedings did not in any way prevent the expedition; for, supposing witnesses to have been examined in England on the part of the King,—of which there is no testimony but that of Campeggio, who is said to have written to His Holiness at the time that "witnesses had been examined,"—their testimony would be of no avail, as they could prove nothing against the canonical validity of the Queen's marriage. For, granting for a moment that the prohibition of a man's marrying his brother's widow, *relictam fratris sine liberis defuncti*, were of divine right, the testimony of witnesses tending to prove that the

* "Que la justicia de la Serenissima Reyna es buena y que la prohibicion en este caso no es de "jure divino" segun lo que se ha podido alcanzar."

† "Diziendo que en Inglaterra el Rey havia examinado testigos quando la causa pendia delante los legados, los quales [testimonios] no eran producidos, y que el Papa no havia de espedir esta causa sino visto todo el processo, atenta la gravedad de la causa."

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marriage with Arthur was consummated,—that king Henry was not of age when the dispensation was applied for, and that he himself had protested, when of age, that he never intended marrying Katharine, and did not hold the dispensation good,—that there was neither war, nor fear of it, at the time,—all this, and any other thing the King might say he could prove, is not to the purpose, since the dispensation granted by Julius is only founded on *pro pace conservanda*. That is the real and true cause, for there can be no doubt that by this second marriage the peace and confederation were confirmed.* Besides which, by means of the remissory letters, sufficient proof has been obtained that even in the case of the marriage being prohibited "de divino," which it is not, the dispensation was valid. In addition to this, the general belief is that the Queen was a virgin when she married king Henry; and if she was not, it is very difficult to establish the proof. Whence we conclude that her second marriage having been public, clear, and consummated, cannot be undone on account of a previous consummation, which, to say the least of it, is very doubtful.† Even if it were not, and the proof existed that the Queen's first marriage was consummated, and the prohibition were of "divine right," the Papal dispensation would still stand good, since the King himself married in virtue of it, and has lived for so many years a truly matrimonial life, which does away with any protest he may have made at the time.

For the above reasons, and many others that might be brought to bear, His Holiness could very well expedite the cause to the satisfaction of his honour and conscience.

It is thought, nevertheless, that His Holiness and his cardinals, for some motive or other, are wishing to stay the expedition of the sentence on the principal cause, as they clearly gave it to be understood long before this new doubt about the process was started; which being observed by the Imperial lawyers, a new step has been taken, which is to petition that anything the king of England has done to the

* "Porque prosupuesto por verdad que esta prohibition de tomar el hermano *relictam fratris sine liberis defuncti* no es *de jure divino* claro está que aunque los testigos probassen quel matrimonio con Arturo fué consumado, y que el rey Henrico era de menor edad quando se impetró la dispensacion, y que avia protestado venido á la pubertad y que no entendio de casar con la Serenissima reina, ni tenia por buena la dispensacion concedida, y que no havia guerras ni suspicion de las haver, que todo esto y otra qualquier cosa que el Rey quisiese dezir haver provado no hazia al caso pues la dispensacion concedida por el papa Julio solamente se funda *pro pace conservanda*, y esta causa es [la] verdadera, y no se puede negar que por este segundo matrimonio se refirmó la paz y confederacion," &c.

† "Y demas desto se cree estar probado que la Reyna estava virgen quando se casó con el Rey Henrrico Octavo, ó á lo menos no se puede negar que no haya duda si estaba virgen ó no por la accession que uvo el Rey á ella, lo qual basta para que el matrimonio de que se haze [mencion], que es claro y consumado, no se pueda divorciar por respecto del primero, que no consta si fue consumado."

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detriment and injury of his Queen should be revoked "ex officio pastorali." *

Thus, on the 11th of this month [of July] His Holiness issued in Consistory, "ex officio," a sentence restoring queen Katharine to her Royal state as she was before the suit, and at the same time annulling the King's marriage to Anne, and declaring the children born, or who may be born, from the said marriage, illegitimate. It declares the King to be excommunicated as having incurred the penalties described in the breves, as specified in the sentence itself.

The Queen's agents, however, observing that in the last Consistory the principal cause had not been expedited, new remissory letters were dispatched in order that during these next holidays things may be prepared for the stronger confirmation of our testimony, and then, when the court opens again, the expedition of the principal cause will be insisted upon. This is already so well advanced that it is generally believed there will soon be an expedition, although in such grave cases, wherein princes are concerned, there are always doubts and impediments. The king of England, moreover, has had a term fixed, from these holidays to the beginning of October, during which he is to present all proceedings, acts or deeds, of which he intends to make use in future.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 9.

1 Aug. **77.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, ff. 30–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 1.

Wrote last on the 21st ult. After that His Holiness' illness so increased that his physicians entirely gave him up. Rome is up in arms in consequence; yet heard this morning, from two or three of his chamberlains, that he was a shade better; so that there is a chance, eight against thirteen, that he may still recover.

(*Cipher :*) Knows from an authentic source that letters from France, dated the 25th ult., have been received here, advising that the brother of Anna de Bolans (George Boleyn) had arrived at that court for the purpose of having the interview of the two kings delayed until September; and it was generally believed that the meeting would not take place at all, owing to those kings mistrusting each other, and also because it is rumoured that king Henry dares not quit his kingdom just now for fear of a revolution.

(*Common writing :*) So much so that the King, wishing to put to death a certain nobleman, the Council would not consent to it, but would set him free from prison; at which the King, and the duke of Norfolk, were so displeased that it was

* Como claramente lo daban á entender mucho antes que se moviesse esta duda del processo, y vista esta dicha deliberacion, tomose otro verso, que [fue que] se revocase todo lo que el Rey de Inglaterra ha hecho en perjuicio de la Serenissima Reyna *ex officio pastorali.*

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anticipated this might be the beginning of some commotion, which God is preparing to punish the king of England.*

(*Cipher:*) The letters also state that the Imperial ambassador residing in France having said to king Francis that the purchase by him of the county of Monbelart (Montbelliard) from the duke of Würtemburg was an act of hostility against him (the Emperor) which he resented extremely, the King answered, "I have, 'tis true, bought Montbelliard from an enemy of the Emperor, but the Emperor has sold the duchy of Milan to the greatest enemy I ever had."

After this, the ambassador went to the Grand Master [of France], and asked him, what did king Francis want from the Emperor; and the answer was, "The duchy of Milan, Asti, and Genoa, all of which belong to him." The ambassador then replied, "Were the Emperor to give up all that, what security is there that the King, your master, will not afterwards invade the kingdom of Naples?" "The King," retorted the Grand Master, "would never do that, because after the cession of the above, such a firm and lasting peace would be concluded between the two sovereigns that the thing would be no longer possible, and France would immediately relinquish all her claims." The ambassador had sent home an express with this intelligence; from which circumstance people thought there was some hope of an agreement respecting those demands of the French. He (Sylva) cannot believe that things passed in that way: it might be a rumour purposely circulated at the court of France in order that some influential person should write here, as he has done. He (Sylva) vouches for it.

It is also reported that king Francis is much displeased at the agreement just made between His Highness, the king of the Romans, the Landgrave, and the duke of Würtemburg.

Andrea Doria had arranged to come to Civitta Vechia with part of his own galleys, and seven more from Genoa, which His Holiness had ordered him to arm at his expense. Once there, the Pope was to send him money for the pay of the men, and he (Doria) would immediately sail for Sicily. The Camarlengo had already collected 4,000 ducats, and was trying to procure the remainder. On the 21st ult. a pressing message came from the prince of Melphi (Doria), intimating that if by the 28th the money was not forthcoming, the galleys should be disarmed. The day before yesterday another courier came from the Prince. He (Sylva), sent word to Carniseca, who saw the Pope about it. The answer was, that as Doria had threatened to disarm the galleys by the 28th, the money would arrive too late, as he could not possibly remit it before that date.

* "Por que teniendo preso un hombre principal que queria que se justiciasse, el consejo no [lo] quiso, antes le soltaron de la carcel y le dieron por libre. De lo qual el dicho rey recibió gran desabrimiento y con ló el duque de Nolfolch. Podria ser que esto fuesse principio de novedades y que Dios las encaminasse por castigar el dicho Rey de Inglaterra." *See* above, p. 225.

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All these are excuses not to disburse the money; but as it is believed that Barbaroxa will not come down this year, no great harm is done.*—Rome, 1 Aug. 1534.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. Partly in cipher. pp. 4.

1 Aug. S. E., L. 861, f. 137. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 5.

78. The High Commander (Covos) to the Same.

As the present courier for Italy is detained longer perhaps than was necessary, and since Your Majesty is there,† you must have seen the letters that came this morning. Those of last night have already been abstracted for Your Majesty's perusal. Some of their contents will be answered at once; others I must submit to your judgment.

With respect to Rome, as the Count (Sylva) says that he has enlisted 100 men, and the Viceroy [of Naples] writes that he has dispatched them [to Rome], and that the remainder of the force is quite ready, it would seem as if what has been written and provided on this head should be sufficient. It might be added that the said force, or any other that might be raised, is to be exclusively destined to the object specified in the instructions.

Respecting the pay for the crews of the seven galleys, it seems to me and to the rest of the privy councillors that, even in the event of His Holiness' death, the ambassador ought to urge for payment by the future Pope of all the obligations contracted by his predecessor.

Naples and the Viceroy.

Respecting Andrea Doria it is important to decide whether he ought to wait until the movements of the French fleet are fully ascertained; and whether, in case of the money for the pay of the seven Papal galleys not forthcoming, Your Majesty will be ready to supply the sums wanted.

Spanish galleys, and Spanish infantry in Lombardy.

With regard to Antonio de Leyva, he must, in my opinion, and in that of the Privy Council, be told that in case of the Pope's death he must do his best to make sure (*asegurarse*) of Parma and Piacenza.

* A duplicate of this despatch is to be found in the same volume, p. 3.

† On the 1st of August of this year the Emperor was at Palencia, in Castille, which he is said to have quitted for Madrid on the 5th of October. Most likely he went from Palencia to Valladolid and Tordesillas, in the neighbourhood, where his mother, the unfortunate Joanna, "the Crazy," was still kept in a sort of confinement. At any rate, the Privy Council did not follow him on that journey; which explains why his first secretary (Covos), who acted also as secretary to the said Council, wrote to him from Madrid. As, however, the Emperor never travelled without having in his suite some of his privy councillors, it may be surmised that the present "Consulta" was written at Palencia during the temporary absence of the Emperor to visit his mother at Tordesillas.

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Another letter, in the same sense, to be written to Count Gelaudio de Landa. The want of money to pay the men is a serious obstacle in all enterprises, and must be obviated somehow.

To see whether any particular instructions for Hernando de Gonçaga respecting La Mirandola are needed, and above all to refer to the letter which his agent at Court will deliver.

To decide whether cardinal De' Medici and the duke Alessandro are to be written to severally respecting the negotiation which their respective agents are carrying on here.

(*Cipher:*) The letter to Andrea Doria must be thus worded: He must be told that in case of some undertaking against France being carried out, it would be desirable that a body of Spanish infantry should be put on board the galleys; that orders be given for the said force to be kept ready, as well as the money for the pay of the men; and that, if not wanted, the infantry may be quartered at Genoa, or wherever it is thought most fit. Figueroa has also been written to on the subject.

Indorsed: "Copy of a paper, apparently in Covo's handwriting, addressed to the Emperor."

Spanish. Original minute. Partly in cipher. pp. 3.

4 Aug. **79.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. *Sec. de Guer., Mar. y Tier,* No. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,589, f. 15.

The ambassador residing in England for His Imperial Majesty writes to me in date of the 1st July, that upon the king of that country pressing his daughter, the Princess, to renounce her rights, and swear to the statute against the Pope, making him (the King) *Caput supremum ecclesiæ,* she (the Princess) refused to take the oath.

(Copies nearly the same words as in his letter to the Emperor, and then adds:) Not satisfied with that, the King insisted upon her signing a paper, the tenour of which was that she confessed her error and pertinacity in continuing to call His Holiness "Pope," instead of *Bishop of Rome* as he really was. Yet, with all that, the Princess could not be persuaded to take the oath and sign the said paper, things coming to such a pitch that the King sent to her a deputation composed of the duke of Noffotch (Norfolk), and Millort de Triges*, and the bishops of Risestir (Chichester), at present Doctor Samson (Richard Sampson), that of Yeli (Ely),† and two more, who, after tormenting her in all possible ways to do what the King wanted, and they themselves requested her to do, could obtain nothing, for she resolutely answered them that she would not for all the kingdoms in the world do a

* Thus in the copy; but by referring to Chapuys' previous despatches, I find that he could be no other than Fitzwilliam, the treasurer of the Royal household.

† Thomas Goodrich, since the 10th of May 1534; he succeeded Nicholas West, who died on the 28th of April 1533.

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thing so much against her conscience as that was. Then the deputies replied with all manner of insulting words, threatening her with death unless she complied immediately with her father's wishes;* after which they had her confined to her room, and gave most strict orders for her not to speak to any one, neither to send nor receive letters, and in fact that she should be closely guarded day and night. The King then, perceiving the Princess' determination, asked certain judges deputed for this particular case to look into it, and decide whether she had, or had not, actually incurred the pain of high treason, and could be sentenced to death. The judges being somewhat ambiguous in their decision, the King got into a passion with them, and they at last agreed that the Princess deserved death unless she complied with the King's wishes, &c.

Ascanio Colonna arrived here on the 1st, and sent me a message that, being rather unwell owing to the fatigue of the journey, he could not come to me, but that if I went next day I should find him in a church adjoining his house, as he had many things to tell me, more or less important for the Emperor's service. I accordingly repaired thither, but, not finding him in the church, went to his house, and found him asleep in his bedroom. I would not have him awakened; so I returned home and sent my secretary to him to inquire what he wanted of me. He sent me back a letter of credence which he said he had received from the Emperor, in which he was told that, should the affairs of Italy become embroiled, and king Francis refuse to treat of peace, he (Ascanio) was to try and bring about the union of the Pope, Venetians, and the rest of the Italian potentates, whilst our Emperor would march to Savoy, and recover the territories which the French had lately taken from his cousin, the Duke, &c.

The Pope and the Venetians (Ascanio said) are to be asked whom they would rather have for duke of Milan. I must say that when I myself saw the Pope I was surprised to hear the very same reasoning from his lips. Does he mean to say that he should like to have the duchy for his son Luigi? or does he know that it is Ascanio himself who has started the idea.—Rome, 4 Aug. 1536 (*sic*) 1535.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 13.

4 Aug. S., L. 1310, ff. 160–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 7.

80. MARTIN DE ÇORNOÇA to the EMPEROR.

(*Cipher:*) Considering that it is the duty of every good and faithful vassal to report to his lord and master on all occurrences likely to bear on his honour and interest, he (Çornoça) has

* "Replicaronle todos los sobredichos con muchas bravuras, y desonestades de palabras injuriosas y amenazas que moriria por ello."

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bethought him of advising a few things, in his opinion of great importance, on the politics of England, where he (Çornoça) spent the greater part of his youth, thereby gaining a thorough knowledge of that country.

After the injury done to Your Majesty and to Her Highness queen Katharine, your aunt, as well as to the whole Spanish nation, I am certain that nothing can be more agreeable or acceptable to Your Majesty than the suggestion of the right means to be employed for the remedy of so enormous an injustice as is now being practised against the Queen, which surely is exceedingly offensive to God and the world. For which reason, I really believe that His Divine Majesty, working as He does, with great mystery in all His acts, has now brought to these parts (Rome), as a remedy for such injury and wickedness, a high personage of that kingdom, named Mr. Reynaldo Polo,* of Royal blood, sprung of the very illustrious house of Clarence, and of the count of Barbic (Berwick), and son of that very noble countess of Salisveri (Salisbury), now governess to the most serene princess Mary of Norgales (North Wales), Your Majesty's cousin. The said nobleman is thirty-five years of age, and so learned in letters, both divine and human, that no one could be found in England like him; very much gifted, and adorned besides with prudence, manners, and every virtue; by whose instrumentality I really believe that Your Majesty will soon be able, without much show of arms, effusion of blood, or destruction of property, to have the entire controul of affairs in England.†

The King of that country having tried by all possible means to gain over the said Reynaldo Polo, his relative, that he might work in favour of his divorce, found that very virtuous gentleman so constant in his purpose that he could not prevail on him to stain his conscience. Not only did he (Polo) resist the King's insidious attacks, but actually wrote a book, which he dedicated to the Royal Majesty, wherein he boldly pronounces in favour of the most serene and holy queen Katharine,—a book written, as I understand, by Divine inspiration, and in which he (Polo) places before the King's eyes, with great frankness, the dishonour of the cause, the danger and destruction to his kingdom, that might ensue, &c. That King, however, who hates all sort of salutary admonition on that point, disregarded the good advice thus tendered to him, and instead of showing gratitude for it, conceived great enmity against his faithful and good relative, who, like a prudent man, and that he might escape the King's hatred and the disgrace that probably awaited him, took leave

* "Por la qual causa creo que la divina Magestad como siempre obra todas sus cosas con gran misterio, ha traydo en estas partes para vengança de tanta injuria y maldad un gran personage de aquel reyno llamado Reynaldo Polo."

† "Y con tal instrumento creo firmemento que V. M^t se podria prevaler de las cosas de Ynglaterra sin gran contention de armas, sangre y destruccion."

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of him and departed for the continent, with a view to devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of letters, which have always constituted his delight, he having resided for nearly two years at the university (*Estudio*) of Padua.

The said gentleman is, on his mother's side, of the best blood in the kingdom. His father Ricardo Polo (Richard de la Pole) was, as I understand, a very worthy gentleman, in Norgales (North Wales), a very near relation of the last king (Henry VII.), and much esteemed in his own country.

Reynaldo (Reginald) has an elder brother, the Lord Montacute (Henry Montague), a very virtuous, prudent, and magnanimous gentleman, very much loved and respected by all classes; and also a sister (Ursula?), who married the son of the late duke of Vuquingan (Buckingham). The said lord Montacute (Montague) is closely related to the greatest families in the kingdom; besides the indissoluble friendship that unites him with the Queen's friends, and principally with a great lord of the name of Denlier,* and with many other lords [of England].† The province of Norgales (North Wales) is peculiarly devoted to the Polo family, not only on account of their relatives and connexions in that county,—the Buquingans and the Burgonas (Avergavenny), who are most powerful, but on account of the Princess herself and of a gentleman named Don Ris,‡ who was beheaded three years ago. Owing to which reasons, the whole of that province of Norgales (North Wales) is, as I am given to understand, entirely alienated from the King's allegiance, as well as the counties of Barbic (Berwick) and Salisveri (Salisbury), which are so much attached to the house of Austria that I fancy their inhabitants would, with pleasure, risk anything in its service, if there was need of it. I calculate that those two counties might easily put 20,000 men under arms, the very best soldiers that England can boast of.

This is what hitherto I have been able to learn about the family, relations, power, and friends of the said Reynaldo, having done everything in my power to procure the information required respecting his person and arms, of which last I enclose a faithful drawing, that Your Majesty may be duly acquainted respecting him and his family.§

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* Thus in the original at Simancas. Bergenroth's copy has Deulier.

† "Y este Señor Reynaldo tiene un hermano mayor que es el Señor de Montacuto' (Montagu), por cierto muy virtuoso, prudente y magnanimo, y [que] por sus excelentes virtudes es amado y muy reverido de todos los del Reyno, y una hermana suya [que] es muger del hijo del duque de Vuquingam. Y es ademas emparentado con la mayor parte de las grandes casas del Reyno, allende de la amicicia indisoluble que tyene con todos los amigos de la Reyna, y mayormente con un gran señor que se dice de deulier (*sic*) y con otros muchos señores principales."

‡ "Y tanvien (*sic*) por la muerte de un cavallero llamado Don Ris, al qual fue cortada la cabeza[h] abrá tres años pasados." Sir Rhese or Rhyse ap Thomas, the Welsh brother-in-law of Norfolk, executed 4 Dec. 1531. *See* vol. iv., part ii., pp. 248 and 323.

§ "Para lo qual he usado toda diligencia de investigar de sus cosas, y fasta [de] sus armas he fecho retraer (*sic*), las quales con la presente embio."

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With regard to the reputation and esteem in which he stands with all classes of people in England, I find that he is an object of universal praise, and a truly virtuous man; for besides his noble sentiments, great and singular erudition, there has never been a stain on his life; on the contrary, his moral character is so good, he is so pure, and so full of humanity, prudence, and kindness, that every one who sees him is captivated at once. No wonder then if such an ornament to his country, such a glory as he is, is loved and adored by his people; for England being at the present moment in danger of revolution and discord owing to the Queen's ill-treatment, as well as greatly disturbed in matters of Faith, who can doubt that a person of the quality of this Reynaldo Polo would be the fit man to restore things to their former state, who, being so dear to the English, would be received as if he came down from Heaven? His person would, in my humble opinion, carry more weight than 40,000 foreigners, since these would destroy the land, whereas he would work for the welfare of the whole nation. I think it would be a pious and meritorious work to help and raise (*sublevar*) a man of this sort, were it for no other purpose than to save and preserve a kingdom oppressed by the deceit and wickedness of a prostitute and her perfidious abettors, and to restore that holy Queen, and the Princess, her daughter, to their former position and dignity. Indeed my heart sinks whenever I think of the miserable and calamitous state of those ladies, and, raising my eyes to Heaven, I fervently pray God to liberate and console them for all the pains and tribulations that they have had to suffer.

I beg and entreat Your Majesty that this information be kept a profound secret, in order to avoid the very grave inconveniences and dangers to which the above-mentioned family might be exposed; for there is no saying how much the king of England mistrusts and suspects the illustrious members of his own family, not only on account of their title and birth, but for their large patrimonial estates, though it must be said that the greater part has already been confiscated by the Crown, and on account of their family being the Queen's staunchest partizans and friends. Last, not least, should anything of what I have said above transpire during the absence of the said Reynaldo (Reginald Pole), the King would inevitably take offence, and wreak his vengeance on his relatives. Though I am not sufficiently acquainted with him to state beforehand how he would, if necessary, act in an undertaking against the King, I do not hesitate to say that his great genius and prudence would help him, and suggest the means of saving his own country from the tyranny in which it is sunk.*

* "Y finalmente la ausencia deste Señor Reynaldo [haria] que [si] el Rey sentiesse algo [sobre] tal cosa les dañaria gravemente, y aunque yo no conosco el animo del dicho Señor Reynaldo como en tal empresa se moveria, syendo menester, todavia me persuado que por su ingenio y prudencia no faltaria á la salud de su patria y librarla—hią de tanta tirania en que se halla."

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I hope, even through certain means I have been thinking of, to persuade him to take in hand the business in question, principally if some substantial offer with a solid foundation be made to him.* Should Your Sacred Imperial Majesty, after exercising your clear judgment and prudence on the said English affair, require more information respecting that country, as well as a declaration of my plans, I shall always be ready to stake my fortune and my life for Your Majesty's service, which sacrifice I am bound to offer as a native of those kingdoms of Spain, and as Your Majesty's consul in this city.—Venice, 4 Aug. 1534.

Signed: "Martin de Çornoça."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic, and Royal Majesty."

Spanish. Original in cipher. pp. 7.

8 Aug.

S. E., L. 1310, ff. 126–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 11.

81. Count Villanova to Ibráhim Bashaw.

His servant Il Babba has returned. This enables him (the Count) to send as faithful a report as possible of the affairs of Europe.

The king of France has been unjustly accused by the Parliament of Paris of having made close alliance with His Majesty [the Sultan of Turkey] and with your Lordship against the Christians.† They have frightened him beyond measure, intimating that should he persevere in such an alliance and confederation, not only shall he lose his crown, but that possibly he himself and all his children may incur the penalty of death, Parliament alleging that he ought to be the first to maintain the Faith of Christ, and extend it, instead of helping to its destruction. By which threats he (the King) has been brought to betrothe two of his daughters, one to the prince of Lorraine (François), eldest son of the Duke (Antoine); the other to the king of Scotland,‡ both of which weddings are soon to take place. Parliament has, besides, exacted from him the promise that he will never give help or assistance to our lord, the Sultan, but will, on the contrary, give it for our destruction and ruin whenever it may be asked for and wanted. So has it been settled between them, and at the same time Parliament has

* "Y aun ternia yo esperança por algunos medios que he pensado de hazerle inclinar á tal negocio, mayormente anteponiendole algund buen partido con firme fundamento."

† "Il Re di Franza per esser stato molto calumniato dal suo primo consiglio del Parlamento de Paris de la gran praticha stretta fatta con la Maesta del nostro Signor et con V. S. per il danno de Christiani."

‡ "Donde e stato constretto sel ha voluto maritar due delle sue figliolle, l'una al Principe del' Orena (*sic*), figliolo del Duca, et l'altra al Re di Scotia." At this time the Duke's name was Antoine le Bon, who died in 1544. He had been married to Renée de Bourbon, daughter of Gilbert de Bourbon, comte de Montpensier, who died before him in 1539. Their son was François, marquis de Pont ã Mousson and duke of Bar, who became xxii. duke, and died in 1545.

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made the King promise that he will forsake the protection and friendship of our most worthy Captain Barbarossa, to whom he had offered help and favour against the king of Tunis in Barbary, whenever the opportunity should occur; but the King, as I say, has now promised not to aid him in any way.

For this same reason has he refused to help the duke of Vertimberg (Würtenberg), who has consequently been compelled to become a feudatory of the king of the Romans, as have also many electors and lords of Germany.

The king of England no longer wishes to give the hand of his only daughter to the eldest son of the king of France, who is to succeed to the crown, and is called "il Dolphino," unless this latter makes equal promises to his own sons and to his future sons-in-law, the king of Scotland and duke of Lorraine. No sooner was the treaty concluded than the king of England made peace, through the means of France, with him of Scotland, who happens to be the son of his own sister, so that their two very large armies, which were in presence of each other and mutually ready, will now be united for attack.*

For this very reason has the king of France withdrawn his help and favour from the duke of Würtenberg, who, seeing himself abandoned, has been compelled to become the vassal of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand). At which move some prince electors and several other German lords, who had made an alliance with the said Duke, were the friends of France, and wished all the harm possible to king Ferdinand, have been thunderstruck on seeing that France has abandoned the undertaking. Fearing, however, lest the king of the Romans should punish them for their bad intentions, they (the German princes) have dexterously found the means of convoking a diet to meet at Augusta (Augsburgh), at which diet the lords and the free towns—who have money and men in abundance, and could, if they chose, raise in a fortnight 100,000 soldiers, and make themselves agreeable to the former,—the avowed enemies of the king of the Romans, will most likely compel him to pardon them (*gli habbi a perdonar en publica dieta*). So they have, without

* The passage stands thus: "Piu aviso V. Ill^ma^ che il Re d'Angliterra non voleua consentir piu a dargli la sua unica figliola al primogenito del Rè de Franza, el qual se domanda (*sic*) Dolfino, che ha da succeder' la corona de Franza, se medessimamente non prometteua de quanto ha promessò alli suoi detti signori di Franza, et alli suoi zeneri, videlicet al Re di Scotia, et Duca di Lorena, et subito che fù conclusso questo il Re d'Inghilterra fece pace per mezzo di Franza con il Rè di Scotia, il qual e figliulo de una soa sorella del Re d'Inghilterra, che se trouauano insieme doi grandissimi esserciti, et di presente sono tutti en una medessema fraternita."

From the endorsement and address of this letter it is natural to conclude that its writer had duplicates made of it, and that it served equally for Ibráhim Basha, Solyman's Grand Vizier and Commander of his armies, and for Jaire-d-din Baba Aroux, or Barbarossa, as he is generally called.

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his knowledge, set him (Ferdinand) up, and confirmed him as king of the Romans with all the authority appertaining to that dignity, which they would never have consented to when he was first made, or rather elected, king of the Romans.

This is the mischief which the king of France has worked. He has actually spent half a million of gold to no purpose, with little judgment and less courage, and thus helped to make Ferdinand king of the Romans and supreme lord in Germany; for, certainly, had he kept to his word and respected the engagements entered into with our lord the Sultan and with your Signory through the medium of Captain Rincon, the Spaniard, and of Camillo Pardo, and likewise paid attention to the advices obtained from the archbishop of Ragusa,—had he kept half the promises he once made to our lord the Sultan and to your Signory,—certainly at the hour I write the whole country would be in the hands of the malcontents. I may certify your Lordship that of these things, and others which they are now striving after, the queen of France (Eleonor), the Emperor's own sister, has been and is, the principal soul, having, through her great talent, prudence, and generosity, brought about this change in the politics of France, and promoted the rebellious spirit (*motinatione*) of the above gentlemen, so much so that the Queen has lately sent to the Emperor a trusty servant of her's, and another one to the king of Portugal, their brother-in-law, and that king Francis himself has made her arbiter of his differences with the Emperor.

I further hear that there is some talk of marrying queen Eleonor's daughter by the [late] king of Portugal (Dom Manuel) to the second son of the king of France; by which union, if effected, King and Emperor will be able to govern the world at their pleasure.

I also hear that the king of Poland (Sigismond) is trying to renew the offer he once made through Antonio Rincon of the hand of his eldest daughter for king Francis' second born, named Monsieur d'Orleans. Should this have effect I will not fail to advise.

The king of Tunis* is daily praying the Emperor to help him with galleys and artillery that he may make war against our lord, the Sultan. He offers, if assisted, to do as much harm as he can to our people, and excite the Sophi of Persia to attack us on the frontier; and I am told that the advices which the Emperor receives from time to time concerning our movements come to him through the king of Tunis.

The agreement with the duke of Würtenberg has been the cause of the king of Denmark (Christiern), the Emperor's brother-in-law, who had once been dethroned and expelled from his kingdom, being restored to it. The said king is very

* Muley Asses, or Azíz, which was his real name; he had been dethroned by Barbarossa the year before.

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powerful, especially in cavalry, and borders upon England as well as upon the lands of the duke-electors, who some time ago were no friends of the Emperor or of the King of the Romans, but are now, as I say, very friendly and obedient.*

Your Lordship has, no doubt, heard of the troubles and dissensions caused by those of the Lutheran sect, which at one time promised fair to become serious and almost general in Germany. Owing, however, to the agreement made by the princes themselves, those troubles have now subsided, the greater part of the chiefs having dispersed, so much so that the king of the Romans is now at ease, and without any concern, save that which king John, the Vayvod [of Transylvania], may possibly give him.

In Italy there is at present no dissension whatever, though many expect there would be some soon, owing to the enmity between the Emperor and the king of France, which is notorious.

The Pope has been during the last few days between life and death. Should he die, the Emperor will make every effort to have one elected who may be entirely devoted to him. If so, it is sure not to be to the advantage of our lord, the Sultan.

I have advices from a great lord on the other side of the Alps (*un gran Signor tramontano*) who has charge of the sea in those parts,† that, should the Emperor and the king of France come to terms, it has been resolved that after an agreement between them, the confederated princes of Christendom shall arm 500 sail, galleys, and war ships of all sizes, of which there are to be 100 "barce," or large vessels, 150 Genoese, Biscayan, English, French, and Portuguese, besides 250 smaller vessels to complete the number of 500. This fleet to be ready and victualled for any enterprise whatsoever in a very short time; and I need not tell your Signory against whom these maritime forces are to be directed.

Had I a trusty person to send to the Captain-general Barbarossa, I would advise him not to trust in any of those who might go to him under colour of being friendly to our cause. He must be vigilant and not reveal our secret, as he might, perchance, be caught in the net. I do not say this without cause or reason.

I have thought that your Signory being so far away from us, and owing also to the uncertainty of this my letter reaching you, I ought to communicate its contents to our most faithful ally and friend, signor Aloys Gritti, that he with his accustomed tact and wisdom should advise what had better be done under present circumstances, and inform our master, the Sultan, of any new occurrence. I have done so,

* The idea of the dethroned king of Denmark, who had then no dominion at all, bordering upon England and Germany, is rather a strange one.

† Most likely Chabot, sieur de Brion, admiral of France.

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and sent him a duplicate. I, on my part, promise to acquaint you, through the above-mentioned Aloys Gritti, of any new incident, without sparing money or trouble, hoping that by that means, and with the help of our master, the Sultan, and of your Signory, I shall be able to revenge myself on those Christian princes and lords, who have unjustly deprived me of my property and of my honour. I shall then die happy and contented, for I wish for nothing else in this world, and despise all its treasures; and, provided I can satisfy this my craving, which I believe will be a meritorious work in the eyes of God, I shall be revenged.*

I have nothing more to say for the present, except that I have charged our most faithful Babba to say many things to you which it would not be safe to commit to paper, begging you most earnestly, and with all my heart, to present these my humble commendations to His Majesty, the Sultan, whose feet I kiss with due reverence.—Venice, the 8th of August [1534].

Signed: "Il Conte di Villanova Abbatis."

Indorsed: "Copia d'una lettera scritta et mandata ad Abraim bassa et al Signor Alois Gritti dal Signor Conte di Villanova Abbatis."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 10.

8–9 Aug. **82.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

T.S. *Sec. de Guerra, Mar. y Tier,* L. 5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 23.

Carniseca gave him (Sylva) to understand some days ago that the king of England had agreed to marry the Princess [of Wales] to the Vayvod [of Transylvania, Zapolski], and was trying to send her on without traversing the Emperor's dominions, which seemed rather difficult.

Though Rome is tranquil at present, fears are entertained for the future. The cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici, afraid, as it appears, of Ascanio Colonna being in Rome, is every day introducing armed men from the outside. He (Sylva) tried to induce Ascanio to call on the Cardinal, because, should he do so, the suspicions and fears of the latter would be at once allayed. Gave him to understand that this would be highly advantageous for the Imperial service, inasmuch as the Cardinal ought to be temporized with, on account of that service, as well as for the future election. Colonna promised to call, but, owing to a false point of honour, changed his mind afterwards.

The Cardinal goes on showing great willingness to do service. Visits him (Sylva) frequently, and says he has written to his

* "Et io non mancherò de contino de quelle chose che succederano alla giornata de momento de avisar per mani del predetto Signor Alois Gritti non stimando denari ne roba ne pericollo che sia sperando in dio que per mezzo de la Maesta del nostro Signor et de Vostra signoria me possi vendicar di quelli Signori Christiani, che m'hanno assassinato ingiustamente en la roba et nel honor, et poi mi moriria felice contento, che altro non bramo al mondo."

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agent at the Imperial court not to be importunate, not to ask for anything, but put himself entirely under the Emperor's orders. When writing home, moreover, he was to follow instructions. If these are not mere Italian words (*palabras de Italiano*), the Cardinal may be of great use at the next Papal election.

Prince Andrea Doria anchored at Civittà Vecchia on the 4th inst. with 25 galleys. He was soon to sail for Naples in search of the "Jew," who had 20. The money which His Holiness has promised so many times has not been paid, as the cardinals say they want the cash for other purposes.

The merchant who has the balass ruby (*balax*) in pawn exhibited a copy of the obligation, from which it appears that upwards of 14.000 ducats are owing to him. He says, however, that he is willing to take 10,000 for it. A jeweller of this city, very expert in precious stones, said to him (Sylva) that the jewel was well worth 20,000 ducats for a gentleman, and 10,000 for a dealer in precious stones. As the balass is in Genoa, Figueroa, the ambassador, has been written to about that.

9th Aug. Last night His Holiness had a fit; so bad was it that the physicians declared at once that he could not live 48 hours.

The duke of Urbino begs that a suit at law which the son of Don Ramon de Cardona has instituted against him respecting the duchy of Sora be as soon as possible tried and sentenced.

Vaury (Waury) is the bearer of a petition from him to that effect.—Rome, 9 Aug. 1534.

Signed: "El Conde Alferez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

9 Sept. **83.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. G., L. 5, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 25.

Your Lordship must be aware that the bishop of Castellamare (Centellas) wants the archbishopric of Gaeta. He has petitioned for it, and says that if he cannot have both, he will renounce the former, as that of Gaeta is richer and has a larger revenue. This he does, as he says, to be nearer Rome.

In my opinion, the bishop deserves well this favour from the Emperor.

Ascanio [Colonna] came to my lodgings (*posada*), and we went together to call on cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici. They greeted each other pleasantly, and spent a good hour in conversation. This has produced the best effect on all those who have heard of it. Your Lordship should get a letter from the Emperor to Ascanio, engaging him to remain on good terms with that Cardinal.—Rome, 9 Aug. 1534.

Signed: "Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

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11 Aug. **84.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*229, No. 51.

The day after the date of my last despatch* the Scottish ambassador came to dine with me, when, besides confirming the message already sent by my secretary, he related to me several and various particulars, all tending to show the singular affection and confidence which the King, his master, and all the Scotch, entertain towards Your Majesty; *thereby wishing to make me understand that neither the king of Scotland nor his kingdom were at all displeased at the breaking off of the negociations for the marriage with the daughter of France, since that afforded them the opportunity of making alliance with Your Majesty, which is the thing the Scots have most desired for a long while, though hitherto unable, owing to the treaties existing between them and France, to declare openly their sentiments and wishes. The excuse alleged at first was that the Princess was too young to marry; but since that excuse has ceased, the King, his master, (said the Scotchman,) had shown to the French ambassadors the treaties, and drawn the required protestations in due form; in consequence of which the negociation had fallen to the ground, and his master had, all of a sudden, wished to send a message to Your Majesty. I answered him in general terms, and, coming to the marriage question, told him that, in my opinion, the King, his master, would do well in procuring the hand of the Princess [Mary]. He agreed with me as to that, and said that his master had already tried, and would again try for it, if there was any chance, which he (the ambassador) very much doubted. He also told me that at his parting from the King's court there was no news at all of the personage whom Your Majesty had sent thither. He then talked of the movements in Ireland, which, he said, might open the eyes of the Scotch, and principally of one of their earls, a near neighbour of the Irish, and one of the most warlike lords in all Scotland, who had under his orders a clan of savages, great friends of the Irish at all times.† The ambassador could not tell me for certain if the King, his master, had any understandings with the said Irish; he thought, however, that he had. He also told me that in the conferences for the last treaty of peace, this King's deputies had brought forward that of his master, renouncing at once the right he claimed to have to the possession of Ireland; but the proposition (he said) had been rejected.*

Among the news lately brought by the bishop, who arrived the other day from Ireland, one is that as the archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of that country for this king was crossing the straits between Ireland and England, a tempest

* The 28th of July. (See above, No. 75.)

† "Sy me parlat-il des mouvements de Yrlande, que pourroient fere ouvrir les yeulx a leurs gens, mesmes a ung de leurs contes, quest des plus voisins du dict Yrlande, et lung des plus belliqueux descosse, ayant dessoulz luy escossais sauvaiges de tous temps amys des dicts yrlandois."

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arose, and the ship in which he rode was thrown on the coast by contrary winds, and obliged to enter a port, where there was a small fortress and a scanty garrison. The archbishop though considered himself secure in it, and yet nothing he could do saved him from the son of the earl of Kildare and his adherents, who, having besieged and taken the fortress, made him and his suite prisoners. To avoid, however, the long process and consequent expense, the said Kildare had caused the archbishop and friends to be murdered, with the single exception of two, the richest men in the country, who had to pay a sufficient ransom to defray all the expenses of the expedition. *Besides which I have been told by an Irishman that this Kildare has lately taken four or five towns; at which intelligence the King, as I am informed from a good source, is very much incensed, and in worse humour than he has been for a long time, especially at the news brought by the said bishop, to whom Cromwell is said to have addressed many injurious words, accusing him of high treason against this king, inasmuch as, just at the time that the Irish ought to be cajoled, and kept in good humour, and submissive to the king of England, he had suddenly left the country; besides which his coming post-haste to London might make people think there was some tremendous commotion in the country, and perhaps, too, create scandal. I am told, moreover, that Cromwell has caused the bishop to be kept under custody,—whether to have him punished, or to prevent the Irish news from becoming public, I cannot say.*

Three days before the arrival of the said bishop, Master Schauenton (Skeffington), the deputy-governor of Ireland, took his departure for that country with his train only; the day after, a ship left this river with the ordnance. *Many persons think that the governor himself and his ship will hardly escape falling into the hands of the enemy, for the rebel Irishmen have set up spies to watch their movements.* In fact it seems as if this King had made up his mind to lose all he has in Ireland, since he makes no provision of men and stores, and appoints such a governor, the most unfit for the command of that country that could be chosen.* And then there is a report that the Kildare above alluded to has now under his orders upwards of 20,000 men, which number is daily increasing *by arrivals from Wales and Scotland. It would be a great boon if the Irish could keep up this sort of game for some time; but it would be advisable for Your Majesty and His Holiness to give them help. I have written twice to the count Cifuentes to tell His Holiness that all this is being done in favour of the Faith and of the Apostolic See.*

* "Et est loppinion de pluseurs que le dict gouverneur et la naviere aussy n'echapperont les mains des enemys que les ont fait espier."

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About eight days ago the copy of a letter written at Rome on the 26th ult., and addressed to the king of France, was shown in this city; the substance of which is that for 12 days the Pope had been so ill that his physicians had entirely given him up; in consequence of which he could not and would not attend to any business except that which had reference to the preparation of his soul.

After the Privy Councillors and the French ambassadors had debated for two whole days over the contents of the aforesaid letter, the latter and Cromwell despatched a courier with all haste to Rome, though they have spread the rumour that he will not go beyond Lyons. This very day Gregoire Casal is to start post-haste, and follow the traces of the said courier, and then go from Rome to Venice. Nobody knows what their charge may be. If I learn anything on this topic I shall not fail to let Your Majesty know. As to the Lubeckians, no business of importance, that I know of, has hitherto been transacted with them, except on matters concerning Faith, unless it be that they have applied for help in money to replace king Christiern on the throne of Denmark, which they say is their intention.

The Venetian ambassador came yesterday, and asked me, among other things, whether it would be possible for Venetian traders to buy wool in Spain, the English having lately made difficulties about this, besides ill-treating the merchants of the Signory. He *went further: he told me that he had written home, recommending the promulgation of an edict similar to that of France, as I had the honour to advise in one of my last despatches.* I gave the ambassador very good promises, and hopes respecting the supply of wool, and he went away very well satisfied.

Out of the five convents of Minor Observant friars, three have already been closed, owing to their respective congregations having refused to swear to the statute against the Pope. The two remaining are every day expecting to be turned out.—London, 11 Aug. 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor." Received on the 8th of September.

French. Original. pp. 4.

20 Aug. **85.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 862, ff. 44–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 17.

On the 1st inst. I wrote to Your Majesty. Since then I have received that of the 27th, which I will now answer.

In addition to what Garcilasso [de la Vega] will report respecting my conversation with the Capuan (Schomberg), he said to me that His Holiness had been thinking of issuing a bull enjoining that immediately after the death of a pope

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the cardinals should go into conclave without waiting the 15 or 20 days, as usual, for the funeral service of the deceased, and so forth. It had likewise been His Holiness' intention to limit and modify that of Pope Julius, declaring simonatic, and of no value, any papal election in which money had been given to obtain votes; and excommunicating not only those who gave and received such monies, but also those who, for the purpose of gaining votes, made promises of money or ecclesiastical preferment; for (said the papal bull) there was danger of some one not on good terms with the elected alleging that he was not a true Pope, inasmuch as money and promises of preferment had been used.

This bull of Julius II. the Pope intended to modify, but, owing to the state of his health and the importance of the matter, which required mature deliberation, he has done nothing yet; nor is he likely to attend to it, as the Capuan says, in his present state of health, which is very bad indeed.

Hearing this, I dissembled, and further interrogated Schomberg on the subject. He told me that most of the cardinals were hastening to take part in the election, which, he said, was a fit thing for them to do, and that I was bound to take such steps as befitted the occasion. This I have since done, although with the greatest reserve, and without letting the Capuan know.

During the conversation he asked me whom I thought ought to be elected to the papacy, adding that His Holiness himself thought no one but Frenes (Farnese) ought to succeed him. "As to me (the Capuan said), though I am no friend of "that cardinal, and am sincerely attached to Campeggio, yet "from the bottom of my heart I cannot but own that "Farnese is a very honest and upright man, and, besides "that, much advanced in years; and that although his having "sons might be considered an objection, there were others "against whom greater ones might be raised." My answer was that I had no opinion or vote in such matters except that which was consistent with Your Majesty's orders, which were to help in the election of a good pope, no matter of what nation, provided he was likely to promote the welfare of Christendom and of the Apostolic See. This was the time to ensure, above all means, such an election; Christendom well needed for its head a person of that sort, disturbed by heresy as it was now. Such was my answer to the Capuan and to all those who before or since have sounded me on this particular. I hear that king Francis has publicly made similar recommendations to the French cardinals, who are coming for the election; whether he has also done so privately remains to be seen; if he has, the election cannot but turn out well.

There is still talk of an interview between the kings of France and England this spring. The Papal Nuncio [at the court of France] writes that king Francis suspects that his

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brother of England is about to make up his quarrel with Your Majesty, whereas king Henry suspects the same thing of Francis.

The Papal Nuncio there, in Spain, has told Mr. de Granvelle that I (Sylva) put too much pressure on His Holiness, who is displeased and in bad humour with me in consequence. I am ordered to be more guarded in future. I am very thankful for the warning, but I must plead as an excuse for my behaviour that in the care I take of Your Majesty's affairs, and my mode of transacting business, I have hitherto feared that I might have been accused of excessive moderation rather than of too much urgency. The truth is that I am not at all surprised or offended at His Holiness's displeasure. I know very well that he has been, and is still, angry with me for carrying on negociations more or less distasteful to him.* Your Majesty and your Privy Council know full well what are this Pope's nature and character, and therefore I need not enter into more particulars now. Your Majesty's commands shall be punctually obeyed in this as in other things.

Letters from France of the 11th inst. advise that the Papal Nuncio residing there had written that king Francis, in order to secure the affection of the Germans, catholic as well as lutheran, had offered to become the principal promoter of the Council, and intercede with Your Majesty to that effect. For this end he (the King) had already, as it was said, begun to work as a go-between in Germany. No letter from king Francis has yet come to announce this his determination, but I hear from certain parties here that the hint has been thrown out by his ambassador in Germany, and that he has been answered that whenever he writes to His Holiness on the subject the matter shall be considered. Should the King undertake such a thing, I do not hesitate to say that the trust His Holiness once placed in him respecting this matter of the Council will be at an end, unless, as I suspect, the whole be a stratagem to render the negociation impossible. Your Majesty, however, must know best through the ambassador in France. Apropos of this, the Capuan told me the other day that in order to bring the Germans to your side Your Majesty ought to grant whatever might be resolved at the Diet now being held, or that might be held in future, and issue no orders to the contrary. I told him that the advice was good, but unnecessary, since Your Majesty would readily grant all that was just; whereas, if the demands of the Diet were excessive, no power in the world

* "Mas como persona que lo desea tanto pienso que he tenido, y tengo tanta advertencia en los negocios de V. Md y en el modo de negociarlos que muchas vezes temia que V. Md me havia de reprender antes de tibio que no de demasiado. La verdad es que de S. Santidad yo no tengo pena por pensar que él está enojado conmigo, sino que es cierto, y lo he conocido infinitas vezes que lo está con las tales negociaciones, las quales le han sido todas desabridas y fuera da su gusto?

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would make you yield to them. As Garcilasso* must already have arrived, he may report verbally on many points which cannot easily be committed to writing.—Rome, 20 Aug. 1534.†

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

29 Aug. **86.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*229, No. 52.

Though I have no doubt that Your Majesty has by this time obtained most ample and reliable information respecting the successful revolution headed by young Kildare‡ in Ireland, yet I consider it my duty to write a few words about it, and mention the rumours afloat. It would appear that at this very moment all or nearly all the country which this King wished to possess in Ireland, as well as almost all the lords of the land, with the exception of the earl of Dansrey,§ whom for some consideration or other Kildare will not press too hard, and the prior of Rhodes,‖ acknowledge the rule of that chieftain, and have engaged their faith to him. Kildare, in fact, has ordered all Englishmen, under pain of death, to quit Ireland, those living in the towns, which he has entered, having already sworn fealty to the Pope, to your Majesty, and to him (Kildare). The rest of the towns still holding for the King have also been summoned to take the oath, and it is believed that they will soon do so without compulsion. As many of the English fishermen as Kildare can get hold of are immediately put to death by his orders—that the others may be frightened, and prevented from going to those waters—he (Kildare) knowing very well that this is a thing of the utmost importance for the English. Indeed, I am told the people of Cornwall would prefer losing their tin mines rather than the faculty of fishing on that coast, and the profits arising therefrom; at least, so I am told by reliable inhabitants of that county. There is likewise a very prevalent rumour here

* There were about this time two Garcilassos, one who had already been at Rome as ambassador during the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic; another, the poet, who met with his death at Mouay, near Frejus, in Provence (1536); and perhaps also a third, who, being the son of Pedro Lasso, and of a Peruvian princess, was generally called El Inca Garcilasso. All three, however, used the patronymic "de la Vega," and were descended from the celebrated Garcia Lasso of the Spanish Romancero, the hero of popular song, owing to his exploits in the Vega de Granada.

† No less than four different copies of this despatch are in Bergenroth's vol. XVI. of the Collection; namely, at fols. 17, 19, 21, 23. I have, however, abstracted in preference that at page 23, owing to its having marginal notes in the handwriting of Covos.

‡ Thomas Fitzgerald, son of the earl of Kildare.

§ Elsewhere Darnley, but neither name is correct. I have not seen Chapuys' original despatch, but though he is not particularly accurate in spelling English proper names, I suspect that he must have written Daussrey, in which case Butler earl of Ormond and Ossory, at this time lord lieutenant of Ireland, must be meant.

‖ Sir William Weston? *See* vol. iv. part ii. p. 303.

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that there is actually in Ireland an ambassador from your Majesty, so much so that many people have come to me to inquire about him; my answer being that I had no knowledge whatever of the fact, and that if there really was one, it must be for the purpose of remedying some new scheme introduced by the Irish rebels, affecting the interests of Spanish sailors frequenting those seas.

Supposing Your Majesty to be better informed than I am of the above-named Irish movements, I have hitherto neglected to inquire more specifically and truly about them, but will in future keep my eyes open and report. This king has hitherto tried to dissemble, in order, as I think, to keep his subjects ignorant of what is happening in Ireland, for fear they (the English) should take it into their heads to imitate the Irish and also because he hopes to arrange matters by moderation and diplomacy, having promised to the said Chieldra (Kildare) the freedom of his father, the earl, and to himself grace and pardon for the murder of the archbishop, and other crimes. Kildare, however, I am told, will not hear of any such thing, and therefore the King, seeing no appearance of peace or reconciliation, and that the case is without remedy unless he himself attends to it immediately, has for the last five or six days ordered his Privy Councillors, and several other personages, to go and meet him 40 miles from this city, to deliberate and advise as to the steps needful to be taken in Irish affairs. And I have been told this very morning that 10 ships were being fitted out, and that he (the King) wished to send thither 12,000 men under the command of the duke of Suffolk or of lord Felix, the governor of Wales.* Nevertheless, it is generally believed that, whatever ostensible preparations may be made for this next winter, the result, if any, will be very scanty; for the season is already very much advanced, and, besides, many months will be required for the meeting of so many men, who generally dislike to enlist for an expedition in which there is nothing to be gained but blows. In addition to which, should the said Kildare be in possession, as asserted, of the greater part of Ireland, it will be indispensable to send thither three times the force spoken of, and collect a considerable quantity of provisions, which cannot be done in a short time. Should I hear anything more about it, I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty.

The pleasure and satisfaction which all worthy people here feel at this prosperous turn of affairs in Ireland is almost incredible. Indeed, all think that it is a very good beginning for the settlement of affairs in this country. Equally incredible is the desire manifested by all classes that Your Majesty should not lose such a good opportunity. I am daily stimu-

* "Et ma lon dit a ce matin que le dit seigneur roy mandoit apprester dix navieres, et quil y vouloit envoyer douze mille homes soubz la charge et conduite du duc de Suffocq ou de Millort Felix, gouverneur de Galles."

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lated and urged on all sides to write to Your Majesty on the subject, the applicants assuring me that the least movement on your part would provoke a declaration of this kingdom in your favour. No later than yesterday a worthy and virtuous lord—who, though somewhat indisposed, sent me a message requesting my presence in a neighbouring field, as if we had met by chance—made me a most solemn declaration to that effect. He said further: he told me that eight days ago Cromwell had mentioned to him, among many other things, that there was no fear nowadays of Your Majesty declaring war against England, for neither Spain nor Flanders would consent to it for fear of losing their trade with this country. It was foolish, he said to think otherwise; for even if the thing were possible, the death of the Queen and of the Princess [Mary] would soon put an end to all quarrels, since in that event Your Majesty would have no excuse for attacking them. Which declaration on the part of the said Cromwell will show Your Majesty the good intentions of these people, and the object they are aiming at, which is to rid themselves of the two ladies in the end.* Whereupon, and in order that the said lord, my informant, might repeat the statement to Cromwell, I replied to him that, should both the Queen and Princess come to die (which may God forbid!), Your Majesty would certainly have by far a much greater cause for quarrel than you have at present, as I myself had once signified to the King. Which argument and reasoning of mine was so much to the taste of the said lord, that he went away quite pleased at his being allowed to use it with Cromwell and other parties. I must add that the very same expressions respecting the Queen and Princess fell some time ago from the mouth of the earl of Vulcher (Wiltshire), addressing one who happened to tell him that the ill-treatment of the two aforesaid ladies might perhaps incense Your Majesty. Indeed, some of the Queen's friends begin to fear that unless a prompt remedy is provided, this king will have it declared in this next Parliament, which is to re-assemble in November next, that she and the Princess, her daughter, have actually incurred the penalty of the statute framed against them, and then he will have better excuse than ever to treat them still worse.

Having lately heard that there was a talk of change of residence for the Princess, and of making her follow and accompany the King's bastard daughter wherever she went, I received from the former no less than three different messages in twenty-four hours, asking me what she had better

* "Entre autres pluseurs propoz luy auoit dit que cestoit folie de craindre que vostre maieste vouloist leur entreprendre la guerre, car iamais ni la flandre ny lespaigne ny consentiroient pour non perdre la contractation; et quant cela ne seroit, la mort de la royne et de la princesse amortiroit tout, car cella estant, il ne resteroit aucune querelle; en quoy vostre maieste peut congnoistre la bonne intencion et fin ou ilz pretendent, quest de finablement se faire quictes des dictes dames."

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do. I answered her messages each time, and tried to dissipate her scruples as well as I could, writing to her that even if she were to obey implicitly the King's commands in that respect, no damage would ensue for her interests, inasmuch as the protest which I had formerly placed in her hands safeguarded her most completely. For fear, however, of the King and his Lady thinking that ill-treatment was already producing its effect on her, and that she was gradually losing courage, I strongly advised her, while maintaining her usual modesty, to speak boldly and show good heart, and yet not to carry things to such extremity as to oblige her guards to use violence as in past times.* I have written at full length what she is to say in the event of her being interrogated or obliged to act against her will; not that I thought this necessary, considering the great wisdom with which she is gifted, but because she insisted upon my doing so.† However this may be, I hear that the Princess has played her part so remarkably well that the Comptroller himself‡ has actually promised her that she shall not, unless she likes, go and live with the bastard. Nevertheless, having arrived at the first gate of the house (park ?) the Princess found there the bastard's chaise, and therefore she had to go first. After which, the Comptroller having given her faculty, as soon as she was in her own chaise, to go before or after, as she pleased, she suddenly went forward, and made such haste that she arrived at Greenwich one hour before the bastard, and when she came to the barge she managed so well that she occupied the most honourable seat in it. Having, moreover, sent her word that I would willingly go to Greenwich to see her pass, she replied that she should be most happy. I went thither in disguise, and had the pleasure of witnessing such grace and beauty, coupled with a true royal aspect and garb, that I felt double pity and commiseration at seeing her so ill-treated.

The ambassadors from Lubeck, if I am rightly informed, begin to get tired of their being kept so long here, and go on saying to whomsoever they meet, that, had they known it beforehand, they would never have come here. They hoped to have some of the King's money as a loan to carry on war against Denmark, and they find that the thing cannot be done. The King, it is true, has offered to send them the money, provided the bank of Easterling merchants (*la maison des hosterlins*) or their correspondents in this city should guarantee the debt; but as this could not be obtained, I fancy that the Lubeckians will go away without money, or, at least, with very little.

* "Toutesfois questoye doppinion que affin que son dit pere et sa dame ne pensassent que le mauluais traictement luy ennuyoit desia, et quelle commençoit a perdre cueur quelle parlat hardyment et monstrat son cueur avec la modestie accoustumee, mais quelle ne se mist iusques a lextremite de lautrefois de se faire mener par force."

† "Non point quil en fut besoing pour le grant sens delle, mais pour ce que ainsi luy plust quil fusse."

‡ Sir William Paulet.

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The courier, about whose departure for Rome I wrote last,* hearing whilst at the court of France that the Pope was still alive,—nay, had recovered from his late illness,—has not proceeded further on his journey. By the same reason is Gregory Casal retained in France, who, I suspect, will not go to Rome, but to Venice straight, as English resident. His brother [the Prothonotary], who is there, will go to the Vayvod's, by whose means, as it is thought, this king and his ministers will, if they can, negociate with the Turk, and try and raise difficulties in Your Majesty's way.

All the Minor Observant friars of this kingdom have been expelled from their convents, owing to their having refused to take the oath against the authority of the Apostolic See. They have, moreover, been distributed among the several convents in the provinces, where they are locked up, put in chains, and worse treated than if they were prisoners†; indeed they would much prefer being in irons than in the hands of those under whose power they now are.—London, the 29th of August [1534].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 7.

10 Sept. **87.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*229, No. 34.

As far as I can hear, the affairs of Ireland are turning out more and more to the advantage and wish of the youthful count of Kildare, who has actually gained over to his cause all the lords formerly attached to this king's party, with the exception of the prior of Rhodes (Weston) in Ireland, who has come over to England, and of the earl of Ausrey, (Ossory) who has thrown himself into Waterford, a place strong enough, which he stoutly defends, as well as another in the neighbourhood equally strong. And I am told by a man who has seen the letter that the said earl of Ausrey has written to this King, intimating that were he to have quickly 500 good infantry and 300 horse, he would be able to keep up the game until the arrival of the troops which this king has promised to send thither. The troops, however, not to land except at one of the two above-mentioned ports, which were still in his power, for elsewhere there was no surety for them. The said earl has also asked to be provided with two pinnaces or light vessels,‡ which, he says, might be of very

* See above, p. 245.

† "Tous les Observantins de ce royaulme ont estez chassez de leurs monasteres pour avoir reffuse le iurement contre lautorite appostolique, et sont (*sic*) este distribuez en pluseurs monesteres, ou ilz sont ensarrez (*encerrados?*), enchainez et pis traictez quilz ne sçauroient estre en prison, que ce soit, mesmes quilz sont entre les mains de ceulx que les ayent (haissent?). Dieu par sa grace les veuille consoler et maintenir en leur bonne intencion."

‡ "Le dit conte solicitoit quil aussi fust pourveu de deux *sabres* ou *espinasses*." "Zabre" (in Sp. *zabra*) and "espinasse" (Sp. *pinaça*) were light vessels or barges, about the size of the French "chaloupe."

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great service in putting down the rebellion, inasmuch as he hears that Your Majesty had sent thither certain ambassadors, who were transacting business with the lords of the country, and some of whom had gone backwards and forwards to Spain, whilst others had gone to Scotland and thence to Flanders. The Earl also writes that two Spanish ships had arrived on the coast laden with tons of lances and other warlike implements.

I am told that both on the Welsh and Northern frontiers some efforts are being made to recruit the men asked for by the earl of Ausrey (Ossory), but that scarcely one has been found willing to take service, in consequence of which many have been imprisoned for refusing to enlist. The King's privy councillors should have thought good to publish the Earl's letter in order to make people understand that all is not irretrievably lost in Ireland, and that things are not so bad in that country as they look. There is no longer question of sending thither the ships and men (12,000), as proposed some time ago, because the season does not allow it; besides which many seem to think that under present circumstances this King will not dare raise such an assembly of men, who might on the slightest turn of the wind rise in mutiny against him. The Council appointed by the King to provide for Irish affairs has ended in smoke, and there is no appearance of anything having been done since, except the promulgation in the streets of this city, with the usual solemnity of heralds and trumpets, of the peace between this king and him of Scotland, which has been been done with a view to confirm these people, otherwise very wavering (*muable*), in their allegiance, and remove all chance of their turning their minds in another direction. The better to carry out this crafty design, Cromwell said a few days ago, in the presence of several gentlemen, one of whom reported it to me, that ere many days were over, Lord Thomas Kildare would be in England, intimating that he will soon come here by means of some secret treaty or convention, now in progress between him and these people.* And the better to inculcate the said belief, I am told that three days ago the said Cromwell, being at Court, would not allow an Irish merchant from this city to take leave of him, and return home, without first showing him a letter he said he had received from Ireland, announcing that the earl of Desmond had actually declared himself against the said Lord Thomas Kildare, and that he (Cromwell) wished particularly to inform him thereof that he might spread the news. The merchant, as I am told, failed not to say as much to his friends and colleagues in this city, adding, however, by way of supplement, that he considered the whole of it to be a

* "Et pour le mesme respect et artiffice Cremuel dit ces iours passez en presence de pluseurs que auant peu de iours le seigneur Thomas de Chieldra seroit en ce royaumle, denotant que cela se feroit par moyen de quelque traicte et appointement."

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hoax, and the letter itself a forgery, owing to the reasons above mentioned.

Although the duke of Norfolk is Lord High Treasurer of England, and much experienced in warfare, especially in that of Ireland—where he was once commander-in-chief—yet he is known to have left Court for his country-seat some time before the said assembly met. When he returned to town the other lords and privy councillors, members of the Irish committee, had gone away, so that many are of opinion that the Duke went away on purpose not to be present at the debate on the affairs of Ireland, principally owing to the spite he took at the King disregarding his advice, which was that both Cromwell and Scheventon (Skeffington) had behaved badly to the earl of Kildare, and spoiled the Irish affairs altogether. After which the Duke and Cromwell had in the said committee reproached each other with many things, thus showing the enmity which for some time past they bear each other, notwithstanding all their efforts to dissemble. I am told that among other accusations which Cromwell brought on that occasion against the Duke, one was that he was the real cause of the present disasters from his wishing to keep the duke of Richmond near him, and near his daughter, his wife; and that, had he allowed him to go to Ireland eight months ago, as he was told to do, nothing of what has since happened would have taken place.* Some one said a few days ago to the said duke of Norfolk, as he was returning to Court, that there was a report in town of the King wishing to send him to Ireland, and, if so, that he begged to be told beforehand in order to accompany him. The Duke replied, "If the King "really wishes to send me to Ireland he must first construct "a bridge over the sea for me to return freely to England "whenever I like."

The son-in-law of the earl of Kildare, and brother-in-law of lord Thomas, has been here some time, and his wife also, pursuing a claim against the Exchequer, which, owing to the present state of things, has been decided in their favour The King wishes them to return as soon as possible to Ireland that they may both serve his cause there amicably or otherwise. This, however, they will never do unless compelled, having already found many excuses, more or less plausible, not to go thither. At last fever surprised the husband, at which he was very glad, as that will afford him sufficient excuse, as his host has declared to me, not to undertake the journey, sure that he is that if he now returns to Ireland he will come to grief one way or other.† Master Shevanton

* "Quil estoit plus de la dite royne que autre pour austant quil avoit voulu tenir le duc de Richemont aupres de luy et de sa fille, sa femme, et que sil (si il l')eust voulu laisse[r] aller au dit Yrlande sont passez huit mois, comme auoit este advise, ces choses ne fussent survenues."

† "Et ont treuve pluseurs excuses, a la fin la fyeure la surprins, dont il a este bien ioyeulx pour auoir legitime excuse, ainsi que la dit son hoste, soy tenant pour tout assehure que retournant au dit yrlande il ne luy en prendra que mal dung couste ou dautre."

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(Skeffington), the deputy governor of Ireland, has long ago arrived at the port to cross over, but has not yet embarked, and repents having undertaken such a journey; four or five days ago he sent his own son to Court to remonstrate with the King on the danger of his crossing over without a sufficient force. He had at first from 50 to 60 horse with him, and on board the ship with the ordnance there were some artillerymen; but the report is that of each force many have already deserted, perceiving the danger of the passage.* It is also said that the said lord Thomas de Childra (Kildare) is about to repudiate his wife, and send her back here, on the plea that both were too young when they married, and that he was obliged to take her to wife by the command of this king. The report, moreover, is that he intends marrying the daughter of a lord in that country. The King, whatever mien he may put on all this, is marvellously annoyed at it; and I have been told by a person of authority and credit at this court that he said some days ago that he would prefer having to do with Your Majesty or any other prince than with this Irishman. Among other causes of annoyance, one is that the said Lord Kildare is in the habit of blaming and upbraiding him in words as well as in writing;† thus, for instance, he (the King) has lately seen letters of that earl in which, besides the injurious and opprobrious vituperation he heaps on him, he threatens to expel him from his kingdom; and Lord Thomas would make the attempt were it not for the fear of his father, the earl, who is still a prisoner in the Tower, being certainly treated worse in consequence.

All these things has Cromwell related within the last few days to a priest, once in the service of the earl of Kildare, when the former called and applied for money for the maintenance of the countess [of Kildare], with whom he resides as chaplain. The priest is a worthy and honourable man, who from time to time sends me, through a third person, information of what is going on in this Irish affair. Nor is his report in contradiction with that of most of the English gentlemen, who, though generally speaking, they talk of things according to their own aspirations and interests, yet speak about the King in the worst possible terms; so much so, that when my own servants go about the streets they cannot help hearing all manner of abuse against him, which always ends like the refrain of the ballad . . . . .‡ This, indeed, would be the time for Your Majesty to make some sort of demon-

* "Il menoit avec luy de cinquante a soixante cheuaulx et dedans la naviere de lartillerie allaient quelques gens, dont a ce que lon ma dit et des ungs et des autres sen sont desia retournez aucuns sentant le danger."

† "A coustume a le blasonner (blasmer?) tant par lescripture que autrement."

‡ "Et sont bien empeschez mes seruiteurs quant ils vont par ville de ouyr les gens que leur en parlent que nest sans laccoutusme refrainet de la balade . . . . ."

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stration in order to show that you wish to remedy the present evils, since all are only waiting to hear of that to rise and declare against this king.

The earl of Kildare still continues in confinement; yet for the last fortnight he has been allowed more liberty than before,—his wife, the Countess, visiting him whenever she likes. He is now attacked by disease; no one can tell how his case will end, either as to his illness or as to his cause. I hear there is a project of sending him over to Ireland as soon as he is in better health, and in a condition to undertake the journey, in order that he may treat with his son, and make him the king's friend. But I really believe that were he to speak to Lord Thomas, the latter would answer as Regulus did to the Carthagenians when they sent a message to Rome;—he will exhort and encourage his father to follow his enterprise and his fortunes, were he to die in prison, especially as he cannot possibly live long. Indeed, whenever people happen to mention the subject before him, the earl invariably praises his son's purpose, instead of blaming him, and shows great contentment at his present work, only wishing that he was older and more experienced in warfare.

Sorry as this king appears to be at the news from Ireland, he is yet very glad to hear of Barbarossa's descent, on whom as well as on the Grand Turk, his master, all the hopes of these people are founded.

The ambassadors from Lubeck and Hamburgh have lately left for their respective countries, leaving behind the three doctors above alluded to, that they may prepare the rest of the articles of the treaty about which I wrote to Your Majesty, and debate on the whole at the next Parliament. They are now engaged writing on the subject of the Holy Sacrament. May God permit that they come to a different conclusion on that as well as on the matter of confession, to what people expect! I have had them watched as closely as I could in order to learn whether there was some treaty or confederation between this king and the said ambassadors; but all those I have interrogated on the subject tell me that there is none. They have not spoken to him on their leaving the country, nor, indeed, for six weeks before; nor have they visited the privy councillors after their first conference, which turned chiefly and almost exclusively on matters of religion, as I have had the honour to inform Your Majesty. It is thought that this king will hasten the meeting of Parliament, with a view the sooner to dismiss the said doctors; and Cromwell proposes that the King, at the next session of Parliament, distribute between the gentlemen of the kingdom the greater part of the Church revenues, that he may thereby gain the hearts and affections of his subjects. One might have supposed that the above-mentioned ambassadors, having been invited to this country and made so long a stay, would have received some valuable present as token of gratitude and

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remuneration for their services, but hitherto they have received nothing.

This morning, after writing the above, Your Majesty's letter of the 5th inst. and documents therein enclosed were duly received.—London, 10 Sept. 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys"

French. Original. Entirely in cipher. pp. 7.

20 Sept. **88.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. *Sec. de Guerra, Mar. y Tier,* L. 5. B.M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 26.

His last despatch was of the 9th. Since then a chamberlain of Cardinal de Aux (Guillaume de Castelnau) left this for Genoa in quest of a safe-conduct for the passage of the French cardinals coming to Rome. It was immediately granted, but he (Sylva) hears that they want another from the Prince (Andrea Doria). This, however, they cannot get, owing to his being absent from Genoa. He (Sylva) has written to the Prince about it. His answer has been that, not knowing the Emperor's wish on this point, he must decline; if the cardinals themselves apply he will temporize with them and gain time.

The cardinal of Trent (Clesi) has written to say that he and Saltzburg (Matthew Gurck) intend coming to Rome, though without orders from the Emperor; at which people here marvel much. Clesi has not considered it necessary to write to him on the subject, or give notice to the king of the Romans, because he says he knows the presence of German bishops to be very much wanted just now, in order to prevent any electioneering intrigues, to claim the money owing to Austria, and, perhaps, too, advance the negociations for the Council.

In 1522 this Pope granted the legacy of Ancona for life to the cardinal of Ravenna [Benedetto Accolti] for a sum of 19,000 ducats, as set down in a deed. Cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici, wishing to have that office, sent for Ravenna

The Emperor did not write to the archbishop of Trent, but since he has gone no fault can be found with him for doing so. The Ambassador, however, will announce wherever he may deem it proper, that Trent and his colleague Gurck went to Rome of their own accord, not at the Emperor's bidding; and let not the French think that we are going to imitate their king in that respect. (*In the hand of Covos.*)

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some time before His Holiness was taken ill, and tried to get possession of the original deed by force. In this, however, he did not succeed; Ravenna made his excuses, and returned [to his see]. About the time that His Holiness had his last attack, Medici got two cardinals, his own relatives, to move in College that it was His Holiness' intention to take away the legacy from Ravenna, and give it to him [Medici]. The majority of the cardinals, however, were of opinion that the affair had better be referred to His Holiness first; and that some of them should go to him, and represent the many inconveniences likely to arise if an office granted for life was thus taken away from its owner without sufficient cause. At any rate, the Cardinal (they said) had a right to his money. The Pope then decided that the legacy should be given to Medici, and accordingly a bishop has been despatched with a Papal brief commanding Ravenna to resign. He has not yet answered, but has sent him (Sylva) one of his secretaries (*uno suyo*) to complain of the cardinals, and request that, as the faithful servant he has always been, and is still of His Imperial Majesty, he may be helped and favoured in this business. The better to engage him (Sylva) to write in his favour, Clesi has exhibited an original letter of the king of England, written as early as the year 1522, offering to present him to two bishoprics in his kingdom, with a revenue of 15,000 ducats; which bishoprics he [Ravenna] declined to accept, that he might not offend the Emperor, and for other considerations. Has answered Ravenna's application in general terms, giving him to understand the great trust His Majesty has in him, but has kept the letter. On the other

If His Holiness is dead, this affair will soon take another turn. At all events, let the Ambassador lean to the side of justice and expediency, and use his own discretion, without, however, letting the Cardinal know that he has written home. He did well in securing the king of England's letter.

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hand, cardinal de' Medici has sent him (Sylva) word not to favour cardinal Ravenna's pretensions, inasmuch as he says he himself is in a better situation to favour the Emperor's interests in Rome than the former.

Should matters come to a rupture—which the Ambassador must prevent as long as he can—let him take no part with one or the other, and we will consider what had better be done.

Hears that Hieronymo Orsino and the present abbot of Farfa are on good terms with Medici, owing to the abbey of Bratziano (Bracciano), which the latter still retains. Should His Holiness come to die, the two above-named individuals of the Orsini family are sure to use force to take the abbey from the Cardinal's hands, for they say that justice is entirely on their side. Should both parties come to blows about it, he (Sylva) should like to receive instructions as to how he is to act.

To tell Sylva confidentially that count Nassau has arrived in France, but has not yet had an opportunity to speak of this and other affairs; yet in private conversation the King told him that he counted on 16 votes for the next Papal election. This the King had already declared to others, and it was generally understood that he intended distributing large sums of money among the cardinals for that particular object. The Ambassador, therefore, must dexterously, and without naming any prince, make use of the above information, and try that the election be made as it is fit.

The French cardinals have arrived. Though they say in public that their object is only to make an impartial Pope, nobody believes them; on the contrary, it is thought that the king of France will pursue his object, and do Christendom as much injury as he possibly can by leaguing himself with the Lutherans and with the king of England. It is, therefore, believed that at this next election, the King's party, which, besides the French cardinals, counts many Italians, are sure to bestir themselves. The speedy arrival of the Spanish is very much wanted.

Let him seize the opportunity of telling Gaddi that what he is doing is neither honest nor expedient.

The French are more reserved now than they used to be formerly in their negociations, especially since the interview at Marseilles; for cardinal Gaddi said the other day to a certain person that on his taking leave of the king of France he offered him his vote for the future election.* The King thanked him for it, and said, "Cardinal de

* "Que los franceses acostumbran de guardar mas secreto en las negociaciones que solian despues de las vistas de Marsella, por que el cardinal de Gadi[h] a dicho á una persona," &c.

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Lorraine will tell you, when in conclave, whom I wish to be elected Pope."

Carniseca says that el Ubaldino (Bandinelli) writes that he has heard in France that Ana Boulans (Anne Boleyn) had in some way or other incurred the Royal displeasure, and was rather in disgrace with the King, who was paying his court to another lady; and that people began to utter words of much indignation against Anne. If the news be true, His Majesty must already have been apprised of the facts by his ambassadors in France and England.

Nothing of the sort has occurred that we know of.

The Chancellor of the Order of St. John and the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber have come to an agreement; their dispute is at an end.

Cardinal Tribulcio grows every day more untractable respecting the archbishopric of Rijoles (Reggio in Naples). If His Majesty wishes to favour Carniseca, some other bishopric must be looked out for him.

In consequence of the apparent friendship of cardinal Medici and Ascanio Colonna, this city is quiet, though without a governor at present. However, as the two above-named personages and others could not be entirely persuaded to disarm, he [Sylva] has considered it prudent not to dismiss the whole of his force, and has kept 150 of them under arms.

Let a letter be written to Ascanio Colonna in this sense, so as to remove all occasion of people saying hereafter that his presence at Rome was a sort of pressure put on the cardinals.

The cardinals wish greatly for Ascanio's departure; they are afraid of him, and say that were he to go away, they might feel more secure in Rome, and justice would have full play. Though Ascanio has done nothing yet to make the cardinals apprehensive, yet he (Sylva) has begged and entreated him to go away, telling him that should His Holiness die, and should there be need of his presence, he will be recalled. Ascanio has promised that

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unless His Holiness gets suddenly worse, he will certainly go. He is now trying to recover from the authorities the value of a certain quantity of wheat which these Romans took from the granaries of Philippo Strozzi, and at the same time liberate some "fuorusciti" who took shelter in his house.

His Holiness is a little better, though not yet out of danger.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

20 Sept. **89.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. *Guerra, Mar. y Tier*, L. 5. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 29.

When I last wrote to the viceroy of Naples [marquis de Villafranca], asking his opinion about dismissing the force I had armed [against contingencies], his answer was that he could not advise me in the matter, as he had no orders, and that I ought to refer to my own instructions. As to the election, if the Pope came to die he (the marquis) would declare his opinion. This, coupled with Regent Figueroa* being at Gaeta on his way [to Rome], makes me suspect that your Lordship has changed your mind. If so, these people will think that the Emperor intends making a Pope devoted to his interests (*un Papa apasionado*).

The Emperor has given no orders on this subject, except those to the ambassador. What he has done in the matter is merely to maintain his authority as king of Naples.†

Count Noguerol has just this moment arrived. He comes by order of the king of the Romans to be present at the election, imagining that Pope Clement was already dead. Among other news he brings that of the death or capture of Aloys (Luigi) Gritti, in consequence of a worthy man having been at his instigation executed in Hungary. He also brings us intelligence of the defeat of Abraym Bassa, and that at Parma or Piacenza they had confined to prison a son of cardinal Campeggio, who was going to France, mistaking him for another man.

There is no truth at all in the report.

The only intelligence we have here is that Gritti slew a bishop in those parts. As to his (Gritti) having been killed, it must be a hoax.

* Regent or president of the court della Sumaria at Naples. See vol. iv., part ii., pp. 504, 634, 658, &c.

† This and other marginal notes are in Covos' handwriting.

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Cardinal Mantua [Ercole di Gonzaga] has arrived, no doubt for his Monferrato affair. I want to know how to act.

Puerto Carrero, who was the bearer of my last despatch, remained behind ill on the road.—Rome, 20 Sept. 1534.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

23 Sept. **90.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*228, No. 57.

The Chancellor of England (Audeley) has just publicly announced to several worthy personages, in order that the report may be spread everywhere, that the young earl of Kildare (Thomas Fitz-Gerald) had solicited the King's pardon. Since then the Chancellor himself, and Cromwell also, have had the news widely circulated that those who have hitherto refused to go to Ireland may now enlist under the King's banner. But on the whole, considering that such inventions, instead of causing a favourable impression upon the people, may turn out to their shame and confusion, they have come to the conclusion that it is better to keep silence on the subject, and for this reason an order has been issued forbidding all parties at Court to speak about the affairs of Ireland. Indeed, so strict is the injunction that for some days past Cromwell will not allow any one at his table, or elsewhere, to mention the subject; which makes me think that affairs in that country do not exactly turn out as the King might wish. Indeed, I am told that by way of provision this King has ordered six gentlemen to raise and conduct to Ireland 2,000 men each, as secretly as possible, without making assembly or passing muster, but sending them in small parties (*a la fille*) for fear of some commotion (*garboille*). For the passage of the said troops several ships, Spanish as well as Flemish and others, have been embargoed at Bristol; and, as I have been told by an officer who has charge of the royal squadron, even one which had been ordered to Bordeaulx for the King's provision of wine, has been countermanded and destined for the Irish expedition; and that Master Scheventon (Skeffinton), the deputy governor, has not yet crossed over, as he is waiting for reinforcements; and it is added that the Irish have captured a ship from Britanny laden with horses for the said Scheventon.

Great loss has been sustained by the death of the earl of Kildare, who has died in the Tower of his old illness.* His

* "Ceulx-cy ont ces iours fait [perte d]ung grand instrument pour rabiller les dits affaires de yrlande a sçauoir le conte de Childra, le quel est ces iours trespasse de sa vielle maladie."

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death is much felt by these people, for they considered him an instrument in their hands for the settlement of the Irish question.

A Welsh gentleman, once a refugee in Scotland, has lately gone to Ireland; at which these people are much annoyed, for the gentleman in question is both brave and wise, and belongs to one of the principal families of that country. Should the affairs of the earl [of Kildare] go on prosperously, those of the King in the Principality might be placed in terrible confusion through the said Welshman and his party. I am also told that the uncle of the earl of Douglas, who was here in exile, has suddenly returned to Scotland, after soliciting and obtaining king James' pardon, though without informing this one, who paid him a pension. There has been question of sending sevefal high personages to Ireland, but none has yet accepted the post of governor, any more than the duke of Suffolk, who declined it some time ago.

In consequence of the news of Barbarossa's descent and of the Pope's relapse (*recidiuacion*) the French ambassador has gone to reside with the Court, which is now forty miles out of town. I am told that he has arrived there, and that, besides several couriers he has despatched to France, he has since sent thither his own secretary. This must have been entirely for the sake of this king, and to his profit, for Cromwell has paid all the expenses out of the royal treasury. Some think that the secretary goes for the purpose of asking for men and ships against Ireland, and thereby gaining reputation with the enemy as well as with the people here; and it is also reported that the Lubeckians have offered to send several ships of their own next spring.

Certain English merchants, calculating that the Irish rebels might well keep up intelligences with Your Majesty, made difficulties about sending their ships to Spain, until one of the privy councillors told him that there was no fear of Your Majesty coming to a rupture with this king, whatever intelligences you might have in Ireland, and that Your Majesty was only returning the compliment which you had last year received from this king in Germany.

The Princess has lately been very ill, owing to her having been obliged, whilst in delicate health, to move from where she was, and follow the bastard. In consequence of the fatigues of the journey, and of the many annoyances to which she is daily subjected, her illness increased considerably, though, thanks be to God, she has since recovered, and is now well. The King sent his own physician to visit her, and permitted that her mother's, and the apothecary who has been her medical adviser for the last three years, should also be in attendance; which permission has considerably helped to her recovery. True it is that the King had previously given orders that both his own physician and that of the Queen, as well as her apothecary, should be expressly requested and

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induced to go and make their reverence to the bastard before calling on the Princess, but, luckily for all parties, the messenger arrived too late. Most strict orders were then issued forbidding the said physicians and apothecary to address the Princess in any other language than English, and that in the presence of the household servants, and other inmates of the manor.

Ever since the King began to entertain doubts as to his mistress'. reported pregnancy, he has renewed and increased the love which he formerly bore to another very handsome young lady of this court; and whereas the royal mistress, hearing of it, attempted to dismiss the damsel from her service, the King has been very sad, and has sent her a message to this effect: that she ought to be satisfied with what he had done for her; for, were he to commence again, he would certainly not do as much; she ought to consider where she came from, and many other things of the same kind. Yet no great stress is to be laid on such words, considering the King's versatility, and the wiliness (*astuce*) of the said lady, who knows perfectly well how to deal with him.*

As far as I can gather, one of the chief causes of the arrival at this court of one of the secretaries of the English embassy in Spain post-haste is, if I am not mistaken, to announce that an agent of count Desmond had actually arrived at the Imperial Court.—London, 24 Sept. 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. Entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

25 Sept.

S. E., L. 862, f. 62.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 4

1. COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

To-day, at the 18 hours, His Holiness died. The French cardinals, they say, will be here in the course of two or three days. They come by land from Liorna (Livorno). Trent and Saltzburg† have been written to by count Noguerol and by Gabriel Sanchez also to make haste, and come as soon as possible.

* "Depuis que ce roy a commence de doubter si sa dame estoit enseinte ou non, il a renouvellee et augmentee lamour que par auant il auoit avec une autre tres belle demoiselle de court, et pour ce que la dite demoiselle (*sic*, dame?) la vouloit deschasser, le dit roy en a este bien marry, ayant dit et fait dire a sa dite dame quelle avoit bonne occasion soy contenter de ce quil auoit fait pour elle, que no se feroit maintenant, sil estoit a commencer, et quelle regardat deut (dou) elle estoit sortie, et pluseurs autres choses. Sur quoy toutesfois ne fault fere grand fondement actendu la mutabilite du dit roy et lastuce dicelle dame que le sçat (sait) bien manier."

† Bernardo Clesi, archbishop of Trent and Cardinal. As to cardinal Saltzburg, his name was Matthew Gurk. See above, p. 257.

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Having written at full length on the 24th by way of Genoa, he [Sylva] needs scarcely add that he will act in conformity with the Emperor's instructions and wishes, so that the election may be an impartial one.

The news we have of him here are favourable. He will make, they say, a good Grand Master of the Order. A letter to be addressed to him in the Emperor's name.

The Grand Master of Rhodes (Villiers de l'Isle Adam) is dead. A Piedmontese of the name of Fr. Perrin del Monte has been elected in his room.

Let the ambassador procure, whenever there is a fit opportunity, the assistance which the Emperor needs, as specified in the instructions which Garcilasso took to Rome.

The Viceroy of Naples. Turkish fleet and taking of Tunis. Preparations for the spring.—Will state to the Cardinals at their first consistory what kind of help the Emperor wants from them.

The Imperial ambassador in Genoa* has also written on the subject. He [Sylva] has informed him of the Emperor's wishes in this particular, and has sent Don Gaspar de Mendoza to Lucca, that he may ask for their contingent in money.

Let us hear, as soon as possible, what their answer is.

Briefs for Monferrato and the Crusade not ready yet.

Has done in favour of Stephano del Ysola all he could. Not only has His Holiness, through his (Sylva's) interference, paid that captain all that was owed to him, he has given him shelter, and kept him and his servants in the embassy four or five months, owing to his having slain two soldiers of the Papal guard who quarrelled with him. He has likewise managed to snatch him from the clutches of justice, and therefore Stephano has no cause whatever for complaint, though he says that the pension he enjoyed in Sicily is not paid to him.

Negociations in Switzerland are at a standstill, owing to His Holiness' fault. Stephano says that 1,000 ducats per annum to each canton would be sufficient; the Pope thinks 1,000 florins.

* Gomez Suarez de Figueroa. See vol. iv., part ii., pp. 118, 231–3, &c.

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Giovan Matheo [Giberti], the bishop of Verona, has arrived in Rome. Some say that he comes on business of State, others, that he comes for his own private affairs, and will leave soon.

Very well done. The Cardinal to be temporized with, but not allowed to meddle with other people's affairs for his own profit and advantage. Let a letter be written to him of condolence for the Pope's death.

Cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici says that the party of the Baglioni, who, under colour of protecting the Sienese and others, are trying to get into Perugia, ought to be discountenanced, and orders sent to the duke of Melfi and the Sienese to prevent their attempts; for Perugia (says the Cardinal) belongs to the Church, and he himself was once Legate in Perugia. Spoke to the Sienese agent about this, and bade him go to the Cardinal and give every satisfaction. Has since ascertained that the Cardinal's plan is, if aided by the duke of Urbino, to possess himself first of Perugia and Ancona, and then of Florence. To this end he has promised the Duke that his son shall marry the daughter of the duchess of Camarino, &c.

*Spanish. Original.** *pp.* 5.

29 Sept. **92.** The Emperor to Count Cifuentes.

S. E. *Div. Desp.*, L. 1561, f. 135. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 44.

We approve entirely of the answer you made to the Capuan (Schomberg) and to the cardinals, who sounded you respecting the election of a new Pope. You are to go on telling them and the rest that our only wish is to have a good and dispassionate Pope ready to promote the peace and welfare of Christendom. But at the same time you are to defeat as well as you can all intrigues, negociations, and intelligences, as well on the part of the king of France and his ministers as of any other persons, tending to mar that desirable object; you must be on your guard against all intrigues, &c.

With regard to the attempts made by some of the cardinals to gain votes through bribery and other means, more particularly by the cardinal of Jaen (Merino), who, you say, is aiming at the Pontificate, and holding frequent conferences with Cornaro and his friends for the purpose of securing his own election, you must try to obviate such an evil. As to the cardinal of Jaen himself, We are fully persuaded that, had you communicated to him our instructions and our will in this matter of the election, he would have done nothing

* A duplicate of this letter is at p. 40 of the same volume, though dated the 27th.

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against them. We are convinced that if he intentionally acts, or appears to act, against our will, it is because you have not read to him our instructions to you, or because he (the Cardinal) has not understood them thoroughly. By merely giving him an insight into the state of affairs at present, and pointing out to him what our wishes are, We have confidence that he will desist from his plans. We would not for the world have it said in future that, just because We had not given him knowledge of our plans, the thing had failed.—Palencia, 29 Sept. 1534.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

3 Oct. **93.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 862, ff. 71, 72. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 46.

On the 25th inst. by express messenger I advised His Holiness' death.* Nothing new has occurred since, and Rome is quiet. True, common people have been rather riotous against certain merchants of this city, named the Strozzi, relatives of the last Pope (Clement VII.), owing to the dearth of bread, which was exclusively attributed to them, and that the mob at one time wished to set fire to their houses, and carry away what wheat they had in store. Everything, however, was made right by the College of Cardinals, the conservators of Rome, Ascanio Colonna and myself, by our quieting the rioters, and ordering that all the wheat which the Strozzi had in store should be distributed among the poor; owing to which measure, and to the appointment of Micer Bernardino, whom Your Majesty knows, Rome is for the time tranquil.

On the 2nd inst. the funeral ceremonies of the late Pope commenced. I am told that on the 13th the cardinals will go into conclave. Your Majesty's letter and my own credentials I sent to the College. Their answer was such, that if they only act according to their words, matters will go on well.

* See above, p. 264, No. 91.

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The French cardinals will arrive to-morrow, or the day after. They are accompanied by Renzo da Ceri and Stephano Colonna. Trent and Saltzburg will be here in two days' time. I have not secured rooms for them within the Palace, but they will be comfortably lodged at Capua's, and in another set of rooms I have prepared for them. These two Germans will be of much use, coming from a country like Germany, now a prey to heretical doctrines. If it be true, as asserted, that the French cardinals bring with them 100,000 ducats in specie, and as many in ecclesiastical pensions, to be spent or distributed in this next election, they will have a good chance of having their candidate, whoever he may be, elected. I, however, attach no faith to the report, though coming from two different quarters.

Letters to be written to these cardinals, thanking them for their journey to Rome.

Elsewhere in the estates of the Church some movements are reported, but hitherto of no importance.

The ambassador is to see that no meetings of men take place. Letters to this effect are to be prepared, both for him and for the duke of Urbino.

The "fuorusciti of Florence" are collecting in the duchy of Urbino, and they say have in Venice all the money they may want for enlisting men in the duchy, &c. The duke of Urbino winks at it and dissembles. The duke Alessandro de' Medici complains, and asks me to help him.

The ambassador must already have heard about this. The Venetians are completely satisfied with the explanation given.

The Venetians, as it would appear, feel suspicious at Your Majesty having sent count Nassau to France for the purpose, as they think, of entering into some agreement with him.

Let him report, and should the King's agent speak in his presence about the election, he (the Count) must, according to time and circumstances, and with all possible tact and discretion, bring forth the autho-

What I mentioned in my despatch of the 20th ult. about Ana de Bolans (Anne Boleyn) being just now on bad terms with the king of England, must be a hoax, for I have letters from Your Majesty's ambassador (Chapuys) residing in

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rity of the Holy See in all church matters, as he has done on all occasions.*

that country, in date of the 27th August, in which nothing is said about it, though both he (Chapuys) and the Imperial ambassador in France (Hannaërt), announce the arrival from England of Casale for the purpose of aiding in the election of a Pope favourable to the kings of France and England; and Casale himself has actually come. After doing here what he can do, he is to go to Venice, and reside there as English ambassador.

The viceroy of Naples writes that he has despatched regent Figueroa, who is to arrive to-night, to help and counsel me in this new election. God grant that his presence here may not prove an obstacle to Your Majesty's plans, because the arrival at the present moment of an officer without credentials from Your Majesty is likely to be detrimental under present circumstances. Had the Viceroy any remarks to make, he might have addressed me in cipher, or sent one of his own clerks, not a person of such importance as regent Figueroa is. I am the more astonished at all this, that I have carefully transcribed and sent him what Your Majesty wrote to me on the subject.

Signed: "El conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4½.

3 Oct.

S.E. *Roma*, L.1310, f. 137.
B.M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 45.

94. The Same to the High Commander.

On the 27th ult. Andrea Doria was at Naples with the fleet; he was to sail for Rome next day.

With regard to the defensive league against the Turk, nothing can be done until the election of a new Pope.

The same intelligence has reached us through Soria's letters. The ambassador, however, is to dissemble and not

Through the intermediate action of the king of the Romans, the danger in which Luigi Gritti now

* "Podrá poner delante el auctoridad que es razon que la yglesia tenga segun lo que ha hecho y haze."

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show contentment at it, for fear the Venetians and the Duke [of Urbino ?] should be offended.

lies, the King's negociations with the Vayvod, and the agreement lately made with the dukes of Bavaria, matters both in Hungary and in Germany may be satisfactorily settled.

State of the relations between the Sophy and the Turk.

Let the ambassador say what terms they want, and what pension both father and son had from France, and then the Council will decide.

Is waiting for an answer to what he wrote respecting Renzo de Cheri [da Ceri] and Giovan Paolo, his son. They are both very pressing, and wish to know whether their offers of service will be accepted or not.

The Luquese still pretend that as they have no seaport of their own, they cannot effectually aid an enterprise with galleys; they say they have no money either, but that if the other Christian princes help, they themselves will not be found wanting. Don Gaspar [de Guzman] has since gone to them, and they have promised some money.—Rome, 3 Oct. 1534.

Indorsed: "Summary of a letter from count Cifuentes at Rome."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

9 Oct. **95.** LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1310, f. 139.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 52.

In answer to Your Majesty's letter of the 4th Sept., I beg leave to state that by letters from Constantinople of the 29th of August and 3rd of September, intelligence has reached this city that the war between the Sophy [of Persia] and the Turk continues still. The latter was hastening thither at the head of a numerous army, and was to take up on the road thither Habraym (Ibráhim) Pashá. A battle would soon be fought. The Venetians hoped the Sophy would be victorious, in which case the Signory might arrange better their matters with the Turk.

The same intelligence has been received here through the Venetian ambassador.

Two galleons and some "fustees" of Andrea Doria, among which are

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We feel confident that Doria will act justly in this affair, and attend to the claims of the Signory.

some belonging to Malta,* surprised and sacked the other day, on the coast of Sardinia, a village called Saça, and captured 300 persons. It would appear that among the spoil some merchandize belonging to Venetian traders was taken, at which the Doge (Andrea Gritti) is greatly discontented. It is added that Doria's galleons and other vessels, amounting in all to 12 sail, will go next to a place called Satula.

Barbarossa has entered Tunis.

A secretary of the Vayvod (Zapolsky) has arrived here on his return from a mission to the kings of France and England. Through count Guido, who is a personal friend of his, I have been able to obtain a summary of what the Secretary has done and negociated in those countries, which comes to this:—He has been unable to obtain help or assistance of any sort from those kings, and he is now about to return to his master empty-handed; nor has he any hopes for the future. Though the Vayvod has asked in England for the hand of the Princess [Mary], and in France for that of the sister of the prince of Navarre, all is empty air and moonshine. The Secretary says that it would be much better for his master (the Vayvod) to enter into some agreement with the King of the Romans than cling to the hopes which those kings give him. Such had been his counsel and advice when he last had occasion to write home, telling his master that he has nothing to expect from Francis or Henry, and had better settle his disputes with the King of the Romans. The Secretary's despatch went by another servant of the Vayvod, owing to his having been taken ill here, in Venice. I

* "Las fustas todas son de Malta, entre las quales [h]ay una galera."

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have written to the King of the Romans to have the Secretary's despatch intercepted, if there be still time.

A very pretty excuse indeed. You must be aware that in the last [Turkish] fleet there came an ambassador of France. He was sent to Marseilles in a galley by Barbarossa, accompanied by another ambassador from the Turk.

The king of France shows sorrow and repentance at this coming of Barbarossa. He is very angry with Hieronymo Lasco for pretending to be his ambassador, and speaking to the Grand Turk (Solyman) without his knowledge, and has written a letter to Luigi Gritti requesting that Lasco should be punished.

Letters from the duchy of Würtemburg state that a secretary of the king of France, who had been residing there for some time, was actually going to Luigi Gritti with 6,000 cavalry.

He must go on urging the despatch of this affair until the whole matter in dispute be fairly settled.

The business between the King of the Romans and this Signory is in a fair way of being satisfactorily settled. It would already have been so, had not the cardinal of Trent (Clesi) taken with him [to Rome] one of the King's commissaries.

So it is, and the Emperor is much pleased.

Letters from Innspruch state that a marriage has been arranged between a daughter of King Ferdinand and a son of the duke of Bavaria.

The Signory are not over sorry at the death of the last Pope, but, nevertheless, wish for the election of an impartial one. They would be glad if the choice should fall on Farnese. I have tried my best with the Doge and Signory respecting their arming against the Turk. Four days ago the senators met, and sent me an answer, couched in very general terms, making those excuses and specious arguments of which they are so fond, though I must say that they ended by promising to arm a few galleys against Barbarossa, should he venture to come to these seas. Besides, I hear from a good quarter that this question of the armament has been frequently discussed in their

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Senate; some of its members opining that they had better join Your Majesty at once with a well-appointed sea-force, whereas others — and they are the majority — think that this cannot and ought not to be done unless a pre-concerted agreement be entered into between Your Majesty, the King of France, and the rest of the European potentates.

The Emperor's wish is that the duke Alessandro be maintained in Florence.

The "fuorusciti" of Florence have lately attempted, in union with their party within the city, to recover their ancient liberties.

A letter from the Papal Nuncio residing at the court of the King of the Romans contains the following intelligence. It is there said that the Hungarians entered a place where Luigi Gritti had strengthened himself. After slaughtering almost all the Turks in it, with the exception of a few, who proved to be Christians, the Hungarians seized Gritti and kept him in prison. It was thought that they would shortly put him to death, inasmuch as he had himself slain the bishop of the place. Gritti's two sons had managed to escape, for when their father threw himself hastily into the place, they preferred to fly, and did so. This intelligence was brought by two Hungarians, who came here to Venice riding post. I do not affirm these facts; for the King [of the Romans], who has couriers posted at various points on the road, has not yet heard of it.—Venice, 9 Oct. 1534.

Indorsed: Summary of letters from ambassador Soria to the Emperor, 9 Oct. 1534. Answered at Madrid, 14 Nov., by Waury, the bearer.*

* This is perhaps the first time that the name of this individual Baber, Bauri, &c. is correctly spelt and written. His real name was François de Rupt, sieur de Waury. *See* vol. iv. part ii. pp. 179, 395, 575.

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9 Oct. **96.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S.E., L. 1310, f. 139. B.M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 73.

Wrote on the 10th, answering the Emperor's letter of the 4th ulto. Since then another of the 29th has come to hand, intimating that prince [Andrea] Doria had been ordered to sea with his 25 galleys. Barbarossa having gone by way of Tunis, the Prince is to return to Genoa for winter quarters; but will, it is said, go out to sea again next spring. Deeming this a favourable opportunity to bring before this Doge and Signory the expediency of joining their galleys to those of the Emperor, and sweeping the sea of corsairs and pirates, he (Soria) failed not to represent to them the great efforts the Emperor was making to attain that object. Their answer was so vague and so disheartening that he (Soria) considers it highly imprudent under present circumstances to renew the application. They could not (the Doge said) openly take up arms against the Turk, bound as they are for their own safety to keep up with him on apparently good terms. His (Soria's) impression is that the Signory will not join in an enterprise of this sort, and that the matter ought not to be further urged on them, because were they to imagine that his suggestions proceed directly from him (the Emperor), and that by denying the application they may incur his displeasure, they would become our enemies, for "*he who does the wrong never forgives.*" At present, as intimated in his (Soria's) last despatch, they are rather suspicious of count Nassau's visit to the court of France.

On this subject of count Nassau and his embassy to France, the general report here is that he (the Count) is soon expected at the French court. He might be there already, had he not feigned illness on the road in order to wait for the arrival there of the Grand Master [of France] Montmorency, who was journeying to Court in a sedan chair, in very indifferent health, and surely not in a condition to negotiate the important State affairs in which both were concerned. It was considered certain that a marriage would be soon concluded between the Emperor's daughter Maria and the dauphin of France, to whom the duchy of Milan would be given as a dower, the duke Francesca Sforza getting the duchy of Bourbonnais in exchange. Such is the general impression in this city. The senators have often met in private, and discussed the matter at length; the result of the conferences being that they do not believe the Emperor capable of despoiling the duke of Milan, who is married to a niece of his;* much less give the duchy to the French, and thereby afford them a footing in Italy, when his sole object has always been to restore peace to this country. Some of them, who occasionally speak with him (Soria), are not so

* At this time Francesco Sforza was married to one of the Emperor's nieces, Christierna or Christine, daughter of the king of Denmark.

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explicit. All, however, agree that, according to information received from France, count Nassau is now taking to that country important proposals on the part of the Emperor. Told them that the Count had no particular mission: having to traverse France in his journey to Flanders, he had been instructed to visit the King and Queen of that country. They replied that their ambassador at the Imperial court had, it is true, written in that sense, and assured them that count Nassau would never treat whilst in France of anything to the Signory's detriment. Such (they said) had been the Emperor's words to their ambassador, but still they could not help remarking that such words in the Emperor's mouth indicated that other affairs would be discussed there. Nevertheless, their ambassador at the court of France had written that the King had said to him several times, "Were I to show "you a paper I have here in my bosom, you would see most "wonderful things the Emperor is now negotiating with me." This, after all, might have been said on purpose and by way of deceit, in order to instil suspicion and fear into the minds of the Venetians, and make them listen to what he has to say, for it is reported that he has actually promised them new dominions in Italy, &c.; if they will only make some agreement with him.* Nor is this Signory at all tranquil in the possible event of the Emperor and king of France coming to an understanding and being friends, because (they say): "We shall be again requested to join the League, which will "be for us a matter of great anxiety; for if we accept our "possessions, our merchants in Turkey will be placed in "jeopardy; we shall lose our trade with those countries, and "be besides put to great expense; and if we refuse to join "the League, that may give the king of France, and the "Emperor also, occasion and motive to pick up a quarrel "with us," &c.

The Signory has seen with pleasure the appointment of pope Farnese. They have chosen eight of their elders to offer congratulations, &c. They are to leave next January. There is no doubt, however, that these Venetians will solicit a new secret league with this Pope, as they did with the last, especially after the fear and suspicion which Nassau's late mission to France seems to have aroused among them.

Luigi Gritti was really murdered by the Hungarians who besieged his house. It is also reported that two of his sons were slain on the occasion. This, however, is not certain; nor has the news been confirmed of his brother Georgio having also been slain at Buda in an attempt to relieve Luigi. Although this Doge seemed to hate his two sons on account of their serving the Turk, yet he shows such a sorrow at the loss he has lately sustained, that he (Soria) could not do less

* "Prometiendoles estado nuevo en Italia y otras cosas, si se conciertan con él."

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the other day than offer his condolence in the King of the Romans' name. A letter to that effect might come from Spain; he (Soria) knows the Doge and Signory will be pleased at it. No one here, in Venice, is sorry for Luigi's death, for all were envious of so much grandeur, and besides disliked the idea of being continually taunted with the intimate friendship which the two sons of this Doge (Andrea) entertained for the Turk. Yet, on the other hand, they are not at all glad at king Ferdinand getting such a supremacy in Hungary.

Cardinals Saltzburg and Trent (Clesi) left Rome on the 20th to return home. The latter writes that he will do his utmost to bring the difference between this Republic and the king of the Romans to a conclusion.

Cardinal Luzera* is soon expected here in this city.

In consequence of the information furnished by him (Soria) to the king of the Romans and to Andalot† respecting the Vayvod's servant, the latter was arrested on his passage through the Tyrol, and his papers seized. It would appear from them that the Vayvod is, or has been, in secret negotiation with the kings of France and England. His secretary, whose arrival he (Soria) mentioned in his despatch of the 9th inst.,‡ is still here, in Venice, waiting for prothonotary Casale, who went to Rome the moment he heard of Clement's death. Casale is English ambassador to this Republic, and it has been settled that he is to accompany the Vayvod's secretary on his journey back, and there represent the kings of France and England, his own brother (Sir Gregory Casale) coming here to replace him during his absence. But the death of Gritti and the recent troubles in Hungary are likely to alter these plans. Will take care, however, and watch the movements of the Secretary, that he may, like the other one, be arrested on his return.

Did likewise inform the king of the Romans of a Turkish spy, named Ludovico di Martinengo, who was going to Austria, that he might be arrested and examined. Martinengo was stopped, and when interrogated confessed the truth. Fearing, however, that he might be sentenced to death, he snatched a dagger from one of those present, gave himself four thrusts, and ultimately cut his throat with it. It is a great pity, for this individual might have revealed plenty of useful things, he being a very learned man (*persona muy sabia*) and a comrade of Juan Mida, he who lately went to Spain, under colour of serving the Emperor. Though a friend of Martinengo, and somewhat related to Angoulema (?), he (Soria) is almost certain that he has gone to Spain for the purpose of spying out the

* The copy has "Lucena," which must be a mistake for Lucera. If so, the bishop alluded to is Andrea Matheo Palmeri or Palmieri, formerly bishop of Matera and Accerenza, who died in 1537.

† See above, p. 269.

‡ See above, p. 270.

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Emperor's movements and reporting. This Mida, his deceased friend Martinengo, and another one who went to Genoa for the purpose of joining Barbarossa, are birds of the same feather * It is a great pity that ambassador Figueroa did not seize and question that one [Mida], no doubt the same man whom the Vayvod's secretary left behind him here. Figueroa thought, no doubt, that he had done enough by having his papers seized, as well as the letter of count Abbatis de Villanova, which he (Soria) had already managed to see here [in Venice.] It is evident that the letter was written for the sole purpose of colouring the man's mission ; but in reality the man had a verbal message to deliver, the pith and soul of the whole intrigue.† It appears that when the man returned from his errand, he said to his comrades and to those who had a hand in the intrigue,—among them Lorenzo Gritti, a brother of Luigi and of Giorgio, now here in Venice,—that count Abbatis [de Villanova] was playing a double game with them, and had been the cause of the seizure of the papers, and that they themselves had miraculously escaped from the hands of the Spaniards. Owing to that the Count was one night arrested in his lodgings, and taken to prison by a captain of justice, placed in a barge with his servants, and landed at a port on the coast belonging to the king of the Romans, with precise orders for him not to return here, or to the territory of the Republic, under pain of death.‡ As the man (Martinengo), who committed suicide, declared that he had been sent by the Count, the King considers it advisable to get hold of this one, and therefore he (Soria) has despatched one of his own servants to that effect; indeed, the plot is so well laid that the man will be very lucky if he can escape. He (Soria) is only afraid that this man knows but little of what his comrades are about, and that they employed him because they heard he was acquainted with him (Soria), and would the more easily catch him in their trap. He [Soria], knowing very well what their aim was, dissembled for a time, in order to make sure of them. It will be advisable, therefore, when Angoulême's relative, who is now gone to Spain, makes his appearance at Court, to have him arrested and examined. Surely many important things respecting these people's treacherous proceedings may be learned through him, for he is a man of wit and talent

* "Por que era persona muy sabia y compañero de Juan Mida, que es ido á V. Md que es el que tengo escripto, pariente de Angulema, que tengo por cierto va por espia so color que va por servir á V. Md y este y el que se ha muerto, y el que fue a Genoua para ir á Barbarroja, todos son de una liga."

† "Y fuera gran bien que el embajador Figueroa [h]oviera preso y examinado aquel [hombre], el qual dize que dejó por compañero, paresciendole haber hecho harto con hacerle tomar las letras que llevaba del conde Abbadis de Villanova, las quales havia yo tenido forma de verlas aqui, y sabia que eran por dar color al que las llevaba, pero lo cierto lo llevaba en la lengua."

‡ "Y por esto fue la presa, y los soltaron con firmanças (fianzas?) de representarse, y estar á justicia, y vedaron que no fuesen mas allá las galeaças."

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a friend of Abraym (Ibráhim) Basha, and of Luigi and Giorgio Gritti. As to count Abbatis, he (Soria) has known him for many years. He is a knave and a scoundrel (*tacaño*); at present he has lost the use of his hands and feet through a fit of the gout, and if he has entered into this intrigue, it is merely to get a livelihood through it, for he is very poor. Most likely he knows nothing more of it than what others tell him. Perhaps, after all, in joining the conspiracy against the Emperor, the Count's object has been to do service and sell his information in order to get a reward. However, as he is sure to be taken prisoner sooner or later, we shall know then what the whole gang are about.

Has laid before the Signory a statement of the Emperor's sentiments respecting the last outrage done to the Republic in England. "My master (said Soria to them) can hardly "believe the imprisonment, by the King's orders, of Venetian-"born subjects living in London. He has charged me to "offer his services in this and in any other business that may "turn up." The Doge and Signory were very much pleased at this demonstration; they will, no doubt, write to their ambassador at the Imperial Court to return thanks in their name. What he (Soria) has heard on this subject is this: The king of England having been told that he and his subjects would suffer loss by the arrival in London of the Venetian galleons (*galeazas*), inasmuch as considerable fraud and smuggling was taking place, gave immediate orders for the arrest of several Venetian merchants. They were, however, soon set free, under bail to appear at a court of law, where the case is to be tried. The galleons were prevented from proceeding in their navigation, but it is thought that the King will beg them to return another year, for the trade with Venice is very profitable to him and to his kingdom.

The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) is still suffering from intermittent fever. He has, however, sent his son Ercole post-haste to visit the Pope, and, naturally, to b him accept the compensation in money which he once offered for Modena, and the late Pope refused.

He of Urbino [Francesco Maria della Rovere] has at last married his eldest son [Guidobaldo] to the duchess of Camarino. Fearing lest the new Pope should throw some impediment in the way of that marriage, the Duke decided tc have it consummated at once, and so it was. They write from Rome that pope (Paul) has not been at all pleased at it, the marriage having been made without his permission, both the dukes [of Urbino and Camarino] having been at one time or other vicars of the Church,* and also because it might well be that this Pope intended the duchy of Camarino to become the patrimony of one of his nephews.

The Sophy and the Grand Turk, &c.

* Habiendo sido [ambos à dos] en algun tiempo *vicarios* de la Iglesia. I presume that by "vicarios," *gonfalonieri* is meant.

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Has just heard that the duke of Ferrara [Alfonso d'Este] is dangerously ill; indeed, physicians despair of his life, that being the reason why his son Ercole has not yet departed for Rome.*—Venice, 9 Oct. 1534.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

13 Oct. **97.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*228, No. 59.

The German whom I mentioned in my preceding despatch happens to be one of the counts of Hoy, brother-in-law, and, as I hear, enemy of the king of Sweden. He has already conferred with Cromwell, but has not yet seen this king, owing to which no one here knows what he has come about.

This king having been told that there was some rumour of a future marriage between the infanta (Mary) and the dauphin [of France], sent immediately for the secretary of the French embassy at this court to propose that of his own bastard daughter to the duke of Angoulême.

It is further said that the Admiral of France (Brion) is coming here to promote this latter marriage, and that King Henry has already sent a ship well manned and armed for the passage of the said admiral, giving orders that he should be well feasted and entertained wherever he may land. I have also been told that the charge of the French secretary [who came last] is to the effect that since the king of France has not consented to revoke the edict forbidding commercial intercourse between the two countries, he should at least agree to its suspension for a length of time, that the loud complaints of his people should be silenced until the next session of Parliament, when a remedy would be applied, and a reform introduced in the constitutions and ordinances of this country, of which the king of France and his subjects complain; which constitutions and ordinances having been voted in this present Parliament cannot be discussed and amended except by the members of that body. And on this ground the suspension of the measure has, I am told, been granted.†

This King's worthy councillors flattered themselves that should the present Pope come to die, and a new one be elected in his room, the King's indignation against the Holy See might relent, and that he would return to the obedience of the Church. But when recently the news of the Pope's dangerous illness arrived, and the duke of Norfolk and marquis [of Dorset] said that on the Pope's death they believed that, as a Catholic Prince, the King would have no difficulty in obeying his successor, he answered, "Let no one try to

* An abstract (*relacion*) of this letter may also be found at fol. 52 of the same volume, the 16th of the Bergenroth collection.

† "Les quelles constitutions et ordonnances pour auoir este passees par le dit parlement, ne se pouvoient traicter sy non par les mesmes, sur le quel espoir a este obtenue la dite surseance."

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" persuade me, or advise such a step, for, whoever is elected " Pope, I shall take no more account of him than of any " priest in this my kingdom."

Two days ago letters came from Gregory de Casal, announcing His Holiness' death, at which both the King and Cromwell have been delighted. The latter especially cannot refrain from saying in public, to all those he meets, that "at last that great Devil was dead;" and it seems as if he was sorry not to be able to give that Pope a still worse appellation.

The wife of Mr. de Rochefort has lately been exiled from Court, owing to her having joined in a conspiracy to devise the means of sending away, through quarrelling (*fasherie*) or otherwise, the young lady to whom the King is now attached. As the credit of this latter is on the increase, and that of the King's mistress on the wane, she is visibly losing part of her pride and vainglory. The lady in question has lately sent a message to the Princess, telling her to take good heart; that her tribulations will come to an end much sooner than she expected; and to be assured that, should the opportunity occur, she will show herself her true friend and devoted servant.

The proclamation issued some days ago at this court, forbidding the circulation of news about Ireland, was for the purpose of concealing from the people the fact that Lord Kildare had actually under him 1,500 men, who had actually deserted the King's banner. It is said that the [lieutenant] governor, Mr. de Scheventon (Skeffington), had gone on board with all his men, and was on the point of sailing. But, if I am to believe what people here say about him, he would be right glad if he were prevented by foul weather from crossing; for he has written to his friends in this city that if he ever lands in Ireland he considers himself as good as lost.—London, 13 Oct., 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Cha uys."

French. Original in cipher. pp. 2.

13 Oct. **98.** ACEVES; his report to the HIGH COMMANDER from ROME.

S. E., L. 861, f. 13. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 56.

Count Cifuentes, the ambassador, has, ever since the Pope's last illness, till the election of the new Pope, maintained 500 men under arms.

Sunday, the 11th inst., after dinner, the cardinals being shut up in conclave, 150 Spanish hackbutiers coming from Sicily in a state of mutiny,—perhaps, too, dismissed from the Imperial service,—entered Rome by the gate of St. Peter, traversed this city in full order, and, preceded by their drummers, came as far as the Imperial embassy. The cardinals having been informed of the fact, sent a message to the Count to make the Spaniards go away, which they actually did on the ensuing day, after receiving some money on account of their pay. They took the road to Lombardy.

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About that time also the Romans themselves, being at variance with certain merchants of this city, known by the name of the "Strozzi" (*los Estrozis*), assembled in number of upwards of 2,000, for the purpose of pulling down and setting fire to the houses of those bankers; which they would have done had not the cardinals, when they heard of it, sent a message to the Count [of Cifuentes], who not only was able to stop the assailants, but succeeded in having the matter compromised, and placed in the hands of two of their number, besides Ascanio Colonna and the count of Anguillara.*

The Count, moreover, has since managed to reconcile cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici and Ascanio [Colonna], who were by no means on good terms with each other.

In the Pope's election the Count behaved with so much prudence and sagacity, and exerted his influence in such a manner, that nobody could think he was actually working for Farnese's election, as other ambassadors have done;† and yet, as he knew that by promoting it he was carrying out the Emperor's views on the subject, he has favoured it as much as was in his power.

The new Pope has promised to hold a Council within a short period of time; he seems a very good man in other respects. The election was made canonically; the cardinals being shut up in conclave from Sunday night, the 11th, until the morning of Tuesday, the 13th.

Whilst the Count was thus occupied, lic^t^ Figueroa arrived from Naples, sent by the Viceroy, at which the former is much hurt.

All disputes and matters of discord between the Italian potentates are suspended for a time, if not completely settled, with the single exception, perhaps, of the quarrel between the duke Alessandro de' Medici and the duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere). The former complains that the "fuorusciti" of Florence find shelter in the state of the latter, whilst the Duke says that Medici is urging the people of Perosa (Perugia) to invade him. The Florentine "fuorusciti" wish to return home, and offer to give security that they will not interfere in politics; the duke Alessandro, on the other hand, wants some one to represent the Emperor at Florence.‡

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* The count of Anguillara (Francesco Cibo) was an Orsino.

† "Que no pareciendo que V. M^d^ nonbrava señaladamente á Fernés, como otros embaxadores an echo (han hecho), conociendo que V. M^d^ holgaria que asi se hiziesse."

‡ The following notes in Covos' hand are on the margin; viz., in front of the first paragraph: "Provision is being made." Of the second: "The Count did quite right. Let Antonio [de Leyva?] be informed of this." Of the third: "An answer to the Count is being prepared." Of the fourth: "Full "satisfaction has already been sent." "He (Azeves) is to try and ascertain "what truth there is in the report, in order to be ready and prepared on the "arrival of Carniseca."

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Since Clement's death a discovery has been made. It appears that during the conference of Marseilles king Francis promised to give one of his daughters in marriage to the duke Alessandro on condition that he (Clement) would help him to get Milan. Although Carniseca will, no doubt, report on this, it is desirable that the Emperor should know.

Begs for a reward (*albricias*) for the good news he has brought to Rome.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

16 Oct. **99.** CONSULTA of the EMPEROR'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

S. E., L. 1458, ff. 46–8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 58.

The better to understand what steps must be taken for the security of Italy after the Pope's death, the following considerations have been put forward:—

1stly. That by the treaty of Bologna of the 27th Dec. 1529, between pope Clement, Your Majesty, Venice, and the duke of Milan—the king of the Romans being also included therein as principal contractor—a league and confederacy was made for the defence of Naples, Milan, and Venice, more especially against any Christian princes attempting to invade Italy.

His Holiness, however, only contracted as regards his own dignity and Papal authority, without any express mention being made in the document of the Holy Apostolic See, or of the lands of the Church, except, perhaps, Cervia and Ravenna, which the Venetians promised to restore, as they afterwards did, though reserving their right to them, so that in fact pope Clement promised nothing specifically, either for the particular or for the general defensive league.

By the other defensive league, made at Bologna on the 26th of February 1533, His Holiness treated for the estates of the Church as well as for that of Florence. His

* "Suplico a vr̃a majestad que las albricias de tan buena nueva como he "traido no se me quiten." As the report is undated it is not easy to say whether it was written at Rome, or on the writer's return to Spain.

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Imperial Majesty did the same for the kingdom of Naples, and all the other Italian potentates for their own respective dominions, it being expressly stipulated by all the contracting parties that not only should the Venetians be included in the new treaty, but that the league of 1529 should remain in full force. The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), notwithstanding his differences with pope Clement, was also included in the league, for a term of 18 months, on condition that neither the Pope nor he should, within that period, innovate in any way, and that if at the expiration of the 18 months the Pope was unwilling to prorogue, the Duke could remain in or out of the league, as he thought best.

Now it is to be considered whether the two above-named treaties of defensive league are to remain in force and vigour, notwithstanding the demise of one of the chief contracting parties (pope Clement), or whether some modification should be introduced therein, or a new treaty made, inasmuch as, by the first, pope Clement himself promised nothing specifically for the defence of Naples, Venice, or Milan, and in the second, it was expressly stipulated that the defensive league was to be lasting.

From this might be inferred that by the letter of the second treaty the Holy Apostolic See is bound to the general league and confederacy therein specified; the more so, that it has since recovered through it Cervia and Ravenna, and that if the Pope does not observe the treaty in all its parts, this may give the Venetians cause to attempt force, without having recourse to the ways of justice, as stipulated in the first treaty.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind, that both treaties

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might be taken strictly and understood as they are; for in the first no mention is made of the Holy Apostolic See, and those words (*a league everlasting*) cannot be applied to the Holy Father for more than his lifetime, since he made the treaty for himself. And with regard to the second, though in reality it refers to the Holy Apostolic See and to its advantage, yet a ratification and approval would have been required, which have not been forthcoming. Besides, it is a well-known fact that the Venetians would never expressly confirm this second treaty, but have, on the contrary, strongly adhered to the first, which, as far as the Holy Father himself is concerned, contained only a general promise for the defence of Italy; and also that by the second treaty the duke of Ferrara has the option of remaining in or out of the league, since His Holiness [Clement VII.] himself did not consent to the prorogation of the 18 months, which expired during his life-time. To this must be added that the command in chief of the league was committed to Antonio de Leyva, with the assistance of two commissaries, one from the Pope, the other from Your Majesty. Pope Clement being dead, the powers of Abbé del Negro (Nero), his commissary, have naturally ceased, and therefore Leyva will have his hands tied without being able to do anything, and, if he does, will not be obeyed.

For the above considerations it is very important to induce the future Pope to confirm and ratify in the name of the Apostolic See the two said treaties, and especially the latter one for the defensive league.

In this manner we shall be able to ascertain what the present Pope's views are; the approbation by him

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of both the treaties of league must be promoted, the better to bind him and the other potentates on this occasion. The threatening movements of Barbarossa, and likewise of the Venetians—who must already have experienced the good accruing to them from the peace and tranquillity of Italy, as well as the securities the latter have from Your Imperial Majesty—are in favour of that measure, so that, considering the state in which the Turk now is, at war with the Sophy, it is highly important to obtain the prorogation, and, if possible, also the extension, of the said two treaties, for the security of Italy.

In case of this last expedient being adopted, it is to be considered whether our action ought to be postponed till after the creation of a new Pope, and until we know what Mr. de Nassau has negotiated [in France], so as to have a better chance of carrying our aim, in view of the new Pope's inclinations and politics, or the necessity that may arise; or whether we ought to proceed at once, inasmuch as in any case, and whoever may be the future Pope, whatever treaty may be made with France,— if it can at all be secured—it will be convenient, nay highly advantageous, to obtain immediately the said approval and ratification of the league by the new Pope and the Venetians. Indeed, it will be more justifiable under present circumstances, and during the present uncertainty of election, although, on the other hand, should the Most Christian King come to treat, he might be offended at our having forestalled him in that particular.*

Let it be done immediately, and as soon as possible, that the despatch may be ready for the departure of Juan Pedro.

* "O sy sera mejor proveerlo desde agora considerando que en qualquier caso, sea qualquier que fuere papa, y en cualquier tractado que se haga con francia, sy se podra parvenir á ello, todavia parece no solo conveniente mas necessario procurar luego esto, y tanto mas justificado sera quanto sera cometido desde agora en esta incertitud de futuro pontifice, y assi mismo para con el rey Christianissimo, el qual veniendo á tractar ó allegandose aparentemente la cosa en estos terminos se podria sentir por manera de desconfianza por començarse entonces á procurar y proseguir esto."

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This to be entrusted to Leyva, explaining to him the reasons for holding both treaties to be valid; and a letter to be prepared for Lope de Soria accordingly.

If, considering the importance of this affair, and of making people feel the expediency and necessity of the case, a person from this court should be sent to Italy for this express purpose; or whether it will be sufficient to intrust the negotiation to Antonio de Leyva as captain general of the last league, under the plea, nay the belief, that the prorogation shall be granted, and that count Cifuentes with the Apostolic See, and Lope de Soria, with the Venetians, will do their duty, and at the same time keep up a good understanding with the said Antonio de Leyva. Letters of credence on this matter should be made out in favour of those ambassadors, as well as of those persons whom Antonio de Leyva might appoint to go to the duke Alessandro at Florence, as well as to the duke Ferrara and others included in the last treaty of League.

Whether it would be expedient to insist that the Venetians, on renewing the said league and treaty, should agree to co-operate in the general defence of Italy, since by the treaty of the year '29, they only engaged to defend Naples and Milan; and also insist upon the said defensive alliance being understood to apply equally to Infidels and Christians—which last they (the Venetians) had refused to grant by the first treaty (*el precedente*)—in consideration of what has since occurred with Barbarossa's fleet, and the strait (*necessidad*) in which the Turk now finds himself in his wars with the Sophy; or whether it will be better, giving the Imperial ambassador, who resides in Venice, minute and timely notice, to leave it to his discretion, he being

Let it be so.

* "Sy se deberá con esta occassion persistir ó á lo menos hablar bien expressamente á los dichos venecianos para que renovandose la dicha liga y tractado quisiesen contribuir á la general deffensa de la dicha Italia, por tano que el tractado del año de xxix. los constriñe solamente á la defension de Napoles y Milan, y assimismo que la dicha deffension sea contra todos, assi

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such a prudent and wise person, to declare to the Venetians the foregoing points, and persuade and influence them according as the affairs of the Turk may be viewed in Venice, entrusting to him the whole negotiation, that he may act as he thinks best.

18 Oct. **100.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Rom.*, L. 861, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, ff. 64, 68.

Let the Count be thanked for all he has done. His Majesty is now sending Mr. de Vaury to offer congratulations and so forth. Vaury will take besides a set of instructions which the ambassador must follow implicitly.

To look at the instructions.

Wrote on the 13th by Francisco de Acebes,* reporting on the Pope's election. Attended principally to three things: 1stly, to obey His Majesty's commands; 2ndly, to see that no party (*apasionado*) Pope should be elected, which the French tried to compass; and, 3rdly, that among the candidates for the Papacy that one should be elected who seemed least unfitting for the Apostolic See.† This was done throughout, and though he (Sylva) had no instructions respecting the person to be preferred, the Imperial influence was used, and the election "nemine discrepante" fell on cardinal Farnese, who is not only grateful, but has already offered to serve the Emperor in all his personal affairs, and especially in those concerning the welfare of Christendom. Among other things, he said to him (Sylva) that he had been the first to move in conclave that a General Council should be held, and that he was determined to have it assembled, in order that the peace and welfare of Christendom might be thereby ensured, so as to resist the Turks, &c. His (Sylva's) answer was, that it was

fieles como no christianos, lo qual ellos no quissieron tractar por la precedente, attento lo que ha sobrevenido de la armada de Barbaroxa y la necessidad en que, como arriba se dice, se halla el Turco contra el Sophi, ó si sera mejor advirtiendo bien expressamente y á la larga al dicho embaxador que reside en Venecia, remitirlo á su arbitrio y discrecion," &c.

* The name of this individual is variously written, Acebe, Aceves, &c. See above, No. 98, p. 280.

† "La otra que se biziesse [papa] el de menos inconvenientes para la Sede Apostolica."

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urgent to fit out the fleet against Barbarossa, and fulfil the promises made by his predecessor. Farnese replied that he would, but that there was no money just now in the treasury, for pope Clement had left none. He (Sylva) hears that some has since been found in the Castle. Has been told so in secret, but cannot say whether the report be true or not. Has not yet had occasion to speak with him respecting Dr. Andruvino's* report about the tithes of Naples and Sicily, &c.

Let the ambassador suspend all proceedings in what concerns Naples and Sicily, but not so with regard to the Spanish clergy.

He has done well in this.

Nor has he (Sylva) applied for the "executoriales" until the Emperor decide what is to be done in the English affair.

Has spoken to the cardinals of Trent and Saltzburg, and requested them to do all they can in Germany to promote the meeting of a Council. They have promised to do so.

Most people think that Farnese will make a good Pope. Even if he were not, his age is such that he cannot do much harm. He has sent word to his son not to come to Rome for the present.

Encloses a letter from the College of Cardinals in answer to that which the Emperor wrote to them respecting this late election.

These two the ambassadors ought to win over.

Jacobacis has been appointed Datary, and the bishop of Rimini (Ascanio Parisani) the Pope's "mastro di Casa."

Has not yet said a word respecting the Italian league. If this present Pope only fulfils his promise there will be no need of it; for at the time that his predecessor, Clement, used to say that he could not make the Christian Princes agree, this new one (Paul) declared that he himself would do it without much difficulty.

He will do well.

Intends, nevertheless, to ask for the deposit at Milan of the 4,000

* Thus in the copy: Andrea Arduino?

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ducats as help to the Swiss Catholic cantons, for it is a thing that concerns the Faith.

The coronation of the new Pope will, it is said, take place next week in St. Peter's. The enclosed letter, with a few lines in his own hand, is from him.

Nothing more has reached us here.

Encloses copy of a letter from the king of the Romans to the cardinal of Trent.

Whether the signory of Florence ought not to be pressed to contribute expressly and directly towards the League with a proportionate sum of money over and above that which the Holy See may ultimately choose to give, inasmuch as, owing to pope Clement's dissimulation, and his wish to conciliate France, and promote the intercourse of trade, the extreme poverty of the Florentines in consequence of the last war and siege being also alleged,—that Signory was intentionally left out. Whether the same thing ought not to be done with regard to the Luquese; for, after all, the first reason alleged might create envy and jealousy among other towns and republics of Italy; besides which, it is a notorious fact that the city of Florence, whatever may be said to the contrary, has, in a great measure recovered its losses, and is at present one of the richest and most flourishing cities in all Italy.

Let Antonio de Leyva and count Cifuentes look out for some fit person to go thither, and persuade the Florentines to deposit a sum of money towards the 25,000 ducats, as others have done. As to the monthly quota to be paid by them in case of war, that, of course, cannot be at present determined, but must be proportionate to what other parties in the League will have to pay.

As it is not known who will be Pope, nor what will be his way of thinking on this matter, and as it might happen that he delayed entering into the League, and in the meantime some urgency might occur, it would be advisable to solicit at once and procure the adhesion of His Holiness and others to the League.

Should His Holiness refuse to negotiate about the League, or try to delay it—which would be unreasonable, especially with regard to other kings and princes—it is a matter for consideration whether we ought still to insist upon the said league being renewed between the rest of the Italian princes and powers, thus leaving the Pope the option of joining it afterwards, and contributing towards it on account

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of the estate of the Church, as previously stipulated.

Whether it would not be expedient that against the renewal of the said league all Italian princes should assemble somewhere or send thither their ambassadors to discuss the terms thereof; or whether it will be preferable to obtain from each and every one of them individually the ratification of the said league, thus gaining time, and avoiding the confusion, debate, and delays consequent on such meetings; for, besides the improbability of the princes being induced to take engagements beyond those stipulated in the two former treaties, it will be almost indispensable to negotiate privately with the Venetians, taking as a basis the treaty of 1529. This will then constitute a particular negotiation with them; and if Venice chooses to conform with the terms of the last League, the thing can easily be done, and we can make a separate treaty with them. Most likely they will prefer this latter method to that of an assembly; perhaps also they may wish that the negotiation with them remain secret until seasonable time.

With regard to the help and assistance against Barbarroja, though all Italy is equally interested in it, it appears that the princes and powers—especially those whose dominions are farthest from the coast—will not contribute, or take further engagements than those stipulated in the treaty of League; owing to which it is well worthy of consideration to determine whether all this had not better be the subject of a special negotiation, as it was formerly in the days of the last Pope.

Whether any changes ought to be introduced in the paragraph relating to the duke of Savoy

It may be done so with regard to the Duke and others, who may be in the same case. The term, of course, to be prorogued.

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(Carlo), and whether a fresh term ought to be appointed for him to join the League, the prorogation of which might be used according to circumstances, &c.

In case of the new Pope, whoever he may be, refusing to join the League, what is to be done respecting Antonio de Leyva and his office of captain-general of the said League, with the intervention of a Papal commissary? Whether an agreement is to be made with the confederates to the effect that, pending such refusal or delay on the part of the future Pope in joining the League, the said Antonio de Leyva be authorised to act in union with the papal commissary in all matters concerning the same, as otherwise that captain would have no powers to act individually; and, besides that, it is to be presumed that, were it not for considerations due to the last Pope—who was the principal promotor of that same league—the confederates would have been glad that the charge now rested entirely with Leyva without the assistance and co-operation of a Papal commissary.*

Let the confederated powers be sounded as to this; and since it has been hinted above that it would be preferable that the powers, or their agents, did not meet for such a purpose, it is urgent to write to Leyva to attend to it, and take care that the terms agreed to by the Florentines, as well as the ratification by the other powers, be well defined and worded (*clausulada*), especially if he (Leyva) sees that the future Pope or the Holy See refuse to approve and ratify, or otherwise delay joining the League. He must also consider at what time the duke of Savoy will be able to join, and, above all, resolve when, how, and in what manner he is to join the League, since there has already been some contradiction on that point, especially on the part of His Holiness, on account of Novi and the Papal interests in that quarter.†

The last consideration is, whether, in consequence of late events and movements and occupations of territory in Italy, any additional clause should be introduced, or any change made in the letter of the last treaty of defensive league; or whether it ought to remain as it is, for fear of delay, and, perhaps, also of the breaking up of the negotiations.

* Y tambien quanto al tiempo para el duque de Saboya, que él pueda entrar y en todo caso que sea y quede la dicha liga valedera y que tambien en todo caso el dicho Antonio de Leiva pueda, no embargante que no aya otro comissario del Pontifice, hazer lo que vera convenir, añadiendo lo demas que paresciere por quitar todo embaraço en esto."

† "Pues que paresce que ha havido contradiccion por parte de Su Santidad, aunque solamente en lo que toca á lo de Novi por su enteresse particular, lo mejor paresce que se procure que se ratifique y no se entienda en otra cosa por no causar empedimento."

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Though Your Majesty must know by this time the substance of the letter relating to Gritti and his difficult position, I yet imagine that I ought to enclose it.

The duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) has sent me a message by his agent here [at Rome], with a request that I should transmit it to Your Majesty, namely, that he has concerted a marriage between his son [Guidobaldo] and the daughter of the duchess of Camarino (Giulia), and that in order to prevent obstacles the marriage had already been accomplished and consummated. He is to send soon some one to take possession of the duchy. I have told him that Your Majesty would rejoice at any increase of honour and property accruing to his house. He made very large offers; placed that estate and everything he possessed at Your Majesty's disposal, and said he would serve you well. The Duke's agent, who brought his message, said that this Pope was not at all pleased at the marriage,* for he had sent a brief to the dowager duchess [of Camarino], the mother, bidding her suspend any negotiations for her daughter's marriage.—Rome, 18 Oct. 1534.

Signed: "El conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original pp. .

18 Oct. **101.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. Rom., 1458, f. 53.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 71.

Giovan Paolo de Cheri [da Ceri], son of Renzo da Ceri, presses for an answer respecting his offers and those of his father. The latter, he says, has an estate in France, which is worth 10,000 fr. a year, besides his salary amounting to 12,000 fr. This sum of 22,000 fr. his father (Renzo) is willing to exchange for some ecclesiastical benefice for one

* Respecting the dowager duchess Caterina Cibo, widow of Giovan Maria Varana, and their daughter Giulia, *see* vol. iv. part ii. pp. 530. Camarino being one of the richest and most important fiefs of the Church, both Clement and Paul, his successor, were anxious to look out for a suitable husband for the young duchess. At one time she was promised to the prince of Sulmona, son of Charles de Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples.

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of his sons, whom he would immediately send to Spain, and for a company of 100 men-at-arms for himself, on the same terms on which he holds it at present. As to Giovan Paolo he says he wants nothing for himself until he has by his services deserved reward.

Will send by the first post the detailed account of the 2,000 ducats spent in raising and keeping a body of infantry. Also a letter from this new Pope, with two lines in his own hand, advising his election to the Pontificate, and returning grateful thanks for the good-will shown by the Emperor and his ministers, expressing his wishes for the peace and welfare of Christendom, and referring entirely to what he himself said to him (Sylva) and to cardinals Trent and Saltzburg.

Before the death of the last Pope was announced, cardinal Ibrea wrote offering his services, and saying he was ready to vote for whomsoever the Emperor should name.

The last news from England is that the King's anger against the Queen had somewhat subsided. He had sent for her chief steward, and seemed inclined to allow her servants to go back. The cause of this change was supposed to be certain words which the Emperor had spoken to the English ambassador at his court, and the manner of his treatment, which, it was believed, had profited much, and would profit more than any other means employed. That Anne Boulans (Boleyn) was much disliked by the English nobility, owing to her proud bearing and that of her brother and relatives, and that this was also the cause the King no longer loved her as before. The King, moreover, was paying his court to another lady, and several lords in the kingdom were helping him [in his courtship] that they might separate him from Anne's company.

I wrote to the Emperor about the duke of Urbino [Francisco Maria della Rovere] having married his son [Guidobaldo] to the daughter of the duchess of Camarino (Giulia);—a marriage which, I may assure Your Lordship, has not been to His Holiness' taste. I am told that, like his predecessor (Clement), this Pope had previously written a letter to the dowager duchess (Caterina), forbidding her to marry her daughter without the permission of the Holy See; but the fact is that soon after Clement's decease the Duke had the marriage effected at once. He sent me word the other day that he was going to take due possession of the duchy for his son [Guidobaldo], and would place it and his other estates at the Emperor's disposal. Told him that all Imperialists rejoiced at the increase of his property.

Signed: "El Conde Alferez."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

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24 Oct. **102.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*228, No. 61.

Having lately received a message from the Princess to the effect that the King's mistress was in secret treaty with some of the household to cause her all manner of annoyances or bodily hurt, I made a pretence to go to Cromwell, and, coming to the subject of the Princess, took the opportunity of remonstrating against the ill-treatment to which she was subjected, requesting him, in the name of that affection which he once said to me he entertained towards her, and for the preservation and increase of the peace and amity between Your Majesty and his master, to prevent any injury or offence in that quarter, and not oblige the Princess to follow the King's bastard daughter wherever she went, as well as renounce her own legitimacy, and the title, which was her own. Such treatment, I said, could in nowise promote the King's views, whatever they might be; it might, on the contrary, engender some dangerous disease, at which, I was sure, the King, naturally kind and virtuous, would be highly displeased, since the loss of such a pearl as his daughter, as well as of his own reputation before the world, could not but affect him considerably.

Cromwell's answer was that certainly, as far as he himself was concerned, he had fulfilled the promise he once made me of attending with all the care in his power to the Princess' comforts, most particularly since he had spoken to her (he has only seen her once that I know of), owing to the great gifts of grace and nature which he had found in her. *He had, he said, express orders from the King, his master, to look to the Princess' comforts, and see that she was well treated, and if it were found that any of the people in the household had been rude, or not done his duty towards her, he should be punished forthwith.* He added that in future he should have no difficulty in having her respectfully treated, considering the paternal affection which the King bore her, and of which, notwithstanding all appearances, he (Cromwell) was as persuaded as of that which the King bore him,* which was notorious and manifest enough. Well might Cromwell boast of that; for certainly the credit and authority which he enjoys with this King just now is really incredible, as great indeed as the Cardinal (Wolsey) ever enjoyed, besides which he is daily receiving fresh bounties from him.

True it is (continued Cromwell) that the King has occasionally shown displeasure at the Princess having obstinately resisted his will in what concerns the legitimacy of this, his second marriage;† but, nevertheless, his paternal affection is still the same that it was, so much so that for some time past

* "De la quelle, non obstant toutes façons de fere, yl en estoit aussy asseure que de celle que le roy luy portoit."

† "Il estoit vray que le roy luy avoit monstre quelque façon de fere a cause quelle avoit tousjours repugné a sa voulente en ce que concerne la legitimite de ce second marriage," &c.

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he has openly declared to some of his Privy Councillors—who, imagining they were doing pleasure to the Lady [Anne], put forward certain measures and plans to the Princess' great disadvantage—that he (the King) would never give his consent to them. *Indeed it seemed as if, the better to prove his assertion, Cromwell wished to imply that he was one of those councillors who had advised on the occasion, alleging as an excuse that servants very often proposed measures which they considered agreeable or beneficial to their masters with a view to show their devotion, and also to ascertain their will and inclinations.** In this instance, however, the King had so discountenanced the talebearers that there was no one at Court, neither the Lady nor any other person, who dared now speak unfavourably of the Princess.†

After discoursing on other topics Cromwell went on to say that in order to raise a corner of the veil, and let me, as it were, into the secret of the King's conduct, he would tell me a fact which very few, if any, were cognisant of; namely, that not only did the King cherish the Princess, his daughter, immensely, but he loved her 100 times more than his last born, and that he would ere long give to the world an evident proof of the great affection he bore her; as he (Cromwell) would shortly have occasion to declare to me after reporting to the King my official communication on the subject;—*which words in Cromwell's mouth seemed to imply, if I am not mistaken, that the King is actually thinking of having her married in some princely quarter,* and that, in order to maintain the King's good-will, and increase the friendship and amity between Your Majesty and the King, his master, he and I ought to do everything in our power to soften and mend all matters relating to her, if it were only for some little time to come. *He had no doubt (Cromwell said) that in time everything would be set to rights,—wishing thereby to hint that there was some appearance of the King changing his love. This last surmise Cromwell was well capable of making, though he might think otherwise, just in order to amuse people.*‡

After this Cromwell began to say that the King, his master, had news from France and Spain, as well as from Scotland and Ireland, purporting that Your Majesty had despatched ambassadors and agents to the aforesaid countries with a view to excite and inflame the bad passions of the people, and foster rebellion and troubles in the latter, principally

* "Allegant por excuse que les serviteurs souvent mectoint en auant pluseurs [choses] pour faire du bon varlet, que aussy pour assentir (?) les volontes du maistre et son inclination."

† "Mais que le dit roy les avoit rabroue (rebrousse) de sorte quil ny avoit ne dame ne autre personne qui fust ouse de tenir propos desavantageux et desfavourable a la princesse."

‡ "Et quil ne doubtoit que le temps bien tost remedieroit, au surplus veuillant a mon advis innuyr quil y avoit quelque apparance que ce roy deut changer de fantaisie, ce que le dit Cremuel est bien homme de vouloir donner [a] entendre, ores quil pensat autrement, pour amuser le monde."

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with a view to obtain the sovereignty thereof. Cromwell then told me one by one the names and surnames of the English ambassadors, both in France and in Scotland, who had made the said report. Notwithstanding which, he (Cromwell) asserted that he had always maintained against the King himself and the Privy Councillors his colleagues that the news was untrue, *suggesting that such reports might well have originated in people jealous of the good friendship existing between Your Majesty and the King, his master,—meaning, no doubt, the French.* "It is true (he added) that, besides the news which the King has received from Scotland, I myself within the last few days have had private letters from a councillor of king James, stating that the Emperor's agent is still in that country. But, in my opinion, there is no fear of anything being negotiated or undertaken against the existing treaties; for, at the end of his letter, the Scotchman asks me to intercede with the King to allow ships here in England to load a quantity of grain for Scotland. The letter itself I have shown to the King, *who, after hearing it read, exclaimed, "Those Scotchmen do not forget their usual tactics; they make their profit out of all things; they want now to frighten me in order to obtain permission to import grain."* Cromwell further alleged, as a proof of his own incredulity as to the reports circulated, that it was unlikely that Your Majesty, lord of so many countries and kingdoms so vast and so rich, would think of so insignificant and poor an island as Ireland was. Nor was it to be supposed (added Cromwell) that for such a small thing as that you would undertake to cause annoyance to the King, his master, considering that your very mighty power gave you plenty of other means and opportunities, if so inclined, to commence war with greater honour and profit to yourself. It could not enter his head (he said), in view of the good treatment which Englishmen in general received in Your Majesty's dominions by your express commands—barring some slight annoyance and vexation caused by the Inquisition to some of this King's subjects*—that Your Majesty could in anywise owe a grudge to England and to the English, especially if the very cordial, benevolent, and amiable words spoken by you to his ambassador were taken into account. Indeed, there was no complaint to make on this head, inasmuch as the person then accredited to Your Majesty's Court, and now residing in England,† had often borne testimony to the graciousness and courtesy with which both you and Mr. de Grandvelle, as well as Monseigneur de Nassau (now in France, and then at the Imperial Court), had received him whenever he had applied for an audience. *Nothing more was said*

* "Ce na este quelque vexation que linquisition a faict a quelqung des leurs."

† At this time, that is, in 1532, Henry's ambassador in Spain was still Thomas Elyot, whose return to London in June is recorded by Chapuys, vol. iv. part ii. p. 453.

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concerning Monseigneur de Nassau, of whom I believe Cromwell spoke incidentally, and by way of coupling him with the other two, *as if he did not care where the Count was actually residing, whether in France or in Your Majesty's Court.**

My answer was short and concise, so as to leave room for a future conference after Cromwell had seen the King and returned to London, it being then agreed between us that the subject should be again discussed. I failed not, however, to praise and commend the affection and esteem which he seemed to entertain for the Princess, and his wish for the preservation and increase of the mutual friendship; begging him to persevere in so laudable a path, and reminding him at the same time of the happiness and tranquillity of mind, as well as fame and glory, likely to fall to his lot, if he were the means of arranging matters satisfactorily, as I had told him on former occasions. His reply was, that it would certainly not be his fault if the Princess' affairs did not end well; and that, with respect to the preservation of friendship between the two courts, his idea was that it could hardly be more reciprocal and firm than it had been and was still. True it was that the King, his master, had occasionally complained of the suit which Your Majesty had instituted against him at Rome, but he (Cromwell) had fully shown that Your Majesty could not help stirring in favour of Queen Katharine, bound as she was to you by the bonds of consanguinity and royal rank; and that, considering the King, his master, if in your Majesty's place, might have acted as you did there was no fear of his now taking in bad part your interference in the affairs of so close a relative. He himself had so strongly and so often inculcated that reasoning upon the King, that, in his opinion, no cause now remained for disagreement between Your Majesty and his master, save perhaps the affair of these two good ladies; to remedy which, as he had signified to me, it was needful that we both should agree upon a satisfactory settlement of all complaints, and the knitting of that lasting friendship which might otherwise be endangered. *Cromwell ended by saying in passing that it was perfectly true that great union and friendship existed now between France and England, but that I could guess the cause of it.* He did not say more on this subject. Your Majesty, by your great wisdom, will be able to judge what Cromwell's last words meant.

The conversation ended by Master Cromwell telling me that he had positive orders from the King himself to attend to all and each of the Queen's wants, and that he had on that

* "Et pareillement de monseigneur de Nassault (que presentement estoit en france) du temps quil estoit en court de vostre maieste. Il ne me dit autre parolle de monseigneur de Nassau, et croy quil en parla incidemment tout exprez pour faire du bon compaignon [aux autres] comme celuy que peu se soucioit quil fut en france."

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very day furnished 4,000 ducats for the expenses of her household. I must, however, observe that on the previous day Cromwell had held this very language to one of my secretaries, whom he questioned as to whether he was one of those who had gone to the Queen's residence, when I myself attempted to visit her. Cromwell, however, had reason to repent his having put such a question; for my man disguised so well the place where the Queen was, and the treatment made to her, that Cromwell was evidently thrown off the track (*piste*).* I gave him to understand that I had no wish whatever to enter into such a conversation or discuss the Queen's treatment, presuming that the King, his master, out of his magnanimity, virtue, and natural kindness, would effectually provide for all her wants, as justice and the peculiarity of her case required, more especially as his ambassador at Your Majesty's court had lately given some such assurances in his name. "For this reason (said I to "Cromwell) have I avoided, as much as possible, to touch "on the subject; but since you have been the first to allude "to it, and I know by experience how desirous you are that "people should speak to you openly and in a straightforward "manner, I am ready to tell you part of my mind on the "subject." I then told him that my information was that, far from having all her wants supplied, the Queen was poorly treated, for she had not a farthing to dispose of; which was contrary to the statement made before Parliament, that a larger income was spent upon her now than she had in former times. I granted that large sums had been paid to those about her person; but, as the Queen herself remarked, the money was not spent on her household servants, but on her guardians and keepers, as it were. Except four or five of the former, she had no one about her person. As to her old servants, some of whom had come from Spain with her, and to whom she was bound to pay pensions for their maintenance, they had all been dismissed from her service, and she had no money to give them, not even in charity. In the last two years she had had only two new dresses, &c. Cromwell's answer was that it was in the Queen's power to have as much money and as many dresses as she chose: she had only to apply for them, and send him word, and every provision would be made. Cromwell, however, can safely make such offers, knowing, as he well knows, that she will never ask for anything, nor will she either receive what is sent to her under the address of "Old Princess Dowager," which is the title they now give her. Though it must be said that whenever Cromwell happens to name

* "Les quels propoz yl avoit tenu le iour devant a ung mien homme, le quel yl ynterrogait sil avoit este de ceulx questoint alle iusques la ou estoit la royne, quant ie la voulu aller veoer; mais yl se repentyt bien des dites interrogations, car mon dit homme lui despista si fort le lieu ou elle estoit et le trayttemant qui luy estoit faict quil nestoit possible."

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her in my presence, he does it with a certain courtly civility,—making his excuses if, by the King's command, and the order of Parliament, he is obliged to designate the mother by the title of "Princess Dowager," and the daughter by the name of "Madame Marie," which excuse he never fails to make whenever he mentions the Queen and Princess to me. My reply was that I would not for the world that the King, his master, the Queen, or even Your Majesty, should know that I had mixed myself up with such affairs; for, in the first place, Your Majesty would be displeased at my interference if I did not let you know first; Cromwell himself might make the necessary provision without importuning any one else; besides that, the King, his master, might, perhaps, take my interference as a sort of reproach; the Queen might also think that, speaking as I did, without her consent, and mentioning the indigence in which she lived, it might be supposed that I spoke at her instigation, and in a tone of reproach to those upon whom she depended. I then added under the same protest that it seemed to me very strange, as it seemed to every one else, that the Queen's jewels should have been taken from her to decorate the King's other wife. Indeed, the King could very well guess what reverence and veneration his Queen had for him, since she bore the insult so patiently without saying a word, and not minding what the world might say of her; in fact, that I really believed she would rather die than have to open her mouth to utter a complaint, These arguments of mine Cromwell knew not how to answer. except by owning that reason was entirely on my side. After some small talk on other unimportant matters, I left the room, promising to hold another conference with him on his next return from Court.

Though Cromwell has assured me of the good-will which the King bears his daughter, the Princess, yet, putting aside other conjectures and warnings, I should scarcely have attached faith to his protestations, had there not been some evidence of their truth; for, in reality, the King gave; some time before, orders that she should be well treated; and on the Wednesday before her departure from Mur (More), she had been visited by almost all the gentlemen and ladies of the Court, however annoyed the Lady (Anne) might feel at it. The day before yesterday, being at Richmond with the King's little daughter (*la petite garce*), there came the Lady, Anne herself, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and others, and by a party of ladies, on pretence of visiting her own daughter, but in reality to see and salute the Princess,—a great novelty no doubt.* The Princess, however, would not

* "Avant hier jeudy estant a Richemont avec la petite garce la vint la dame pour voer sa dite fille, accompagnee des deux ducs de Norphocq et Suffocq et daultres, que tres tous la vindrent visiter et saluer et une partie des dames, que fust chose nouvelle."

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leave her room until the Lady had actually taken her departure from the house, so that she might not see her. Instead of the sedan chair covered with leather, in which the Princess travelled when, in the first instance, she was taken to the residence of the King's bastard daughter, this time, on her journey back from the More to Richmond, she had one exactly the same as the first, but covered with velvet.* Arrived at Richmond, not to follow the bastard's own chair and that she might have a peep at me on her passage, the Princess allowed the little one to go by land, whilst she herself came by water. On the very evening of her departure, she settled with the bargemen as to what bank of the river she wanted them to follow. That being done, she quickly sent me word to be at a certain place on the river-side, between Greenwich and this city, in front of a detached house destined as a refuge in case of the plague; for she said she wanted to see me, and take her revenge for my having gone to Greenwich to see her off. She, therefore, managed her affairs so well with the help of the bargemen, that, instead of following the right side of the river, they followed that on which I myself stood, near enough for the Princess to see me. She then caused the barge to be uncovered, and, mounting the forecastle, did not come down until she had actually lost sight of me. She is now in pretty good health, thank God,—handsome and plump,—and, as far as I can judge, gay, and in good spirits. *I had, some time before she left More to return to Richmond, advised her that since the King, her father, seemed to relent of his rigour, it behoved her not to do anything likely to irritate him; and that as the protest once written and prepared by me for her, and of which a copy was forwarded to Your Majesty, was calculated to preserve her from any danger, she was to make no faces or refuse to follow her father's bastard daughter wherever she went; not to make protests as in former times, but, on the contrary, publish and declare to the world that she was very much pleased to act according to her father's wishes. This she has done ever since, and her conduct has evidently been the cause of her father's visit to Richmond,* about which I once wrote to Your Majesty, as well as the permission to come to London by water without being obliged to follow or accompany the other one.

Were it not that this King is of amiable temper and cordial nature, and that the young lady, his new mistress, is fond of the Princess, and has already worked in her favour, one might suspect that the kindness which her father has suddenly shown for her had its origin in dissimulation,

* "La premiere fois que la dite princesse fust menne avec la petite elle fust mise dans une littiere couverte de cuyr, mais elle en eust une, au partir de mur, de vellours comme lautre dans le quelle elle vint a Richmont."

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*and was intended to colour the sin in case the Princess came to harm; which may God forbid.**

For a long time back there has been here no particular news from Ireland, except that the seigneur de Childara (Kildare), the most powerful chieftain in those parts, had laid siege to Dublin, and burnt its suburbs. It was here considered certain, and in fact the earl of Ausrey (Ossory) had written to say so, that the people of that town had already surrendered to Kildare. How matters stand since then I cannot say. The King, however, has lately been nearly one month in a state of irritability and bad humour, owing to the succours he is preparing to send to Ireland—amounting in all to about 2,000 men, 300 of whom are cavalry—being so long on the way; for only a week ago, I being with Cromwell at the time, news came that the ships that were to take the troops had sailed away; at which the King and the members of his Privy Council rejoiced greatly, though they do not know yet of their having arrived at their destination, notwithstanding their having sailed about a fortnight ago. With regard to the other ships being fitted up here to send to the coast of Ireland and keep guard there (*guaytter*), it has been found impossible to get them ready for this winter. I have this very morning, and since the above was written, received Your Majesty's letter of the 24th ult., mentioning that of the 9th, but I have been unable, through the sudden departure of this courier, as well as the absence of my secretary, who keeps the general counter cipher or deciphering key, to read the despatches from Venice, on which Your Majesty commands me to report and give opinion by the first courier. Nor have I, for the same cause, been able to read the instructions therein contained *respecting the Scottish marriage alliance.* With regard to Your Majesty's agent in that country, I can only repeat what Cromwell himself tells me, and I myself have already stated, namely, that he has been well received at Court, and met with no difficulty as Your Majesty apprehended.†

Respecting Monseigneur de Nassau's mission to the court of France, I must say that, as far as I can judge, it has been

* "Nestoit que ce roy est damyable et cordiale nature et que la demoiselle sa nouvelle maistresse quest toute adonnee a la dite princesse y a desja besoigne, lon pourroit auoir quelque suspicion que ce que le dit roy demonstre a la princesse seroit dissimulation pour couvrir et colorer la coulpe, si, ce que Dieu ne veuille, il mesadvenoit a la dite princesse."

† "Et ne ma este possible tant pour la haste de ce courrier que labsence de mon homme, que tient le contre siffre generale, desiffrer celles que viennent de venise sur les quelles ne fauldray suyvant le commandement de vostre maieste dire mon aduys par le premier, ne aussy de me conduyre en ce que concerne *la marriage ou alliance avec le roy descosse* conforme à ce quil vous a pleu me faire commander par les dites lectres *et au regard de lhome que vostre maieste a envoye au dit escosse vostre dite maieste pourra cognoistre par ce que men a dit cremuel*, comme iay dessus escript *que ne luy estoit survenu aucung empeschement, comme vostre maieste doubtoit.*"

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rather unpalatable to these people; but by dint of fine words, and by my saying to them that immediately after his arrival at that court, and his making certain overtures, the Admiral would cross the Channel and come over to report on the whole, they have been, in appearance at least, glad to hear my explanation; yet my firm belief is that, whatever countenance they may put on it, Nassau's presence in France must prove a flea in their ears; so much so, that their ambassador in France has written to say that immediately upon the arrival of Monseigneur de Nassau he would receive information as to the object and bearings of his mission;† and although the conferences had already begun, and were very close and intimate, yet up to the present no communication on the subject had been made to the English, except the assurance that nothing would be treated therein to the disadvantage of either king, or likely to impair their confederations and friendship.*

It would seem as if the expected arrival of the admiral of France (Philippe Chabot) to this shore was no longer the talk of the day, for the ship that had begun descending the Thames to go and wait for him at Calais has actually come back [to Greenwich] to be inspected by the King in person, who took with him the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. Certain people had also been summoned for the reception of the said Admiral, but they have since been dismissed, and allowed to return home, there to wait until called upon again.

The general impression here is, I fancy, that the death of pope [Clement VII.] will put an end to certain designs, and that Monseigneur de Nassau will achieve nothing in France; that consequently there will be no need of the Admiral's coming here, as king Francis will most likely want him near his person, if he should decide to go to Lyons. On the other hand, the French ambassador here,‡ who was the first to hear of and announce the Admiral's intended mission, has

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* Henri de Nassau entered Amboise, where king Francis was, on the 3rd of October 1534, being met outside that town by Mons. de St. Pol, the duke of Albany, the prince of Nevers (François de Clèves), and Monseigneur de Nevers, with 50 horsemen of the King's body guard. After paying his respects to the King and Queen, and negotiating with the latter, he stayed a long while with the Lord High Steward (Montmorency), and conferred subsequently with the Legate and with the Admiral (Chabot). Rawdon Brown, *Venet. Cal.*, vol. v. p. 7.

† "Et leur disant que incontinent que le dit seigneur seroit arrive a la dite court, et quil auroit propose quelque chose, que ladmiral viendroit par deça pour fere rapport de tout, ilz ont monstre contentement, bien que ie cuyde que en leur intriseque ilz ont bien la puce a loreille, mesmes pour ce, ainsi que lon ma dit, que leur ambassadeur en france a naguieres escript quil luy auoit este promis que soubdainement a larryvee du dit seigneur de nassau il seroit aduerty de tous affaires," &c. At this time Henry's ambassador in France was Sir John Wallop.

‡ At this time Claude de la Guiche was French ambassador in London. *See State Papers*, vol. vii. part v. pp. 559–63.

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*received no further information of his movements that I know of.**—London, 24th of October* 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 11.

30 Oct. **103.** The Privy Council to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1458, f. 56.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 81.

After Mr. de Nassau's apparently unsuccessful negotiation in France, and the avowed intention of the Most Christian King, which, as may be gathered from past evidence, as well as from the iniquitous and perverse practices he has always used, from the letters of the said de Nassau, and viscount Annart (Hannart), and the memorandum put into their hands by the ministers of that king, is evidently not to come to reasonable terms with Your Majesty, it is important to consider whether the negotiations are to be carried on, and on what footing, or whether they are to be suspended and discontinued altogether.

In the first place, whether the negotiation is to be carried on still by Mr. de Nassau and viscount Hannart de Lombeck,† through the means they themselves have pointed out, adopting some expedient respecting Milan, such as promising the investiture of that duchy after the death of the duke Francesco Sforza in case of his dying without male heirs, which would promote the public welfare of Christendom, and obviate the evils and inconveniences that might follow in consequence of the question [of Milan] not having been settled beforehand, on which the king of France principally insists, making it an absolute condition of his friendship, as the above-named ambassador writes, and as appears from the words of the memorandum; or whether it is preferable not to specify anything about Milan, but look out for some plausible excuse not to treat of the affair, thus gaining time the better to oppose and defeat the future plans of the king of France, and of his sons, who, as appears from the said memorandum and from the correspondence of the Imperial ambassadors, think of nothing short of obtaining possession one way or other of the duchy of Milan, which, they say, belongs to them. Indeed Mr. de Nassau and viscount Hannaërt are both of opinion that the king of France will never consent to treat about the duchy of Milan on the condition of the duke Francesco Sforza dying without children; but that, on the contrary, such a proposition on our part will increase his hopes, and render him still more insolent and boastful with Italians and other nations,

* "Et a ce que puis ymaginer ceulx qui pensent que la mort du pape aura rompu tous les desseigns, et que le dit seigneur de nassau ne conclura riens, et par consequent [quil] ne sera pas necessaire la venue du dit admiral, duquel le roy de france auroit besoing aupres de luy sil estoit question de prendre le chemin de Lyon, sont dans le vrai. Au surplus lambassadeur de France depuis les premieres novelles quil eust pieça, comme le dit admiral debuoit venir içy, nen a point eu que iaye sçu."

† Jean Hannart or Hannaërt, sieur de Liederkerke, viscount of Lombecke.

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inducing him to demand promises and exact securities from the Emperor as much as from the vassals of the Duchy, and from those who have the command of the forces, the result of all this being that Milan would be considered from that moment as belonging to him, and the Duke himself would lose all favour with the Milanese. This plan, therefore, would not suit the Emperor's sense of right and honour nor his regard for the promises made to the Venetians, and principally to the Duke, especially after his marriage to the Emperor's niece (Christine). This would immediately cause mistrust of His Majesty in all Italy. For such a plan it would be indispensable to secure at least the Duke [Sforza's] consent, which consent it is almost sure he himself will never give, unless forced to it. Nor is it likely that the Venetians, nor the rest of the confederates, will ever counsel such a step. Nor is the proposition, if accepted, less important for the Emperor in what concerns Naples, because, should the duchy of Milan ever come into the hands of the duke of Orleans*—which might happen in a short space of time, considering the present duke's bad health—the duchy would, as it were, be at the bidding of the King, his father, who will never be free from lust and ambition, nor forget the ill-will and hatred he bears the Emperor. Were king Francis not to be alive at the time his son took possession of the duchy, there is still the fear that the present Dauphin, his brother, succeeding to the throne, might feel inclined to help his brother's aggrandizement in Italy, especially in Naples and in the estate of Florence, the better to make sure, and free himself of his brother's rights to the duchy of Bretagne. Nor could any security be taken from the one or from the other, if the French habit of keeping and observing only that part of the treaties which is good for them be taken into consideration. Excuses will not be wanting as to the age of the Princes and the authority of the father, and so forth, to break through treaties whenever it suits them. Besides which, should the faintest hope of succession be offered to the duke of Orleans, it is to be presumed that all the Italian powers would immediately court the French, and try to enter into secret relation with them, at any rate from the very moment that the declaration is made until the Princes entered into possession. In a similar manner, troubles and revolutions might be anticipated at Genoa, so much divided by factions as it now is. Indeed, if not soon, there will surely be a revolution after Doria's decease. The same might be said of Monago, which would be the means of preventing the Imperial fleets from coming to Italy, thus curtailing the Emperor's influence in the country.

* "Que se puede presuponer quel (que él) jamas le dará sino forçado, ni se lo aconsejaran nunca Venecianos ni los otros sus confederados, ni los movera mas á esto, como tambien no importa poco el aseguramiento en lo que toca á su mag^{d} por lo de Napoles como por lo demas el capitular en lo del dicho ducado de Milan por (*sic*) el duque de Orleans."

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2. If, owing to the above reasons, the Emperor should wish not to go on with the negotiation respecting Milan, it is important to know whether count Nassau and Mr. Hannaërt are to suspend at once any communication with King Francis and his ministers, since he has so absolutely declared his intention and determination on this point; or whether it is better to temporise, and wait for the French ambassador residing at this court, to present some sort of amendment to his master's ultimatum, under the understanding that the King insists greatly on having our answer immediately without the ambassador's intervention, thereby intimating that if there is any delay in the answer he (the King) will take it for granted that the whole is intended to stop and embarrass him in the negotiations which he pretends he can carry on with other powers, and at the same time make him more attentive and diligent to do openly and without dissimulation all the harm he can to Your Majesty. Whether it will be better to write to ambassador Hannaërt that Your Majesty finds the King's memorandum rather too precise, and containing many important concessions, besides which the affair is of such quality and importance that Your Majesty cannot return an answer so soon, especially as a third person is concerned; that Your Majesty will consider what can be done with the consent of the party, and with good grace and honesty, and will then return such an answer as the ambassador may communicate to him, and that in the meantime and at all events the ambassador may go on prosecuting what has been proposed and commenced by Mr. de Nassau to the Grand Master (*mayordomo mayor*) of France, negotiating with, and, if need be, with the King himself and others, respecting the marriage of the duke of Angoulême with the princess of England, in accordance with the instructions of the count of Nassau and his own, that being a thing no less important, nay, a good deal more advantageous, for the aggrandisement of the King and of his sons, than what he is aiming at with the duchy of Milan. Meanwhile the ambassador might try to ascertain more in detail what the king of France is prepared to do for the welfare of Christendom and remedy of Faith, either with the new Pope just elected, or in any other wise, and likewise against the Turk, and principally for the repulse of Barbarossa. The ambassador ought to be told that in the instructions given to Mr. de Nassau, as well as in other previous treaties, this mutual defence against the Turk and Barbarossa, as well as the consequent peace of Christendom, which was to be the result thereof, were made the principal grounds for treating; and that whenever close alliances, intermarriages, and so forth, have been mutually proposed between Your Majesty and the king of France, those two objects have always been foremost, constituting, as it were, the base of the negotiation.

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Considering that an answer of this kind couched in the above or similar terms will give us more time, and also less matter for suspicion to the French, as well as afford greater opportunities for us to judge how matters stand between them (the French) and the English, perhaps, too, prevent the interview and closer intelligence of the two kings, the Privy Council is of opinion that some such answer should be prepared. It will then be easier for us to learn what has happened, and is now going on between the said king of France, the Turk, and Barbarossa; to ascertain which ambassador Hannaërt is to use his wonted dexterity and discretion.

3. Whether the duke of Milan and the Venetians, as well as Genoa, ought to be informed respectively of the pretensions of the French king, and his insistance on his said plans, and whether for this purpose a personage should be sent expressly; or whether it is preferable to commit the whole affair to Antonio de Leyva and to prothonotary Carazolo (Marino Caracciolo) as far as Milan is concerned, to prince Andrea Doria and to ambassador Figueroa as to Genoa, leaving Venice to Lope de Soria, and informing each of those powers of Your Majesty's intention, which is only to gain time and prepare for contingencies, in order to ascertain how far Your Majesty can count upon them to counteract and resist the ambitious designs of the French king.

4. Whether all or part of the confederates ought not to be sounded as to the assistance they might be willing to give in case of Your Majesty being obliged to make war out of Italy against the said king of France; or whether this negotiation is to be entirely entrusted to, and left at the discretion of, the Imperial agents for them to undertake it, or at least send their opinion in writing; or whether no steps at all should be taken thereupon, considering that it is unlikely that the Venetians will help in war by land out of Italy, or by sea beyond the limits specified in the treaty of 1529, unless the Turk and Barbarossa himself are previously reduced to extremities. As to the duke of Milan, he is at present so much embarrassed and in debt, and his time so taken up with fortifying and provisioning the fortresses of his estate that all applications in that quarter would be useless. It is, however, to be hoped that, according as the need may be, the Duke will help in a thing of the utmost importance for him. With regard to Genoa there is not the least appearance of danger for the present, inasmuch as the Genoese themselves are already grumbling at what they will have to disburse for the said defensive league, and therefore it will be next to impossible to get more money from them, except for the armament of their own galleys and so forth.

5. Whether the dukes of Savoy and Mantua,—more particularly the former,—ought to be informed of the proposals made by the French king respecting the marquisate of Monferrato, is another important point for the Council's delibera-

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tion. The Duke's agents at this court have been secretly apprised of Your Majesty's intentions respecting Asti, without, however, any formal declaration being made to them on the subject. It now remains to be considered whether they (the Duke's agents) are to receive here positive assurances to that effect, or whether it will be sufficient to put the affair into the hands of Leyva and Caracciolo, that they may apprise the duke of Mantua thereof, as they may think proper and opportune, and likewise Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, our ambassador at the court of Savoy.

6. As it is almost certain that the king of France, far from abandoning his projects, will try to make friends and allies, and everywhere let no opportunity pass of doing harm to Your Majesty, the following points are to be considered:—

7. Whether the fleet which Your Majesty is now fitting out against Barbarossa is to be made the ground for a large maritime armament to be directed against Constantinople, or against France, as may be thought the more expedient according to time and circumstance. A measure of this sort would instil fear into the heart of king Francis, perhaps, too, induce him to assist the said Barbarossa with his galleys, and, if so, might prevent him from coming forward, and make it doubtful for him to carry on war by land. If he does, it will be easier for us to invade his kingdom by sea, and, if so, the appointment and provisioning of the fleet already commenced and decided upon should be continued; the fleet itself to be ready to put to sea at the time fixed, furnished and provided with all that is needful, not only for navigation, but with artillery, ammunition, and troops.

8. What ought to be written to prince Andrea Doria respecting the preconcerted invasion of France in case Nassau's negotiations in France failed entirely, and how far the opinion of that captain and that of Leyva respecting the port, town, or village to be landed at, and also concerning the galleys of France, is to be attended to. Whether it will be enough to write to him that, owing to the above considerations, he (Doria) is to occupy himself exclusively in all matters relating to the said maritime armament, sending us his own opinion on what he considers necessary for the fleet, and writing also to the viceroys of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia to make stores, considering that winter is near at hand, and the aforesaid undertaking must then cease. Doria must also be informed of the resolution lately taken, which is not to undertake anything against the galleys of France during their voyage to Rome, considering (*atento*) the Cardinal's quality,* and the cause of his journey, as that would irritate at the first blow (*del primer salto*) the future Pope and the Apostolic See; or whether Doria ought to be written to, that whilst attending to the fitting out of the fleet against Barbarossa,—which fleet might, as above

* That of Aux (Guillaume de Castelnau), sent among others by Francis to attend the election. See above, p. 256.

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stated, serve all ends,—he is to look out by means of spies whether there will be next spring a way to occupy some port on the coast of France, capture the fleet, or at least defeat it. And let him answer as soon and secretly as possible, and send us his report.

9. Whether the said Doria and Leyva and the viceroy of Naples ought to be written to that, in every possible way, and with the greatest secrecy, under the excuse of the said armament against Barbarossa, they must ascertain through third persons how many colonels, captains, and men could be enlisted in Italy to serve in the said fleet, whether against Barbarossa in the undertaking against Constantinople, or against France, by land, if need be, avoiding of course all superfluous expense, keeping the men thus enlisted ready on an emergency, and preventing their offering their services to another power. Should the league be renewed, the said colonels and captains might be engaged and sustained on the plea of serving under it.

10. What orders should be given to Leyva for the recovery of La Mirandola, since he is himself evidently waiting for instructions from His Majesty. When he (Leyva) last applied for them, he was told to wait until the result of count de Nassau's negotiations should be known. But now that nothing good is to be expected from France, and winter is so far advanced that there is no likelihood of king Francis undertaking anything or throwing impediments for this present year, would it not be advisable that Leyva should at once send thither the Spanish infantry he has in the Monferrato? Considering the iniquitous seizure of that castle by count Galeotto della Concordia, to the utter contempt of the Emperor's authority, and considering the league formed for the defence of Italy, it seems to us that the recovery of La Mirandola by the Imperial forces can no longer be delayed. Besides which, should the Spanish infantry remain longer in the Monferrato, they are sure to waste and ruin the whole of that marquisate, and therefore they must be paid and employed elsewhere. And what better employment for them than the recovery of La Mirandola and of Novi, at which the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) would be highly pleased? Once in possession of those two castles, the Spaniards might overawe the country as far as Florence and other towns of Tuscany, and be ready to march anywhere.

11. Whether count Cifuentes at Rome ought to be informed of the result of count De Nassau's negotiations in France, sending him at the same time a copy of king Francis' ultimatum, and of the Emperor's resolution thereupon, that he may, after the election, and when he has ascertained how far he can trust the new Pope, concert with him measures for the peace of Italy and the welfare of Christendom.

12. Whether Leyva ought to be written to in case of the new Pope refusing altogether to join the League, or delaying his consent, to secure, at any risk, the possession of Parma and

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Piacenza by appointing trusty governors, and taking away from the French all chance of creating partisanships in those towns.

13. Whether instructions ought to be sent to count Cifuentes for him to solicit the new Pope, whoever he may be, to observe and respect the sentence which His Imperial Majesty once delivered in the Ferrara affair; and if so, whether the Duke's ambassador residing here, and the one he has at Rome, ought to be apprised of the step taken in their master's favour.

14. Whether the said Leyva and count of Cifuentes ought to be written to that they may confidentially inform the duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) of the steps that are being taken with the Venetians and other Italian powers, to ensure the peace of Italy, and protect it from aggression, so that he (the Duke) may not listen to any practices whatsoever likely to disturb the said peace; but, on the contrary, let us know of any intrigues, &c., likely to disturb that peace on the side of Florence or elsewhere. And whether the Count can confidentially acquaint the Duke with the provision that is being made against Barbarossa, and ask his advice thereupon.

15. Whether a letter ought to be written to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), informing him of the bad result of Nassau's negotiations, and the substance of His Majesty's resolutions, that he may, in consequence, temporise with men and things in Germany, especially in matters of Faith, so that things do not become worse, and likewise that he make no attempt for the present either against the people of Augsburgh, now entirely separated from the Catholic Faith, or against others who might cause revolution or war in Germany; but, on the contrary, if he sees his way to it, to have the Hungarian dispute settled by writing or by conferences without going to war, which would necessitate His Majesty's help and assistance. If so, it would be advisable to inform him how His Majesty is situated, and that, far from the Emperor now helping him in his difficulties, he, the king of the Romans, is expected to be so far disengaged at home as to be able to assist His Majesty with his forces against the king of France, should the latter openly declare in favour of Barbarossa, or, profiting by the Turk's invasion, attack us in Italy or elsewhere. For this reason it is the Council's opinion that the king of the Romans, His Majesty's brother, ought as soon as possible, to adjust his differences with the Venetians, who certainly are now showing every disposition to treat. The same might be said of the dukes of Bavaria, and of the rest of the princes and electors, and specially of the landgrave of Hesse; all of whom might, with some management, be brought to side with us, or at least not to listen to the offers of France.

16. What particular instructions should be given to Andalot, now about to start for Germany for the purpose of securing colonels and captains, and preventing the French from

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enlisting in that country. Whether this business ought to be expressly recommended to him, and to the archbishop of Lunden, and whether the sum of money destined for that purpose ought not to be increased, considering how important it is to prevent the king of France from drawing men from Germany and Switzerland, the only two countries where he can now recruit.

17. Whether strenuous efforts should not be made openly and at once with the Catholic cantons of Switzerland to prevent their giving men to France; or whether it would be better to write to Your Majesty's agent in that country to go on temporising with the said cantons, and promising them some sort of reward (*gratificacion*) from the Italian league, and begging excuses for the delay owing to the late Pope's demise, writing to Leyva and to prothonotary Caracciolo concerning this, and leaving the matter in suspense until next March, as during that time the said cantons might adjust their differences, which we hear are chiefly caused by disputes about the League. It will also be seen how far the Swiss cantons are inclined to favour the king of France, because, even supposing the French paid the money they owe there; if the nature of the Swiss, and what they are in the habit of doing, be taken into consideration, fresh overtures, with the promise of a reward (*gratificacion*), will most likely prevent the French from drawing men from the country. If, the better to carry this plan into execution, it were deemed necessary to engage a number of men, this might be easily accomplished in the name of the Italian league without arousing suspicion; indeed, much better than in Germany, where it might be presumed that the enlistment was intended against the Lutherans.

18. Besides informing Mr. de Nassau of the resolution to be taken respecting his negotiation and king Francis' note, what other orders are to be transmitted to him? Is he, in compliance with his secret instructions, to go to Flanders, and concert with the dowager queen of Hungary the best means of placing the country in a state of defence, inspecting the frontiers, raising money, making stores of provisions, &c.? Or will the assembly of the Estates be deferred until king Francis' reply to the memorandum sent from hence in answer to his note, the Queen and the Count not giving up the negotiation for peace as entirely lost?

19. Should the Marshal and President of Burgundy, and other Imperial delegates in that duchy, be told to prepare for the contingency of war, and look to the defence of a country which, being for the most part surrounded by French provinces, or estates devoted to France, such as Lorraine, Berne, Basilea (Basle), and Novocastro (Neufchastel), beyond Burgundy, most of them now alienated from the Faith, is more open to danger, especially considering the great distance from His Majesty's Spanish dominions, and that the king of

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France is now holding the county of Montbelliard between Ferrete and the county of Bourgoyne (Burgundy)?

20. Whether anything is to be done now with regard to England, and especially with reference to the Irish rebellion against king Henry. Whether the offers made to the Emperor by princes and lords in that country, declaring that they wish to become his subjects, and take the part of the queen of England and princess of Wales, ought to be accepted,* since a step of this sort would be very important in preventing the said king of England from helping him of France, inasmuch as that, should the said Irish rebellion increase and assume large proportions, it might seriously inconvenience the King, and be the cause of his repenting and reforming willingly or by force, if the growing indignation and ill-will of his vassals and subjects, as well as the news from Rome and France that he is beginning to be wearied and tired of Anne Boulans (Boleyn), be true. Or whether it will be better to wait till December and send a personage to England,—as His Majesty has written and promised,—for the purpose of informing the English of his intentions. Considering that encouraging letters have been written to the Irish, that during this next winter nothing can be done, and no assistance can be given, the Council is of opinion that nothing more ought to be done for the present, and that we had better wait and see how affairs will turn up.†

21. Similarly, with regard to Scotland, whether it would be advisable to delay writing to the King till news came of the arrival there of Micer Godescalco, sent by the Emperor from Toledo, and of whom nothing has been heard since he left Ireland for that country. Or whether it would be preferable, all matters considered, and supposing that the said Godescalco has been prevented by illness or some other accident on the road from delivering the message he had for the king of that country, and that there is no appearance of marriage between the duke of Angoulesme and the princess Mary, to write to the Queen (Mary of Hungary) and to Mr. de Beures (Adolphe de Bourgogne), to whom king James addressed himself first on the subject of his marriage to

* "Sy se devra hazer algo de presente por lo de Inglaterra, mayormente para hazer pasar adelante la revelion de los Irlandeses contra el dicho rey de Inglaterra, atento el ofrescimienta que algunos principes de la dicha Yrlanda han hecho á Su M^d^ declarando querer quedar debaxo de su mano, y remeter (?) aquella provincia y se tener de parte de la Reyna y Princesa de la dicha Inglaterra."

† "Lo qual podria causar grande inconveniente al dicho rey de Inglaterra y occasion de se reconoscer (*sic*) ó por grado o por fuerça, atenta la indignacion y mala voluntad de sus dichos vasallos, y asi mismo las nuevas que se tienen, asy de Roma como de Francia, que comienza á se hartar y fastidiar de Anna de Boulans; ó sy se debrá aun esperar hasta el Diziembre para despachar [allá] alguna persona, segun que Su M^d^ ha escrito y respondido que lo haria para les advertir dentro del mes de Marzo de la intencion de Su Mag^d^ haviendo respeto que se les han escripto buenas letras, y que pendiente el invierno no se puede hazer ni favorescerse de otra cosa, y que esto pendiente se verá mas adelante segun que las cosas subcederan lo que se devra hazer."

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the daughter of the king of Denmark, that since the hand of that princess has been granted to the palatine Frederic, they should resume the negotiation entrusted to Godescalco, and do their best towards promoting that of king James with the princess Mary of England, thus preventing his taking engagements with France or making close alliance and confederacy with England.

Spanish. Original. pp. 20.

3 Nov. **104.** CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO to the EMPEROR.

S., L. 861, f. 185. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 100.

Some months ago I received a letter from Your Majesty, full of your usual benignity and grace, in answer to one of mine representing the injury and loss I had sustained in England for no other reason than having served the cause of justice.

In that letter Your Majesty led me to expect that such would be your liberality towards me that not only should I not feel the harm done, but should live in honour and comfort the rest of my life; which hope has hitherto sustained me, and given me courage in the midst of my afflictions.

Taking now occasion of the departure for Spain of this gentleman-in-waiting of the ambassador, count de Cifuentes, I make bold to remind Your Majesty of the promise then made, and at the same time observe that I am both old and infirm, and that the chronic disease from which I am suffering has lately become so acute that I doubt much whether the munificent proofs of Your Majesty's generosity—which never fail to fall on those who, like myself, are devoted to the Imperial service—will arrive in time. I, therefore, beg most humbly, if Your Majesty's wishes are to remunerate my services in any way, that it be done at once, for I am fast travelling towards my end.—Rome, 3 Nov. 1534.

Signed: "Y Car[dinalis] Campegio."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ Cæs[areæ] et Catholicæ Maiestati."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

6 Nov. **105.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 63.

Just now the marchioness of Excestre (Exeter) sends me word that the King has lately declared to his most confidential Privy Councillors that he would no longer endure the annoyances, fears, and reflections which for a long time had attended him by reason of the queens and princesses; that they (the councillors) must look to deliver him of that anxiety at the next Parliament, or else he swore not to wait any longer, but come to a final resolution by himself. This,*

* "Quil ne vouloit plus endurer les facheries, crainctes et pensemens [en] quil avoit de long temps este a cause des roynes et princesses, et quilz regardassent a ce prochain parlement de len faire quicte jurant bien a certes et tres obstinement quil nactendroit plus longuement de y pourvoir."

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the Marchioness assures me, is as sure and true as the Gospel; and she begs me to write to Your Majesty about it, and entreat you to have pity on these poor ladies, and for God's honour and glory, and for your own close relationship to them, apply a remedy to the evil, and avert the danger in which they are placed.

Since my despatch of the 1st inst. nothing has occurred worthy of notice, save that the embargo on the goods of the German merchants has been raised, with the one exception of those belonging to the people of Dantzig, owing to the suspicion there is of their having been the original cause of the capture of the English ships, and also of their being the secret enemies of the Lubeckians, and friendly to the king of Sweden and duke of Prussia.—London, 6 Nov. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 6 Nov. Received [at Naples] the 6th Dec.

French. Original. pp. 2.

7 Nov. **106.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 862, f. 78.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 125.

Wrote by Francisco de Acebes on the 13th ult., on the 19th by a courier coming from Naples, and again on the same day, to the High Commander of Leon (Covos). Owing to the great haste in which the courier was, and the arrival in the evening of the same day (19th) of Garcilasso [de la Vega] with the despatch of the 29th Sept., he (Sylva) had no time to enter into particulars. Will now profit by the departure of Tello de Guzman, whom he (Sylva) is purposely despatching to Spain with instructions and a verbal message; for a speedy answer to which he (Sylva) will feel extremely grateful.

Andrea Doria has been paid the 1,500 ducats due to him for his advances in arming the Papal galleys.

Some days ago Antonio de Leyva, prothonotary Caracciolo, and abbot Negro (del Nero) drew bills upon the Strozzi of this city for 3,000 ducats, said to have been spent by the League in sending the Spanish

The Strozzi ought at once to pay all bills drawn by the Commissioners; it is not for them to determine whose expenses are to be defrayed, and

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whose not. Lawyers have nothing to do with that. Were the Emperor to bring in his account of the sums spent by him in similar services, all the money in the bankers' hands would not be sufficient to repay him.

infantry to Genoa at the time Barbarossa threatened that city. The Strozzi, however, refused payment on the plea that the bills had not been presented in Clement's time, and that if they, as bankers of the League, were to pay that sum, they might as well pay what the Church spent in guarding Civittà Vecchia and Hostia (Ostia), &c.

According to letters from Venice and from the king of the Romans, Luigi Gritti has been beheaded.

That he must by this time be informed of what he is about.

News has come of the arrival of count De Nassau at the court of France. Various conjectures are formed respecting his mission; most seem to think that he goes thither about the marriage of the Emperor's daughter to the dauphin of France. The same intelligence has been received by the Pope through the French cardinals.

The Venetian ambassador, on the other hand, says he hears from France that Nassau's negotiation is being conducted with such secrecy that no one can guess what he is about, except that an agreement of some sort is shortly to take place between the two monarchs [the Emperor and king Francis]. At least such is the general impression in France, and the public speak of it freely, this being, perhaps, the reason why the Grand Master (Montmorency) is shortly to go to Spain, and the Admiral (Brion) to England.*

The ambassador did well. Lope de Soria has been written to on the subject, and, besides the Venetian ambassador, who resides here, has accepted the explanation, &c.

Similar news has come from Switzerland; the upshot of it all being that the Venetian ambassador begins to feel uneasy about it. He (Sylva) has tried to quiet his fears; fancies he has succeeded. His Holiness has likewise inquired; told him that the Count, not being in good health in Spain, was going home to Flanders; on his way

* "Y que por esto el Gran Maestre yva á España y el Almirante á Yngla-terra."

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thither he had met the King and his court on the road, &c.

The tax on the clergy of Spain.

The duke of Ferrara [Alfonso d' Este] recovered Novi, and gave back to a certain count Niccolo a castle of his, of which he had taken possession the better to invest that town. Hears, however, that the Duke is on his death-bed just now.

His Majesty was glad to hear of this; but the Duke [Alfonso d'Este] has since died, and his successor, Guidobaldo, has written to offer his services, &c.

The new Pope (Farnese) has spoken in favour of the widow of count della Mirandola,* and wishes the estate to be given back to her. Also on behalf of the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] and his estate of Florence, as well as of his marriage to the Emperor's daughter, though it must be said that this last recommendation seems to him [Sylva] more a complimentary act than the expression of his sentiments. Answered him in general words, and will do so again until he hears the Emperor's will thereupon.

The memorandum sent by Baubry (Waury) must already be known to the Count, as likewise that at his Majesty's departure from Flanders, G[uzman] was sent to Rome to visit the Pope and propose this very meeting, but that the king of France resolutely opposed it.

Knows from a very authentic source that the question of the Council has been discussed more than once in His Holiness' presence. His (the Pope's) opinion is that previous to the convocation, it would be requisite to have a meeting (*convento*) of the procurators of all those persons who are in the habit of attending such assemblies, and also of some of the electors of the Empire, that they may settle between them beforehand when and where the Council is to be held. Otherwise (the Pope said) the affair may be interminable, because the Lutherans ask for a Council, and do not wish for Roman prelates, whereas we on our side do not want Lutherans. Hence the necessity of having this and other matters settled beforehand.

Considers it highly inconvenient that the protectorate of the churches

* Jeanne Caraffa.

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both in Spain and Flanders should be conferred first on one, and then on another cardinal. It would, in his opinion, be far more advantageous if the protectorate was entrusted to one cardinal permanently, and on the condition that, should he be obliged to quit Rome temporarily, the Imperial ambassador may appoint another in his room. This would add considerably to the Imperial ambassador's importance, and the Emperor's service would be better done.

Perceiving that cavalier Casale had frequent audiences of His Holiness, he (Sylva) deemed it urgent to warn the latter against the specious arguments and practices of the king of England and of his ministers. It was quite evident that up to this time they had only aimed at stopping the determination of the cause, by persuading the last Pope [Clement] that their master might return conditionally to the bosom of the Church, and to a more honest way of living. Entreated His Holiness to consider how very important this matter was, and how interested he himself, the Apostolic See, and the Emperor, whose aunt the Queen is, were in a prompt and speedy determination of that business. What cavalier Casale now gave him to understand of the King, his master, being displeased with Anne, and wishing to behave honourably towards the Queen, was a pure invention for that king's own particular end.* He (Sylva) had received letters from the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys), stating that both Queen and Princess were worse treated than before, and that the Lutheran heresy was every day waxing stronger. He did not object to His Holiness again receiving the King to his favour; he

* "Y que lo que le daba a entender el dicho Cavalléro Casal que el rey, su amo, estaba mal con la Anna y queria tractar bien á la Reina, era inventado por sus fines."

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wished the King's obedience to consist not in words, but in deeds.

The Pope's answer was that it was quite true that very pressing requests had been made of late, promising the King's return to obedience, and making very different statements from those which His Majesty's ambassador in England had made; but to be sure he would act in that affair according to justice, and that if the King refused to come to terms* he would not be deceived any longer.

In short, His Holiness spoke so long and so affectionately about it that he (Sylva) has no doubt that he will ultimately do his duty. Wishes, therefore, to receive instructions on this point, and know as soon as possible whether he is to ask with insistance and immediately for the "executoriales," or is to content himself with an ordinary application, so as to not make these people think that if we do not insist, it is purposely done.

Acebes must have informed His Majesty of a fact which is significant enough of their animosity and ill-will. It appears that the French cardinals, before entering the conclave, engaged with the present Pope (Paul) that they would all vote for him, provided he undertook to do certain things according to Francis' wishes. Farnese's answer was that he would never subscribe to such dishonourable conditions. After his ascension to the pontificate, the French ambassadors proposed a treaty, but his answer was that his intention is to treat with no one. It is, therefore, to be believed that if His Holiness refused before becoming Pope, he will the less do it now.

* "Y que si el Rey no quisiesse venir por bien en ello no se engañaria en nada con él."

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Cardinal de Tournon said that at the Papal election all the French cardinals had orders to return home one week after, and that count de Nassau had left the court of France, after staying eight days thereat, though it was believed that he would also return soon. The Cardinal, indeed, seems desirous of peace, but there is no relying on French words. Besides, if the King really wishes for peace, it cannot be for the repose and welfare of Christendom, but because he thinks of profiting by it.*—Rome, 7 Nov. 1534.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

7 Nov. **107.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. Rom., L. 862, f. 98.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 137.

After closing his despatch to the Emperor, he (Sylva) heard that His Holiness was thinking of sending there as Nuncio the bishop of Reso [Rangone],† the same who went last year to Germany on behalf of Pope Clement for the affairs of the General Council. To the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) his Holiness purposes sending the bishop of Viterbo.‡ Both are good men (*personas de bien*).

Among the Pope's secretaries there is one named Micer Ambrogio,§ whom he employs oftener than the rest, and who, by-the-by, professes to be a good servant of the Emperor. It would not be amiss if in the next letters from Court a paragraph should be introduced to show that he (Sylva) had recorded the fact, and written in his favour.

Tello de Guzman‖ arrived very opportunely to quiet His Holiness' fears about the Camarino affair, for some one had impressed him with the idea that His Majesty was sure to favour the pretensions of the duke of Urbino.

Dona Juana de Aragon,¶ the wife of Ascanio Colonna, wishes that a male child of hers should be educated in the Prince's (Philip) household. He (Sylva) has offered to forward her petition, and would be glad that some notice

* Two copies, as usual, of the same despatch; one is at fol. 125, the other at fol. 133 of the same volume.

† "Rezo" or "Rezzo" is for "Reggio" in the Modenese, pronounced in the Venetian way. The Bishop was Hugo Rangone, brother of the celebrated "condottiere," count Guido, whom Clement in 1533 sent on a conciliatory mission to the Lutherans. *See* vol. iv. part ii. p. 784.

‡ At this time the bishop of Viterbo was Giovan Pietro Grassi (1533–8).

§ Miçer Ambrogio; there was a friar of this name at Venice in 1530.

‖ Tello de Guzman, about whom see above, p. 315.

¶ As early as 1532 Ascanio had married Dona Juana de Aragon.

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should be taken of it, that he may show her the letter, &c.—Rome, 7 Nov, 1534.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

7 Nov. **108.** The EMPEROR to J. HANNART.

B. Cart. and Man. *Doc. Hist.*, T. 5, f. 107. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 21.

We received on the 25th ult. the letter of our cousin, the count of Nassau, and your own, dated Blois, the 20th, and likewise the memorandum (*escript*) which the king of France caused to be placed in your hands. We have not answered you sooner because we were waiting to see whether the King's ambassador here had anything more to say respecting the Count's mission and the said memorandum. Until now, however, the French ambassador assures us that he has heard nothing more on this subject, but that he expects daily to receive news by a cousin of his coming to this court. Perceiving this delay, we have deemed it expedient to delay in order to gain time, and forward you at the same time the following observations.

We have found the King's note very precise indeed, and containing very important points and articles, on which, considering the good and sincere words he has from time to time addressed to our cousin (Nassau) and to yourself, we should say, he can hardly but insist. The same language has been used by several of his ministers and courtiers, and principally by the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency), all and every one of them desiring, as is but just, a closer friendship and alliance as well as a lasting peace between us, and besides that the intermarriage of our children. Taking into account the above reasons and considerations, which we have no doubt you have laid before the King and his ministers whenever you had an opportunity,—wishing sincerely for the aggrandisement of our cousins, the princes of France, and presuming that the French ambassador had perhaps something to say respecting the aforesaid note, which might enable us to meet the King's views,—we have, as above said, delayed writing to you on the subject.

We cannot help thinking, however, that whilst treating for a lasting peace, you have neglected the principal point on which that peace as well as the said marriages ought to rest, which is to hear and ascertain king Francis' intentions and plans for the future concerning the rejection and extinction of the Lutheran errors, which have already infected and contaminated a great portion of Christendom, and are growing every day more prevalent; and also concerning the repulse of the Turk, as contained in the Article 38 of the King's instructions, which We have no doubt you have seen, but have purposely overlooked, owing to the King having made no mention of them in his note. Be this as it may, it is indispensable for us to know beforehand what the King's inten-

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tions are respecting those two points, the Faith and the Turk,* before we take a determination. Let us, therefore, hear how the King thinks on these matters, and then our answer shall be forwarded immediately. This being done, We both can meet somewhere, as king Francis has been pleased to intimate, and then all minor points between us may be satisfactorily settled.

It also seems to us that our cousin (Nassau) and yourself ought to have tried to ascertain what the King's intentions are respecting the marriage, as by Mr. de Nassau proposed, of his own son, the duke of Angoulesme, to the Princess of England (Mary), the more so that when the said Mr. de Nassau first spoke of it to the Grand Master (Montmorency), the latter did not seem displeased at it, owing, perhaps, to the then existing discontent of king Henry with Anne Boleyn, to which he alluded.† We particularly wish you to bring this matter forward, and in so doing make use of chaps. XIV., XXV., XXVI., XXVII., XXVIII., XXIX., and XXX. of your private instructions. At the same time we command you to represent to the King and to the Grand Master of France the importance of the said marriage alliance, and consequent aggrandisement of the said duke of Angoulesme, and, what is more, the acquittal of the King's debts to Henry, the security of France on that side, and many other advantages to be derived therefrom; all of which are things of far greater importance, and more profitable to the King, to his kingdom, and to his sons, than the mere acquisition of the duchy of Milan, to which he and his sons lay claim.‡

You will, however, take care that what you may say or negotiate respecting this matter be kept a profound secret between you and the King, or between you and the Grand Master, as it may be, without letting any one else know of it; for should king Francis, owing to the above considerations and others detailed in our private instructions to the Count, feel inclined, as we really think he ought, to favour the said plan of marriage, it is desirable that the negotiation should be kept a profound secret between us until the conclusion of the treaty. Even if the King should altogether disapprove of it, there is no harm in the overtures remaining a profound secret between us two.

* "Sans faire mention des dicts points de la foy et du Turcq et commune paix."

† "Touchant ce que nostre dit cousin avoit mis en avant du duc d'Angoulesme avec nostre cousine, la princesse d'Angleterre, tant plus ayant regard a ce que le dit grant maitre de France ne le desgoutta quant nostre dit cousin luy entama le propos avec ce quil declaira du mescontentement que le dit sieur roy d'Angleterre prenoit de Anne de Boulans."

‡ "Et mesmes faites bien entendre au dit seigneur roy, et aussi au dit Grand Maistre, l'importance du dit marriage, et l'agrandissement que sen fera du dit seigneur d'Angoulesme, acquitement du dit seigneur Roy, son pere, pour envers celuy d'Angleterre, et asseurance du royaulme de France, qu'est chose sans comparaison de trop plus grande importance et mieulx advenant au dit seigneur roy, son dit royaulme, et messieurs ses dits enfans, et par le moyen de quoy se pourront faire trop plus grans effects, que n'est la pretension de Millan."

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If, peradventure, it should be objected on the part of the King that were Anne Boulain (Boleyn) to become aware of the projected marriage, the life of the Princess might thereby be endangered,—which We cannot in any wise imagine, nor is it to be presumed that the King, her father, will so far disregard the voice of his conscience, or the said duke of Anjou (Angoulême) consent to it,—you will tell him that, should things come to the worst (which may God forbid), We shall be glad to countenance, and promote another marriage between our cousin (the princess of Denmark) and his son, the duke of Anjou (Angoulême), and that, in addition to their paternal and maternal inheritance, whatever it may be, We shall ensure to each of them, individually and collectively, the crown of Denmark, and besides procure from the Pope, conjointly with the king of France, any dispensation that may be required.*

Leaving the above entirely to your prudence and discretion, to act as you will deem most fit, so that the King may not take in bad part our delay in answering his note, and for the considerations above stated,—our only wish being to arrive, as shortly as possible, at the end of the present negociation, if king Francis on his own side will only be reasonable,—you will take care to ascertain as soon as possible what are the King's views on the above two points,—the Faith and the Turk,—the impending invasion of the Mediterranean coast by Barbarossa, the means to be employed to meet the same, and likewise the above-mentioned English marriage. In the meantime We shall see what the French ambassador here has to say, that We may deliberate on the whole and take a resolution. But, above all, We again recommend you the greatest possible speed for fear king Francis should think that We intend carrying on this negociation incidentally; whereas our wish, as aforesaid, is on the contrary to answer him at once one way or another, and act honourably towards him.

You must have heard of the creation of a new Pope unanimously elected (*nemine discrepante*). We have resolved to send to him shortly the sieur Devaubery† to kiss his foot in our name, offer our congratulations, and beg him

* "Et si vous estoit mis en avant que par adventure de la part de Anne de Boulans se pourroit prendre le chose de telle extremite, dont s'ensuivrayt le hélas (?) de la vie de la Princesse, en quoy ne pouvons penser que le devoir de conscience s'abandonnat tant, ni que le dit S^r^ d'Anjou le vouloust comporter, direz que en ce cas, que Dieu ne veuille ne permette, nous serons tres content, et entendrons confidenment et feablement que le marriage se face entre ma dite cousine et le dit d'Anjou, et que oultre les droits paternels et maternels, tels qu'ils leur doivent appertenir, ilz et chacun d'eulx respectivement auront le royaulme de Dennemarke, et tiendrons la main avec le dit S^r^ roy de procurer tout ce que y conviendra tant envers notre sainct pere le pape, et au surplus comme il sera advisé par commung accord estre requis pour mectre la chose en bonne asseurance."

† François de Rupt, sieur de Waury.

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at the same time to have the affairs of the Christian community readjusted.

Our only wish was then, as it is now, that there should be a good Pope; for that reason our ambassador at Rome (Sylva) avoided speaking particularly in favour of any one. If an opportunity should occur, you may say so to the King, and at the same time assure him that our only wish is that he (the Pope), whoever he may be, prove a good father to both of us.—Madrid, 3 Nov. 1534.

P.S. After the above was written the French ambassador sent us word through Mr. de Grandvelle that his cousin had just arrived from France with dispatches, and that he himself wished to speak to us, which has been the cause of the present, written on the 3rd, not being sent off at once.

We thought, as aforesaid, that something more would be stated respecting count Nassau's charge; but, contrary to our expectations, the French ambassador has substantially said nothing new, except assuring us again in general terms of his master's wishes for the establishment of peace, and adding that king Francis' general impression on the subject is that count Nassau had been rather backward (*estroit*) concerning his commission.* We have made him a fit answer, and such that the King, his master, if he hears of our intentions and wishes,—which are evidently to obtain a lasting peace without delay—will, no doubt, respond to it in a proper manner.

We, morover, apprise you, that you may inform the King thereof, that there is now a certain matter on foot by which he will be able to understand how much We wish for the aggrandizement of his sons in a matter of much greater importance than the one to which he now seems to demur. But you will tell him so without further explanation or comment; for if the thing can be done, it is enough that he hears of it in the most secret and confidential manner, and if it cannot, it is better not to say more about it.† We have, in short, referred the said ambassador to the sieur de Granvelle that he may inform him more particularly of our wishes and intentions in that affair.

Nothing new has happened since writing the above, except the alliance of the King, our brother, with the duke of Bavaria through the marriage of duke Guillaume's only son and heir to one of the daughters of king Ferdinand.

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* "avoit este fort estroit en ce que concernoit sa ditte charge."

† "Sur quoy nous luy avons repondu ce que convenoit afin que le dit S^r^ roy entendant (entendist) plus nostre intention et desir de parvenir au dit establissement de paix, sans mectre la chose en delay; et que vous escripvions pour tant plus tost nous pourvoir resoldre, et vous advertissions pour en informer le dit S^r^ roy chose par la ou il pourroit clairement cognoistre que nous desirions la grandeur de messieurs les enfans en cas trop plus important de ce en quoy il semble qu'il s'arrete, sans plus avant luy declairer pour autant que si la chose se doit conduire souffit que le dit S^r^ roy l'entende avec grand secret, et synon que mieulx est qu'il ne sen parle davaintage."

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According to the last news received here, the marriage must already have been effected.—Madrid, 7 Nov. [1534].*

Signed: "Charles."

Countersigned: "A. Perrenin."†

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

8 Nov. **109.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*228, No. 62.

(Cipher:) *Since my last despatch I have deciphered the letters written to Your Majesty from Venice respecting the Seigneur Reynard pupulo polle.‡ Their contents being carefully examined according to Your Majesty's wishes and orders, I have had no great difficulty in ascertaining the writer's aim and object, for having long ago made inquiries about him, I was at once in a condition to unravel the mystery. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, more than a year ago, I had occasion to send to Your Majesty a summary of the Venetian letter in question, stating as my opinion at the time, as may be seen by referring to my despatch, that should Your Majesty think of remedying the evils of this country by rigorous means, it would be convenient to summon to your court the said Seigneur Reynart, amicably or otherwise, as it might suit best. I further said in my said despatch, that Reynart, being descended from so good a race, and endowed besides with elegant bearing and manners, and many singular virtues, the Queen knew of no one so fit as him as a husband for the Princess, her daughter. There can, moreover, be no doubt that owing to the considerations specified in the Venetian letters, these people, hearing of the assistance Your Majesty is likely to lend to the project, will at once declare in favour of it, in addition to which there are here innumerable worthy persons who maintain that the title of King belongs forcibly to him, as descended from the Duke of Clarence, second brother of King Edouart (Edward), inasmuch as Richard, who was the third born after Edward's death, had it declared by final sentence from a bishop of Bath (Rob. Stillington), that the daughters of the said King Edward,—the eldest of whom was this King's mother,—were illegitimate owing to that monarch having precontracted marriage with another lady who was not the mother of his daughters. If so, there is no difficulty in saying that the kingdom belongs by right to that family. It is probable that this circumstance, of which the Queen is well aware, may induce her to favour the marriage, and remove all scruples she may have of conscience or otherwise. This King, as*

* The letter has the date of the 3rd; the postcriptum that of the 7th. King Ferdinand's daughter (Anne of Austria) married, in October, Albert, son of William I., duke of Bavaria.

† Perrenot? If so, Antoine, the son of Nicholas, who became in time cardinal and prime minister.

‡ Reginald Pole.

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*I have had the honour of informing Your Majesty, once presented the said seigneur Reynart for the archbishopric of Canterbury, and offered to grant him anything he might ask for himself, his mother, and brethren, if he would only adhere to him and follow his party, all the time using such persuasions and making such promises as would have converted even the most pertinacious Jew. Upon his refusal the King used the most terrible threats, and yet the youth remained firm, and there was no means of making him waver in his determination. I will not mention the dexterity and industry he displayed in order to obtain the King's permission to go to Italy, where the very moment he arrived he wrote a letter to this King on the Queen's business, and sent him besides the book he had already written on the subject, of which letter and book both the King and Cromwell cannot but sing the praises, extolling their good sense and wisdom, as well as the style in which both are written.**

Besides the friendships and alliances mentioned in the said Venetian letters, one cannot omit that of Monseigneur de Burgaen (Avergavenny), the father-in-law of Monseigneur de Montagu (Henry de la Pole), who is a powerful lord, one of the best connected in this kingdom, a man moreover of heart and wisdom, and one of those who have reason to be now highly dissatisfied, since he was some years ago deprived of part of his fortune without any cause whatever.

Respecting the disaffection (indisposition) *of the Welsh country, to which allusion has been made in the said letters, my information is that the inhabitants are really very much concerned and afflicted at the bad treatment of the Queen and Princess, as well as at what is now being done against the Faith; for they (the Welsh) have always been and are still, to a man, good Christians. Not long ago there were riots against the governor, owing to certain executions he had ordered, and the governor himself was well nigh murdered. Indeed, according to popular rumour, the people of Wales are only waiting for a commander to rise in arms, and take the field. The same may be said respecting their neighbours of Chestry (Cheshire), and of the Duchy of Lancaster, among whom, though closer still to Ireland, and marvellously inclined to carry arms, yet it has been impossible for the King's officers to press one single man for service in that country, at which, as I am informed from a good quarter, this King is exceedingly annoyed. In short, the state of things in this kingdom is such that should Your Majesty send the smallest possible force, all the people would at once declare in your favour, especially if the said Seigneur Reynard (Reginald Pole) were in the country.† The latter's younger brother (Geoffrey) is*

* "De la quelle lectre le dit roy ne Cremuel ne se peuvent souller de bien dire et louer le sens, prudence et litterature dicelluy."

† "Mesmes si le dit seigneur Raynart y estoit, duquel le frere maisne (ains né ?) este souventesfois avec moy."

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with me, and would visit me almost every day, had I not dissuaded him from doing so, on account of the danger he might run. He, however, ceases not, like many others, to importune and beg me to write to Your Majesty, and explain how very easy the conquest of this kingdom would be, and that the inhabitants are only waiting for a signal. I have never spoken to him about his brother (Reginald), except warning him that the latter had much better remain where he is now, and beg his daily bread in the streets, than attempt returning here in these troubled times, for fear he should be treated as the poor bishop of Rochester, or worse still. This he assures me he has done, having written to him many a time, and made his mother also write and warn him not to come here.*

About six days ago the French ambassador received news from the King, his master, to the effect that Barbarossa had taken possession of Tunis, and that cardinal Frenesis (Farnese) had been elected Pope. The ambassador seemed very glad at the news, for no sooner had he received them, though it was rather late in the evening, than he went off to Cromwell's lodgings to communicate the same. The day after he mounted his horse and went to the King's, not without dispatching soon after his steward to me to notify the news, which, he said, he would have come to tell me himself, had it not been that he was bound to go to Court immediately. I must however observe, that the ambassador's proceedings in this affair seem to indicate that both events, the taking of Tunis by Barbarossa, and the election of Pope Farnese, had been brought about by his master, the King of France, and were owing to his favour and intervention. Indeed, since the arrival of the said news, he has been heard to say and affirm at table, that before six months were over the French would be masters of the whole of Italy much more effectually than they had been before.

The said news about Barbarossa has been much to the taste of this King, who fancies that Your Majesty will thereby be prevented from annoying him, and will thus attend to the defence of Sicily rather than to the assistance of the Irish. But on the other hand the election of the new Pope has been particularly unpleasant to him, inasmuch as he counted upon a schism breaking out in the Church, after which there would have been no question of a Papal election. Indeed, I am told that one hour before the Frenchman went to Cromwell with the news, the latter had resolutely affirmed to the bystanders that such was his master's belief and his own.†

* "Il ne cesse comme beaucoup dautres de me importuner descripre a vostre maieste la facillite de la conqueste de ce royaulme, et que tout ce peuple nattendoit apres autre."

† "Mais les nouvelles de la creacion du pape luy desplaisent tant plus, car il faisoit son compte et tenoit pour tout certain quil y auroit scisme, et que apres ne seroit plus question deslire pape, et de ce vouloit faire Cromuel grosse fermance une heure auant que le dit ambassadeur luy fut porter les dites nouvelles."

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As far as I can learn, count de Hoy, about whom I once wrote to Your Majesty, has come for the purpose of offering to this King a body of mercenaries, if he should be in want of them. I believe that his offers will be accepted, and that the King will engage a number of hackbutiers to be sent to Ireland, for there are none in this country; considering also the difficulty there is of finding recruits for the Irish war, which difficulty will greatly increase, if the report which has circulated the last few days be true, that is to say, that half the troops which had passed over with Scheuenton (Skeffington) had been defeated. I believe that this King, in order to levy and command the said hackbutiers, has lately commissioned a gentleman of the name of Candis,† an industrious and intelligent person, who speaks low German, and is likewise one of the best and most accomplished gunners going. Both departed last evening as secretly as they could, and went on board a ship belonging to the Easterlings; the Count took his departure after dinner, and I am inclined to think that if he has allowed the others to precede him, it has been in order to dissemble, and make people believe that there was nobody with him.*

Master Cromwell has lately been so much engaged with the contemplated reform of the coinage and other pressing business, that it has been quite impossible for us to have a conversation together. Although he had made an appointment with me twice, he sent me word that he could not see me. I believe, however, that it will not be long before he decides respecting the business of which I spoke to him last. If he does I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty thereof, as well as of anything else I may hear respecting the charge of Monseigneur the Admiral of France, who is expected here in eight or ten days, and for whose reception preparations on a large scale are being made, there being a report that this king is to defray all his expenses, and those of his suite, from the moment they set foot in England.—London, 8th Nov. 1534.‡

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Received the xxii. of the same month.'

French. Original, almost entirely in cipher.

14 Nov. **110.** Count Cifuentes to the High Commander.

S. E., L. 862, f. 81.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 139.

Wrote on the 7th inst. by Tello de Guzman. After his departure he (Sylva) learned that the French cardinals had asked His Holiness for three things: 1st. That he would

* "Est icy venu pour presenter gens a ce roy sil en avoit besoing, et croy quil lemployera pour en auoir quelque nombre dacboutiers pour enuoyer en Yrlande, actendu quil ny ya nul en ce pays, aussi veu la difficulte que font les gens dyci de passer au dit Hirlande."

† Elsewhere written Candish, no doubt for Cavendish, the gunner.

‡ This despatch seems to have had two different dates; at the beginning 3rd Nov.; at the end, 8th.

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confirm certain privileges and grants made to the king of France; 2ndly. That he would create three cardinals, namely, the archbishop of Paris (Du Bellay), the bishop of Faenza (Rudolfo Pio da Carpi), and another one; and 3rdly. That he would treat with their master for certain demands of his own. To the first, they say, His Holiness, very much importuned by the ambassadors, answered that he would confirm the privileges during this King's life, and no longer. As to creating the archbishop of Paris cardinal, His Holiness said he did not consider it a thing right to do, owing to certain causes he did not specify; as to the other two ecclesiastics he had no objection, and if reminded at the proper time, would attend to it. To the third demand, His Holiness said that he did not wish to make treaties of any kind with any one. They say that the archbishop of Paris is sure to come here with some invention or other respecting the English cause, or on some other business, to ask for the hat which Clement had promised, principally to keep him contented and in good humour, and that he (the archbishop) should excuse him with his master for the final sentence given in the English cause.

There is a report here that His Holiness will create two or three cardinals from his own relatives, besides three others renowned for their science and learning. As he (Sylva) will not be able to prevent that, he wishes to know whether the Emperor is willing that Capua (Schomberg), should be again recommended.—Rome, 14 Nov. 1534.

Signed: "El Conde Alferez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

18 Nov. **111.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*228, No. 54.

Monseigneur, the Admiral [of France], arrived nine days ago at Dover, and is not to enter this city till to-morrow, the 16th.* The cause of his tarrying so long on the road being that he is waiting for his train of 350 horse, and likewise that he wishes to give these people time to make the necessary preparations for his reception, which, if I am to believe this King's public demonstrations, will be as honourable as possible. Indeed, among others already made, the detail of which I omit not to trouble Your Majesty with excessive prolixity, the King has summoned to Court a good number of pretty ladies (*force belles dames*), and besides that, has caused to be proclaimed by public crier and sound of trumpets, that no one should dare, under pain of death, commit the least offence against, or address injurious or angry words to those of the Admiral's suite, even on provocation, for (says the proclamation) it behoves people of all ranks to exercise forbearance and patience in view of the arrival

* There must be error, for the despatch is certainly dated the 18th.

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[in England] of so high a personage as the Admiral, who comes here expressly for the welfare, advantage, and honour of the whole kingdom.* A ban has also been published intimating that, in the event of the said Admiral repairing to Court, no gentleman unless he have the title of Milort (Lord) shall dare penetrate below the lower hall [of the palace], or precede in any way the French noblemen coming in the Admiral's suite; *of which two prohibitions, and especially of the former, people complain, whilst others are glad, since both are a proof of the hatred and enmity the English bear the French, when such precautions are deemed necessary.*

Immediately after closing my last despatch, I heard from an authentic quarter that *the cause of this king having despatched the secretary of the French embassy here in such haste to France, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty,† was no other than to ask for the speedy coming of the Admiral. Indeed what I then suspected has turned out to be true; Cromwell furnished the money for the secretary's travelling expenses, who was, as I say, directed to repair quickly to France for the purpose of soliciting and hastening the arrival of the said Admiral, on the plea of most important and urgent communications, which, he said, could not be made to any one but him. I cannot yet say for certain, if the cause of this sudden appeal to France be, as I informed Your Majesty at the time, to make some fresh proposition of marriage with a view to stimulate the sending of the Admiral, and counteract the negociations of Monseigneur de Nassau. Many worthy people of this city think that the real cause of the Admiral's coming is partly that this King wishes to preserve his credit with his subjects, inasmuch as both commoners and gentlemen begin already to mistrust the French king, in consequence of his still adhering to the Church, and having refused the proposed interview. If Monseigneur de Nassau (they say) has gone to France, as rumoured, with a mission from the Emperor, it can only be on most important grounds. If so, the king could not think of a more efficacious means to mar the negociations than to hasten the arrival of the Admiral, and try and see what could be done to counteract Your Majesty's plans. We may easily believe that one of the principal matters to be communicated to the Admiral will be for him to exert his influence over the king of France, so as to alienate him from the Church, and shake his obedience to the Pope, this king knowing very well that unless that point is gained, their friendship cannot last long. No doubt this king thought at the time, that no better opportunity than the present could*

* "Que sur peine de la vie yl ny eust si ose ne hardy de fere le moindre oultrage ne dire parolle iniurieuse ou faicheuse a personne de la compagnie du dit admiral oerez quil en fust donnee quelque legitime occasion, la quelle conuenoit dissimuler et souffrir en contemplation de la venue dung tel personnaige que le dict admiral, veu mesme quil venoit pour le bien, prouffit et honneur de tout le royaulme."

† See above, No. 102, p. 302.

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offer itself of urging the Admiral's mission, for it was generally believed that Pope Clement was then dying, and it was also firmly stated, that upon the death of that Pope, there would inevitably be a schism in the Church, especially when it was ascertained that the French cardinals, who might perhaps have prevailed upon Francis not to follow the lead of this one, had taken their departure for Rome. Even at that time, the King used at dinner to boast that he would soon put such order and reformation in the Church, that in the end the whole of Christendom would thank him for his labours, and he himself gain imperishable fame through it.*

I intend sparing no trouble to get at the truth of this affair. Should I succeed, I will not fail to apprise Your Majesty. I have not done it before, principally because there has been no trusty messenger since my last. Let this be my excuse for otherwise I should have fulfilled what I consider to be my duty.

Some one has this moment come to tell me that this very morning the King, by a solemn act and ordinance of his Parliament, has been declared and confirmed Sovereign Chief of the Anglican Church; and that as such head of the Church he has a right to the tribute in money, which the English did periodically pay to the Apostolic See in token of obedience, and that Parliament has likewise ratified every one of its acts against the Apostolic See, doing away with the conditions and amendments of former sessions.

The great press of affairs, increased no doubt by the arrival of the French Admiral, has probably taken up so much of Cromwell's time, that he has hitherto been unable to appoint a day and hour, as he fully promised to do, at which we might discuss the future treatment of the Queen and Princess, in which I can see no prospect of improvement at all, not even as far as the latter is concerned, whose hopes of something better have lasted but a short time. *In consequence of which the Princess has just now suffered a slight indisposition, of which she might have got rid, had it not been for the impertinence and rudeness of her governess, the aunt of Lady Anne, the King's mistress, who every day causes her some grievous annoyance in order to induce her to relinquish her title. Besides which the duke of Norfolk has lately confined to prison one of her maids of honour,—the one who did most service and in whom the Princess trusted implicitly,—on the charge that she had, against the royal ordinances, addressed her by her title. And I hear that among the many questions put to the said maid of honour by the duke of Norfolk himself, one was "who had informed me of the day and hour at which the Princess was to go [to Greenwich], that I might wait on the bank of the river on her passage, as I have had the honour of informing Your Majesty in one of my despatches."*

* "Considerant aussi que les cardinaulx de France que eussent peu destourner (?) le roy de lintencion de cestuy estoint partiz pour aller a Rome."

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There is no particular news from Ireland, except that Lord Kildare (Thomas) is completely master of the field, and is daily inflicting damage on the king's partisans. Though some of the royal troops have actually entered Dublin, it is said by some that the inhabitants themselves have gained nothing by it, owing to the great scarcity of provisions in that city.*—London, 18 Nov. 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp.

28 Nov. **112.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*229, No. 65.

The Admiral of France [Philippe Chabot] entered this city on the day mentioned in my last despatch, accompanied by the duke of Norfolk and by several other lords and gentlemen, and was honourably received and entertained by the citizens. On the morning of the next day, without waiting (as the court ceremonial prescribes) for the Admiral to present his credentials and deliver his message to this king, I myself went to call on him, *and I must say that his reiterated offers of service, as well as his words on the occasion showed such readiness to be agreeable to Your Majesty, that one could not wish for more. He seemed particularly desirous not only of keeping up the old friendship between his master and Your Majesty, but also of increasing it considerably. Of which increase, he observed, there was now, and very recently too, every appearance, considering that the matter and the negociations were in the hands of so worthy a personage as Monseigneur de Nassau, who, he said, must have arrived eight days ago in Flanders, and delivered to the Queen Dowager and to her councillors the substance of his instructions.* Having remarked that I was sure Your Majesty had at all times trusted that he (the Admiral) would do every good office in that respect—as one whom Your Majesty counted among the number of his friends, and as having the reputation of as good, true, and accomplished a gentleman as could be found anywhere—his answer was that the best fortune he could desire in this world would be that of deserving such a reputation and esteem on the part of so great, noble, and virtuous a Prince† as Your Majesty was, which would oblige him to remain for ever your most humble and obedient servant.

* "Excepte que le sieur de Childara est maistre des champs et que iournellement yl fait dommage a ceulx de ce roy, et que quelque secours de ce roy est entre dans Dublin, mais aucungs disent que tant pis pour ceulx de la ville a cause de la grande disecte de vivres."

† "Il me repondit que le plus gros heurt (bonheur?) qu'il penseroit avoer en ce monde seroit de pouvoer meriter destre en telle reputation et extime vers ung si grand, si noble et si vertueux prince."

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At last, after some familiar small talk, the Admiral said to me that if I would only take the trouble of visiting him from time to time, as I had offered to do, he should feel extremely obliged for such honour; I should be welcome at all times, and we might talk politics, *whatever scruple, jealousy, or suspicion these English might feel at it, for he cared not a straw for them.*

I have not returned since to the Admiral's owing, firstly, to there having been no opportunity for my visit, and secondly, *because I wished to wait until this king himself had spoken to him on the business for which he has come. I must say, however, that up to yesterday evening no one seems to know here what the Admiral's mission is about, or what answer, if any, the King has made to his overtures, since not one of the privy councillors intervenes in the affair, except Cromwell. Yet there is some appearance that these people have been for some time, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, bringing forward some project of marriage for the second daughter of this king (Elizabeth), for not only is there a rumour of it among courtiers, but I know from an authentic source that the English ambassador, residing in France,* has lately written to say, that after taking the opinions of lawyers and theologians in France, in Italy, and elsewhere, it has been found that, though Henry's first marriage might be declared null, yet the Princess [Mary] would still be considered legitimate, and the succession to her father's kingdom as belonging by right to her; which official report coming from the English ambassador in France has been particularly unpleasant to this king.*

Since his arrival in this city, nine days ago, the Admiral of France has been to Court no less than six different times, besides which, on Sunday last, he dined at the King's table. There has been a good deal of dancing and playing at tennis (*jeu de paume*), the King taking part in the one as well as in the other sport. The Admiral, though, has only gone twice to see the ladies, and then apparently more for the sake of making himself agreeable to them than for his own pleasure; the tennis court he has not once honoured with his presence.† *Nor has he, as I am told, made much of the Lady [Anne], for when the King at his first audience inquired if he did not wish to call on her, the Admiral answered very coolly "As you please," which answer was remarked by many of those present. As the said ambassador was coming out of the King's apartments at his first audience, he ceremoniously refused to precede the Duke of Norfolk, alleging that he had already explained his com-*

* Wallop or Gardyner?

† "Yl a este question de dames et de jeu de paume, et sest le dit roy exercite en lung et en lautre; mays le dit admiral ne sest trouvé que deux fois a voier les dames, encoirez sembloit yl que ce fust pour complayre plus que pour playsir, et ce honneur na yl voulu fere au dit ieu de paume."

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mission, and that he was no longer an ambassador, which was as much as saying that he had come to London merely to hear what the King had to say to him, and that he himself had brought no message whatever from his master. To-morrow the Duke of Norfolk will entertain the Admiral, and the day after, which will be St. Andrew's festival, the duke of Richmond will do the same. There was also a talk of his going to Richmond to see the chapel of the Order [of the Garter]; but it appears that he would more willingly take the road to France, if it were for no other motive than getting an answer to a despatch which he sent home on Tuesday last by express, the only one he has drawn up since his arrival.

This king, who, as chief of the English Church, was thinking of getting into his hands all ecclesiastical property, and then distributing among its ministers that portion only which was deemed necessary for the honest, sober and frugal keeping of the same, retaining the remainder for himself, is for the present contented with allowing the ecclesiastics to enjoy their property, provided they insure him an annual income of 30,000 sterling, and besides, hand over to him the first fruits of every vacant benefice. True is it that already by apostolic privilege he (the King) has been accustomed to appropriate the first fruits or annats of all bishoprics vacant in his kingdom, but nowadays he wishes to have the entire revenue, not only of the bishoprics, but likewise of all other ecclesiastical benefices, which amounts to an almost incalculable sum of money. However this may be, since the King wished to bleed the Clergy [of his dominions], he might have done so without taking the whole of their property, thus bringing on himself the murmurs and hatred not only of that same Clergy, but likewise of all devout people, and of those even who have endowed churches, or of their successors. It would even have been far better for him, in order to shut people's mouths, as well as for several more considerations, to distribute among gentlemen and others of his kingdom the greater part of the property thus taken from the Clergy.*

The good prelates are now debating with the doctors, whom this king summoned from Germany, on the sacrifice of the Mass, and the question whether faith alone without good works is sufficient for our salvation or not. The debate is carried on in writing, and should the said German doctors come out of the contest victorious (which may God forbid) the whole of this country is sure to be infected thereby.

Since writing the above, at this very moment, some one has come to tell me from two reliable sources *that the Admiral of France, two days ago, requested this king to decide*

* "Yl a[uroit] trop mieulx fait den user ainsy que de prendre tous leurs biens pour eviter la murmure et la hayne, non seullement du clerge, mais aussy du people devotz, mesmes de ceulx quont doue les eglises, ou de leur successeurs, et si eust convenu pour boscher les bochez de pluseurs et maintz autres respectz donner a gentilhommes et autres la pluspart des biens."

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and give effect, according to the letter of the treaties, to the consummation of the marriage between the Princess (Mary) and the Dauphin, his son, protesting at the same time that King Francis, his master, did not in anywise insist upon it, as in case of refusal he would try to marry his son either to the Infanta of Spain, or elsewhere. Nobody knows yet how the King has taken the ambassador's overtures; but certain it is that the Lady is exceedingly annoyed at them. I am the more inclined to believe the truth of the report, that I am now told as a positive fact, that the message that came from the English ambassador in Paris referred entirely to that point, namely to a sort of consultation as to the legitimacy of the Princess, the better to justify the strict adherence to the treaties.* Many of those, who are in the Admiral's suite, have assured friends of mine that there had been no question at all of a marriage between the said Infanta and the Dauphin of France. I will take great pains to ascertain the truth of the whole matter, that I may inform Your Majesty thereof.—London, 5th December [corrected 28th November], 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 5.

[— Nov.] **113.** The Emperor to Count de Cifuentes.

S. E. Rom., L. 28, f. 179.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 147.

. . . . . .

As His Holiness seems to have some inclination towards the said Cardinal and Duke, as well as towards the means which the Cardinal has at his disposal to carry out his plans, whether he has intelligence with the French, considering he makes much of Strozzi, who is a Frenchman at heart. Anything else you may happen to hear respecting this affair you may let us know, at the same time keeping up a good understanding with Antonio de Leyva and Andrea Doria.

(*Cipher.*) Of what you said to the Pope respecting Sir Gregory Casale's visits, warning him that all that ambassador said in the English business was calculated merely to lengthen and protract the execution of the sentence, and reminding him of the quality and importance of the affair, and the injury and offence done to the Queen and to the Princess, We entirely approve. You must go on acting in conformity with our last instructions sent by Mr. de Waury, and kiss his Holiness' feet for his good will to do justice in this affair, begging him to have the executory letters taken out. For the present, until it be seen what results from the message by

* "Et quil protestoit quil ne tenoit au roy son maistre le quel en cas de refuz procureroit de marier le dit Doulphin ou avec linfante despaigne ou ailleurs." The Infanta alluded to can be no other than Maria, daughter of Charles and Isabella, then seven years old, having been born on the 28th of June 1528.

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Mos. de Waury, it will be expedient not to make much haste, dissembling, however, in such a manner that it be not known that there is any relaxing (*tibieza*) on our part.

(*Cipher.*) Of the French it may reasonably be inferred, as you say in your despatch, that far from discontinuing the practices and secret intelligences, which they were carrying on with the late Pope, they will now try to renew them with his successor. You must, therefore, take good care to watch their movements at that court, and if anything should turn up likely to disturb the peace of Italy, let us know immediately.

We have already informed you through Mr. de Waury of the negotiations which Mr. de Nassau carried on in France, and what their issue has been. We have nothing new to say on this subject. You did well in re-assuring the Venetian ambassador and calming his suspicions respecting Mr. de Nassau's mission. The Signory's ambassador at this our court has received similar satisfaction, and besides, Lope de Soria has been instructed to afford any explanations that may be required.

(*Common writing.*) Assistance by the prelates and clergy of our (the Emperor's) dominions as well as by the Military Orders against Barbarossa.—Glad to hear of the restitution of Novi to the Duke of Ferrara, but very sorry to hear of his death. The Duke [Ercole II. d'Este] his son has sent an ambassador to inform us of his loss, and offer his services. Intending to make much of him, as We did of his father, We command you to take care of his affairs, and follow strictly the instructions We sent you by Mr. de Waury.

Glad also to hear that his Holiness is willing to have La Mirandola restored to its legitimate owner. As you already know our views in that respect, you will help his Holiness in the execution of justice.

With regard to the Papal Nuncio, who is to reside at this our court, you may say that our only wish is that he be such as befits His Holiness' service and the welfare of Christendom, and one whom We may trust. Whoever unites the above three qualities will be equally acceptable, and His Holiness may at once proceed to his election. The truth is that knowing, as We do, Juan Pogio (Giovanni Poggio), for a good servant of his late master, and a well-meaning man, We should be glad if he were appointed. You will tell His Holiness as much whenever an opportunity occurs, and in the manner you may think proper.

Respecting the bills of exchange, which you say Leyva, Doria and Caracciolo drew upon the Strozzi of that city, as bankers to the League, for money advanced to the Italian infantry at Genoa, when in dread of an attack by Barbarossa, which bills those bankers resolutely refused to pay on the plea that they had not been presented during Pope Clement's life time, alleging that if they were paid out of the general fund

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the League would also have to pay all the expenses incurred by the Church at Rome, Civittà Vecchia, and Hostia (Ostia); and besides that two lawyers had been appointed to look at the papers, and decide whether the bankers were obliged to pay that sum or not, We can only say that We disapprove entirely of the transaction, and are surprised to hear that you gave in as to that. It is not a case for dispute whether the bankers who have the League's money in deposit, are to pay or not; if Leyva and the commissaries have decided that the 3,000 ducats should be paid, it is not for the bankers to refuse payment. That is no affair for the Strozzi and the lawyers to settle among themselves; they (the bankers) must needs pay, for were We to charge the League with what We have already spent and are still spending to keep up our infantry for the sole benefit of the League, our claims would exceed by far the amount of money contributed for that purpose.

The death of Gritti is confirmed in letters from Germany—1,000 ducats to be paid to Andrea Doria as the remainder of what he spent on the Genoese galleys, armed on account of Pope Clement VII.

We are aware of the great trust which his Holiness places in his secretary Miçer Ambrosio.

Spanish. Original Minute. pp. 6.

5 Dec. **114.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.*

Wien, *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*228, No. 67.

Last Wednesday the admiral of France departed hence, after negotiating so secretly that no one seems to know the pith of his mission. Some gentlemen of his chamber, and others of his suite, however, give out that their master was anything but pleased at the result, in consequence of this king having refused to grant any of the requests made in the name of King Francis, not even that of the marriage of the Dauphin to the Infanta of Spain, which the King strongly opposed, as I hear, on the strength of some previous treaty existing between them. To show his disappointment and displeasure, the Admiral had refused this king's invitation for Vvintsorre (Windsor) and other royal manors, which he at first had accepted at his (the King's) desire. These perhaps are rumours or conjectures to which no great faith ought to be attached, and yet I have deemed it necessary to mention them in connexion with the Admiral's late mission, which, if the report be true, must have failed on most points.

In consequence of the moderate and kind words which the said Admiral said to me immediately upon his first arrival in this country, and in order to convince those who hold for the Queen that Your Majesty's friendship and understanding with France, if accomplished, would in no wise be prejudicial to the interests of the said Queen and Princess, and that the

* This despatch is ciphered throughout from beginning to end.

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Admiral's mission had no reference whatever to them; in order likewise to cross-question the said Admiral, and draw out of him some information likely to convey consolation and comfort to the two ladies, especially as several personages of good position were encouraging me to visit the Admiral at his lodgings, who, they said, was not at all pleased with these people, and, moreover, that the gentlemen of his suite spoke in very high terms of Your Majesty, I determined to visit him, and after my first call on his arrival (17 Nov.) went twice to his lodgings, one on St. Andrew's day (November 30), the other a few hours before his departure. On the former occasion, having repeated exactly the very same words which he had told me once respecting the negotiations of Monseigneur de Nassau in France, I told him, that he might the better open his heart to me, that although such matters were, strictly speaking, out of my reach and extraneous to my official charge, yet if he thought that I could in any wise help, I would do my best, as all good and faithful servants of Your Majesty and of the King, his master, were bound to do.

*The Admiral thanked me most politely for the goodwill I showed in the matter, and said that he wished above all things that the overtures made to Mr. de Nassau at the court of France should be accepted, and some agreement entered into, for (said he) any delay at the present moment in the execution of so good and necessary a negotiation might be injurious rather than profitable under the circumstances, inasmuch as many people, who were wide awake, were trying to throw obstacles in the way of such negotiation. The King, his master, said he, had been from various and many quarters solicited to work against Your Majesty. He knew very well, and had no difficulty in owning, that not one of those who addressed themselves to the King, his master, did it out of sympathy or affection felt for him, but merely out of selfishness and wishing his ruin and that of Your Majesty, whom they fear, and whose power they envy. Your Majesty, said he, might easily thwart such wicked practices by merely condescending to gratify the King, his master, in a few trifles. He, himself, asked for nothing of what Your Majesty wished to keep; he only asked for what you did not want, and had bestowed on people to whom you were not bound by bonds of consanguinity or affinity, and whose friendship was by no means so valuable or profitable as that of his master, who, he added, might have a good and legitimate cause for complaint. If Your Majesty, however, would seriously look into the affair, you would find that the whole would turn out to your honour and profit, since with his master's help and assistance you would redress wrongs, calm the discontented, and achieve great enterprises, &c.**

* "Et que a la faueur et assistence du roy son maistre pourriez remectre les desuoyez et ceulx qui grondissent, et fere autres entreprises."

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Clearly perceiving what the Admiral of France was aiming at, and that the discussion of such political matters was extraneous to the duties of my charge, I purposely abstained from making any remark or comment, merely answering in general terms, that I was sure Your Majesty would gratify the King, his master, in all that was just and legitimate, rather for the sake of the affinity which united you both, and the sincere friendship which Your Majesty professes towards him, than for the other motives of which he had spoken. Upon which the Admiral replied, "Please God the thing may soon take effect; such is my ardent wish: for my part," he added, "I should have no objection to explain my views before the Emperor even more clearly and openly than I have done to you."

Before I left the room, the Admiral thanked me again for the trouble I had taken and for the honour of my visit, which, he said, was particularly pleasant to him, not only for the qualities with which he considered me adorned—as he was courteous enough to say—but in order that the world at large should have knowledge of the friendship and goodwill existing between Your Majesty and the King, his master. Hearing which, and by way of returning his compliment, I said to him, that since he was pleased with my visit, I would certainly call again before he left England.

According to promise, I called on the Admiral a few hours before his departure, as I said above. On my arrival at his hotel, I found him in the centre of a great hall surrounded by the Treasurer, the Grand Squire, and several more of the king's courtiers (cortisiers), *without counting Master Cromwell, who was also there for the purpose of bestowing on him a present in the King's name. When he saw me enter the room, he suddenly dispatched the business he had in hand, and with a sad countenance, as one who is by no means pleased, he separated himself from the throng of visitors, which was rather thick, and approached me, and with a mien and aspect singularly contrasting with that which he had before, took me to a window, and said, among other things: "Just imagine these people; they have shown me the Tower and many other sights, and yet they have not shown me the most singular and valuable gem in all this kingdom, namely, the Princess;" and upon my enquiring: "How is that?" he replied, that he was exceedingly sorry that he had been unable to pay his respects to her: notwithstanding all his endeavours and applications he had not been allowed to see her. Having then asked him whether his application had been actually refused, he owned that the truth was he had made no express application for the purpose, only in an indirect way, and that the King had not taken the hint. He had never heard so much praise bestowed on any woman as he had on the Princess, even by those who were ill-disposed towards her, and ready to cause her trouble. He himself professed to be a true and very faithful servant of the*

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Princess, not only on account of her great virtue, but because she was so close a relative of the Queen of France, and he hoped ere long to be able to render her great service. This he repeated twice or thrice, in very affectionate terms, as it seemed, telling me that this king had sent for him and made him come for a different purpose than the one he imagined. He, himself, thought he had been summoned to England partly to treat of the Princess' affairs; he was mistaken, the King had not even mentioned her name.

Having expressed himself in these terms, and shown some discontent at the manner in which these people have treated him, I thought the moment had come for his making some revelation, and so it was, for after a moment's silence he exclaimed: "Let us persuade our respective masters to be on the side of God, and all the rest will go right." Upon which I replied, as if I fully assented to his proposition respecting this king's disobedience to the Church: "It seems to me as if, in order to obtain a universal and lasting peace, the first thing to be done is for your master to begin, as the most Christian king, to set right the affairs of religion." The Admiral's reply was that it was not his master's province to concern himself with this king's conscience, and that on such matters he referred entirely to him. Which answer makes me suspect that the Admiral does not entirely disapprove of the King's conduct in Church affairs, and that he and the French will be glad of his continuing in his folly, that they may always keep their finger in Your Majesty's eye. And it is to be feared, that whatever mien the French may put on, they will pursue their course as before, and that there is no chance whatever of their applying a remedy to the evil, for this king having no power at present to extort money from the Churches, will spare no means to create disturbance, and if he only provide the affairs of this country, as he can very easily do, the French, who, as it would seem, ask Your Majesty for certain conditions, might well take them from the English, and be bound to observe them.

Besides having his expenses paid out of the Royal treasury, the admiral of France has been invited to two most splendid banquets, one at the duke of Norfolk's on St. Andrew's eve, the other at the duke of Suffolk's the day after. On Tuesday the King invited him to dinner, when all the gentlemen of his suite were present. I am assured that the present he has received at parting consists of gold and silver plate of the value of 8,000 ducats, and that most of his attendants have also received considerable gifts. During all the time he has been in London he has only despatched one courier, and that one, as he himself told me, was not to France, but to Germany, at this king's desire. It is likewise at the latter's request that Mr. de Langes (Guillaume de Langeais), who has been here with the Admiral, and who boasts of enjoying good credit in that country, has gone thither, the object of his mission being, as I am given to understand, to secure the services of

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50,000 *lanskenets* for king Francis, whenever he should want them.*

This king considers it certain that before the month of April next he and the king of France will hold an interview. He himself made the announcement to his courtiers on the night of the banquet given to the viscount of Diope (Dieppe), who arrived here last Sunday with a galleon well filled with artillery and men, to take back to Calais the Admiral's baggage and suite; and not only has this king openly said this to his guests at table, but Langes and the other Frenchmen of the Admiral's suite have also said so in public to whomsoever would listen to them.

Cromwell, who, according to his own statement, has always maintained that Your Majesty would never give help and assistance to the Irish, did the other day, as I am informed, at table, during a dinner attended by several Lords, affirm the contrary, adding that the King, his master, was exceedingly displeased at it, and had already begun to take his revenge by not wearing this year the badge of the Golden Fleece, of which he is a member. Indeed, on St. Andrew's eve, instead of attending vespers, as he is in the habit of doing, he went to play at fives with the Admiral, and on the ensuing day he remained indoors, and would not go out, to avoid wearing the badge in public.

With regard to Irish affairs the news at Court, at least that published by the King's ministers, is that whilst le seigneur de Childre (the lord of Kildare) was encamped ready to march against the Royal forces, one of his brothers deserted him and went over to the English, in consequence of which, the said Childre (Kildare) had taken to flight, and gone to one of his castles, which the royalists had besieged. Few people here believe news that has no appearance whatever of being correct, at least in the form in which it is published.

From Scotland I have nothing to report save that one, who came last from that country, tells me that Your Majesty's agent was still there. Perhaps the Scottish king is delaying his departure until he hears whether the Admiral has, or has not, succeeded in obtaining this king's consent to the marriage of the daughter of France.—London 5 Dec. 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original in cipher. Deciphering appended. pp. 6.

5 Dec. **115.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*269, No. 68.

Has been told from two credible sources that the admiral of France (Philippe Chabot) had summoned the king of England, according to the letter of the existing treaties between him and the king of France, to look to the consum-

* Thus in the original deciphering, but the number seems excessive; perhaps 5,000 were meant.

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mation of the marriage of the Princess, his daughter, with his son, the Dauphin, the Admiral protesting at the same time that his master was in no way anxious about it, as, in case of a refusal, he would try to marry the Dauphin to the Infanta of Spain, or elsewhere. This news, however, agrees with the information conveyed by the English ambassador in France, who has written that the general opinion in that country is, that though the King's marriage had been declared null, the Princess was nevertheless the legitimate heir to the Crown. In order to lead to the observance of the said treaties, several of the Admiral's attendants had positively assured various courtiers that no formal proposal had been made of marrying the said Infanta to the Dauphin.

That some of the Admiral's people had said everywhere that their master was anything but pleased with the results of his mission, for the King had obstinately refused to grant any of his requests, even that of the marriage alliance between the Dauphin and the Infanta above alluded to, which the former resolutely opposed in virtue of certain clauses of their mutual treaty.

That by act and ordinance of the Courts of Justice and Parliament, the king of England has been declared and confirmed suzerain chief of the Anglican Church, and that in such capacity the tribute in money, which the country formerly paid to the Apostolic See, as token of obedience, is henceforward awarded to him. Every measure enacted by the preceding Parliament against the Holy Apostolic See had been ratified, putting aside all the conditions and suggestions which the Act formerly contained.

That the King, as supreme head of the Anglican Church, had at first the idea of taking possession of all ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, distributing among its ministers the portion deemed necessary for their support, and keeping the remainder for his own use. He had, however, consented to allow the Clergy of his dominions to retain the first fruits thereof on condition of their consigning and paying him annually the sum of 150,000 crs., besides the revenue in the first year of all vacant benefices, whether bishoprics or minor ones, which is supposed to amount to a most incalculable sum.

That the English bishops are now disputing with the doctors summoned by this king from Germany concerning the sacrifice in the Mass, and as to whether Faith alone without good works be sufficient for the salvation of man. The dispute is carried on in writing, and if the German doctors, who belong to a man to the Lutheran sect, carry the day, there is every probability of their infecting all this kingdom with their errors.

French. Original abstract. pp.* 2.

* It is indorsed: *Extrait des lectres de lambassadeur en angleterre du Ve de decembre,* and begins: "Que lon la aduerty do deux coustes dignes de foy, &c.," whence I gather that it is only an abstract of Chappuy's despatches 112 and 114 prepared for the Emperor's perusal.

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7 Dec. **116.** INSTRUCTIONS to TELLO DE GUZMAN for ROME and other COUNTRIES.

S. E., L. 29, ff. 14–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 141.

What you, Tello de Guzman, gentleman of our chamber, will have to do in this your mission to Italy.

You will go by way of Genoa, and deliver to our ambassador there (Gomez Suarez de Figueroa) the letter you have for him. You both will then call on the prince of Melfi, (Andrea Doria,) and tell him, after the delivery of our letter, that We have expressly commanded you to touch at Genoa that you may be the bearer of a letter from him (Doria) to the count de Cifuentes, informing him of what measures and assistance he must solicit from the new Pope with regard to Barbarossa and the Turk. The said Doria is likewise to put himself in communication with our viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo), and let him know what armament, ammunition, provisions, &c. he may want for his fleet of galleys, where it is to be stored, at what time ready.

This being done at Genoa, you will start for Rome, and deliver to count de Cifuentes the letter or letters of the said Andrea Doria, as well as our own. Then, in union with the said Count, our ambassador, you will wait on His Holiness, and ask for as much help and assistance as he can give us in this affair of the Turk, and at the same time solicit the quick dispatch of what we have asked him concerning the Clergy and the Military Orders in our dominions. You will tell him in our name the substance of our conversation respecting the peace of Christianity and the affair of the duke of Urbino, about which you came here, as well as that of the new cardinals about to be created.

This being done at Rome, without staying there more than the time absolutely necessary for an audience from His Holiness and the delivery of your message according to these instructions, you will start for Naples, give the Viceroy the letters of Andrea Doria, and concert with him the best means of ensuring the provisioning of the Imperial fleet in those ports. You will tell him that We rely on him to have in readiness for the time appointed by Doria all this captain may require for his fleet, and that We should be glad if the number of the Neapolitan galleys that are to accompany that admiral should be six instead of four, as previously agreed.

Your commission at an end, you will return to Rome to the embassy under count de Cifuentes, as formerly.—Madrid, 7 Dec. 1534.

Spanish. Original minute.

11 Dec. **117.** CARDINAL PALMERI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 90. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 144.

Has written twice before. Knowing from the Imperial ambassador (Sylva) and from other persons how pleased His Imperial Majesty has been with his letters from Rome, and

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being now in a better position than ever to procure reliable information, he will, though his former communications have remained unanswered, continue to report.

And first he (Palmeri) must declare that His Holiness' righteous and good intention is to promote, as far as is in his power, the welfare of Christendom, and the peace between Christian Princes. To attain those objects, he (the Pope), is determined to work with all his might, disregarding entirely the individual interests of Princes or his own. Knowing how necessary it is to uproot the Lutheran sect, he has decided, with the help of God, and through the medium of Your Majesty, to convoke a general council.

He himself would very much wish to join in the undertaking against the Infidel; but the strait in which the Apostolic See is now placed, the suppression of certain tributes and tithes (*dacios, gavelas y decimas*), which the clergy of this city (Rome), paid unduly, and which have since his own accession to the pontificate been reduced by 25,000 ducats annually, and many other causes, have so exhausted the Papal treasury, that it is quite impossible for him to do anything that way. He has ordered his nuncios in foreign countries to abolish at once the use of cipher, or secret way of writing, and state what they have to say clearly and openly. He has chosen for the government of the State six cardinals; Siena, Sancta Severina, and Cesarino; for the government and reformation of Rome, Campeggio; Grimano and Cesis for the government of the ecclesiastical domain, and the reform of existing disorders and vexations.

His Holiness (the Pope) does not choose the ecclesiastical estate to be henceforward governed by simple clergymen, but by the best and most virtuous prelates that can be obtained, and as in every province there used to be formerly a governor, he has now ordered that there shall be one in each city to avoid (*excusar*) several disorders that occurred formerly, and give some repose to the vassals.

Is very grateful for His Imperial Majesty having sent Waury. The marriage of the son of the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) to Isabella, the daughter of the duchess of Camarino (Giulia), has been contracted without his knowledge or permission. That and the Duke's intrigues at Perugia, and elsewhere, have certainly grieved the Pope; His Imperial Majesty ought not to countenance the Duke.

With regard to Ferrara and its differences with the Holy See, the Pope (Paul) says, that should the Duke come to terms with honest conditions the affair may be settled amicably.*

The College of Cardinals, being unanimously of opinion that His Holiness on his accession (*assumpcion*) to the Pontificate ought naturally to bestow favour on his own relatives, have proposed for the cardinalate two nephews of

* "La cosa ayase (*sic*, habrase?) de determinar por via de concordia."

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his, now at the college of Bologna, one aged 16, son of the late Pier Luigi Farnese,* the other 17, named Blasio de Sanctaflor, brother-in-law of the said Pier Luigi. His Holiness makes certain difficulties about that, and will not accede to the wishes of that college, but at last he will yield and create those two, leaving for another occasion those that he intends as an ornament and glory to the whole college.—Rome, 11 Dec. 1534.

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

19 Dec. **118.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*228, No. 70.

On the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 9th ult., I immediately proceeded, in compliance with the orders therein contained, to inform both the Queen and the Princess of what concerned each of them in particular. It has been of such consolation and comfort to them that no words of mine could convey an idea of the joy both have experienced at it. Indeed, I may say that they were greatly in need of such consolation, *considering the rude treatment they have been, and are still, subjected to, which, far from being amended, is apparently waxing worse and worse every day. Nor is there the least hope of an alleviation of their mutual sorrows taking place in the future, nor of their household officers and servants being restored to them, as they seem to write to Your Majesty from Rome. On the contrary, every day the household of the Queen and Princess is more and more reduced. Only the other day, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, one of the Princess' maids, the same who was sent to prison, though released shortly after, was forbidden to return to her service. I really believe, however, that all this ill-treatment of the Princess has principally originated in the hatred of the Lady Anne, and is carried on without the King's knowledge,* who occasionally shows love and affection to his daughter. Of this he has lately given manifest testimony, for the Princess, having fallen ill, he immediately sent his own chief physician to attend on her, intimating that nothing would grieve him so much as the loss of his daughter. Having, moreover, heard from the physician's lips that her illness was partly the result of the worry and extreme annoyance to which she had been subjected, the King began to sigh deeply and exclaim: "Is it not a great misfortune that my daughter should be so obstinate, and persevere in a line of conduct that prevents my treating her as I

* Pier Luigi Farnese, lord of Montalto, left two sons; Alessandro, who became Pope, and Bartholomeo, who married Iolande Monaldeschi di Corvaro. I know of no other Pier Luigi in the family of Farnese. As to Blasio de Sanctaflor, or rather Santafiore, I find no mention of his name in the Italian genealogists. One Francesca Farnese, daughter of Angela, the Pope's sister, did marry a sister of Santafiore, but the latter's name was Julio (not Blasio) Sforza.

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should wish, and she deserves?" * *And upon the physician himself insinuating that, if sent to the residence of the Queen, her mother, the Princess might live there at less expense, be more honourably treated, and recover more surely, and besides, that in case of mishap (which may God forbid), all suspicion of foul play might be removed by the presence of so many witnesses,† the King owned to him that he was right in what he said, but that there was one great drawback in such a plan, which was that were the Princess sent to reside with her mother, it would be impossible for him to bring her to his wishes, and make her renounce her legitimacy and her right to the succession.*

Since the date of Your Majesty's letters, several of mine must have been received, containing a full and satisfactory answer to most points touched on in them, owing to which, I shall be as brief as possible. *With regard to the Lady (Anne) it is quite true that occasionally this king seems to be angry with her; but,* as I have already observed in some of my previous dispatches, *such outbreaks are merely lovers' quarrels, of which no great notice need be taken, unless, indeed, the King's passion for the young lady, about whom I once wrote to Your Majesty, should continue and wax stronger than it is at present, of which, however, there is no certainty considering this king's fickle and capricious humour. I hear from the Grand Squire (Guildford), that upon the Lady [Anne] addressing certain remonstrances to the King, and complaining that the young lady in question did not treat her with due respect in words or deeds, the King went away in a great passion, complaining loudly of her importunity and vexatiousness. Neither is there any further sign of the King's ill-humour towards the Lady's relatives,‡ except that which is naturally connected with their occasional quarrels; though it must be said, that Rocheford's wife was dismissed from Court owing to the above mentioned cause,§ and that he himself has been unfavourably treated by the King in a question or dispute he had with Master Bryan. The Lady's sister also was banished from Court three months ago; but her exile as necessary, in consequence of gross misconduct, and it would not have been either honorable or decent for her to appear at Court enceinte.‖*

* "Le dit roy commença jecter ung grand suspir disant si ce n'estoit point ung gros malheur quelle demourast ainsi obstinee, et quelle luy osta[t] toute occasion de la tres bien traytter commil vouldroit."

† "Ou elle seroit a moindre coustange plus honnestement et seurement [traictee] pour sa sainté, [et] ou a tant temoings en cas que mesadvint dicelle princesse."

‡ "Quant a lindignation de ce roy contre les parans (*sic*) de sa dite dame il ne sen appart autrement."

§ *See* Chappuys' despatch of the 13th of October, No. 97, p. 280.

‖ Mary Boleyn, Anne's sister and widow of Sir William Cary; also called Mary Rochford and Mary Cary. In 1534 she married Sir William Stafford. "La soeur de la dite dame a aussi este puis trois mois bannye de la court, mais il convenoit ainsi fere, car oultre quelle avoit este trouve[e] en malefice, il neust este honnorable ne duisaut la veoir ensaincte (enceinte) par la court."

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Though I was at first given to understand that the Admiral of France (Chabot), had actually made overtures concerning the marriage of the Princess to the Dauphin, yet I hear from a good quarter, that previously to the receipt of Your Majesty's letter, an application for her hand had been made for the duke of Angoulême, and that this king had twice refused to entertain the subject, taking it as a hoax or mere joke on the part of the Admiral; and that upon the latter, at a second audience, insisting that he had mandate from his master, to apply for such a marriage, this king maintained that Francis could not have spoken seriously of that affair, but merely by way of a joke, so that when the Admiral mentioned the subject a third time, he was actually obliged, as I have been told, to exhibit his written instructions under the great seal of France, which, according to the testimony of a worthy citizen, who knows the person who held them in his hand and read them throughout, contained among other commissions that of applying for the aforesaid marriage, exhorting this king to return to the obedience of the Roman Church, and acknowledge the legitimacy of his daughter. According to information received the King's answer was, that he had no objection to the marriage, provided the Princess and her intended husband made firm and solemn renunciation of all rights and titles they might have, or pretend to have, to the crown of England. It is highly probable that when the Admiral spoke to me of the great service he expected to render shortly to the Princess, he alluded to this very marriage, which he imagined might be effected. However this may be, I very much doubt of the marriage ever taking place; when both Kings come to consider the probable consequences of such an alliance, they will cool upon it most likely and drop it altogether.*

Courtiers here are spreading the rumour that the royalists in Ireland, have taken one of Chieldra's (Kildare's) castles; but I attach no faith to the report. Both English and Irish have lately agreed upon a more regular system of warfare, and there is no longer a question of burning each other's villages.† On the side of Scotland there is no stir at all for the present. I have not heard of this king having sent thither anyone since those who went for the ratification of the peace, nor has the King of Scotland (James) sent here anyone to replace the abbot, who came for the swearing to and ratification of the said peace. A Scotchman, who arrived from Edinburgh a week ago, tells me that Your Majesty's agent was still in that country.

I hear from a good quarter that since the Admiral's departure Cromwell has boasted in the presence of several good companions (en bonne compaignie), of having made

* "Et que ce roy par deux fois sestoit voulu desmeler dentrer en telles matières, et le print en ieu et gauldisserye."

† "Et quil ne sera plus question de brusler lung sur lautre."

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a plot, out of which Your Majesty could not extricate yourself in less than one year. The French ambassador himself, I am told, has spoken about it in more explicit terms, and in the French fashion, adding, that Your Majesty after so many injuries, oppressions and extortions practised upon the King, his master, had only offered as a compensation some marriage or other, and that the time had come for the king of France to ask for a reparation of the wrongs and injuries received at your hands, as well as for the recovery of everything violently taken from him; otherwise that Your Majesty would lose Sicily and the rest of your possessions in Italy, besides other things; that the Turk in person, or at least Ibráhim Bashá, would come down on Italy with a most formidable power, independently of Barbarossa, with whose ambassador, lately arrived in France, the said Admiral made a great fuss, meaning, no doubt, that his mission was one of great importance.

I hear also that the 100,000 *crs. which the French were to have paid these people on the last St. John's term, have taken the road to Germany, to brew the liquor whereof Cromwell spoke so boastingly.**

This king after getting the additional 30,000 *pounds sterling from the Clergy, and accepting from the laics last year's grant of* 15 °/₀ *(une quindesime ordinaire), amounting altogether to about* 28,000*l., did last week, with the authority of his Parliament, levy a tax of* 20 *per cent. on the property of his subjects, all foreigners in his dominions being bound to pay exactly the double of that, which will amount to a very considerable sum indeed. All these are suggestions of Cromwell, who boasts that he will soon make of his master the richest prince in Christendom; but the said Cromwell forgets that by such means he alienates the hearts of this king's subjects, who are already in great rage and despair at it, and, moreover, so oppressed and weakened thereby, that without help or foreign intervention, it will be impossible for them to break out into open disaffection.† If so, Cromwell will pull them still further down, taking example by the Turk, whom from the despotism he exercises over his subjects (Cromwell observes) is well worthy of the titles of King and Emperor. Meanwhile, no words can convey a sufficient idea of the sad and afflicting condition of the English people, and of their wish to declare themselves, especially the Welsh, from whom the King has quite lately taken away all their laws, privileges and customs, which is the thing in the world which the inhabitants of that country are least disposed to put up with, and I really cannot understand how*

* "Lon ma dit que les C^m escuz que les Francois deuoient paier a ceulx-cy pour le terme de la S. Jehan passe auoint prins le chemin dAllemaingne pour fere le brassin dont comme dessus Cremuel se vante."

† "Mais ilz sont tant amutinez et oppressez que sans ayde et assistance estrangiere il ny a ordre de grondir."

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during these Irish troubles the King could be imprudent enough thus to meddle with the Welsh, unless God chose to blind him altogether.

Two days ago a secretary of the Vayvod [of Transylvania], who left Hungary four months ago, arrived here. He has spent some time at the court of France.

I am told that Parliament is to be prorogued to-day till the Thursday after Ascension day. No discussion has yet taken place on matters of Faith, at which the Lubeckian doctors are rather displeased, *saying that it is evident this king does not care at all for the reformation of the Christian religion, and thinks of nothing else but promoting his own personal affairs.*

The King has no great trust in the oath that has been exacted from his people respecting the validity of this his second marriage, and the succession to his crown. Not being at all satisfied with the arbitrary penalties decreed against those, who might be convicted of having spoken or written against the ordinance, he has now caused a new statute to be promulgated by far more rigorous than the first, imposing pain of death and confiscation of property on whomsoever shall designate the Queen and Princess by their respective titles, or speak unfavourably of his second marriage.

In the same way the Parliamentary bill passed last year forbidding importation here [in England], of new wines from France before the Purification of our Lady, and navigation except in English bottoms, has been revoked as a contravention to the treaties and leagues with France. — London, 19 Dec. 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French, in cipher. pp. 8½.

— Dec. **119.** The Emperor to Count Cifuentes.

S. E., L. 28, f. 179.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 147.

His Imperial Majesty wishes to know how far His Holiness is inclined towards the Cardinal and Duke;* what means the former has at his disposal, and what foundation there is for the undertaking he meditates; and lastly, whether he has or has not an understanding with France respecting his plans. The latter conjecture seems very probable, considering his intimacy with Strozzi, who is a Frenchman at heart, &c.

You (Sylva) were quite right in telling His Holiness that whatever chevalier Casale may say respecting English affairs, is nothing more than a device of his to have the proceedings in the divorce suit suspended. You shall, therefore, continue to act in conformity with your instructions, especially

* By "the Cardinal," *Ippolito* de' Medici is meant; by the Duke his brother, *Alessandro*, married to Margaret duchess of Florence. *See* the Emperor's letter to Count Cifuentes (No. 113, p. 332), dated Nov. —, which seems to be an abstract of this one.

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those taken by Mons. de Waury, still thanking His Holiness for his goodwill towards us, and his desire to do justice in the matrimonial case, and entreating him to carry out his determination on that point. As to taking out the executory letters (*executoriales*), you had better not be too hasty about it, until it is known here what has been the result of Mons. de Waury's mission. This, however, must be done with a certain dissimulation, and in such a manner that We may not be accused of want of zeal (*tibieza*) in the affair.

Respecting the French, We can easily believe that they are at this moment trying to gain the Pope to their side. You shall inform us from time to time of what you may hear on the subject, that no opportunity be lost of defeating their intrigues.

Of what count of Nassau negotiated in France you were duly apprised at the time, through Mons. de Waury; since then no advance has been made in the negotiation. You did right in assuring the Venetian ambassador that the suspicions of the Signory were quite unfounded. The same statement has since been made to the one who resides here at this our court, and We have reason to believe that the Signory will be —and, indeed, it appears is—satisfied with our explanation.

We were glad to hear of the restitution of Novi to the duke of Ferrara; but at the same time We hear of his death* by a messenger of [Hercole II.] his son. As we intend making as much of the son as we once made of the father, we command you to take care of him and of his affairs in accordance with our instructions. La Mirandola, we hear, has not yet been restored to its legitimate heirs; you will take care that it is so, and will request His Holiness in our name to see that justice be done in that quarter.

With regard to the Nuncio, whom His Holiness thinks of sending to reside next our person, you may say that if he be an ecclesiastic, in whom we may trust, zealous and well-intentioned, His Holiness may choose whosoever he pleases. True it is that We have a good opinion of Giovanni Poggio; We know him to be a good servant of His Holiness, and well intentioned, and therefore should be glad of his nomination; but any one, We repeat, is good enough for us, provided he has the above-named qualifications.

You say that, in consequence of the Strozzi, bankers of that city, having refused to pay two bills, of 1,500 ducats each, drawn by Antonio de Leyva and prothonotary Caracciolo, on the plea that they had not been presented in Clement's lifetime, it had been decided that two lawyers should look into the case, and see whether there was ground enough for the refusal. We cannot conceal from you the displeasure caused us by the intelligence, for certainly it is not for lawyers,

* Alfonso I., duke of Ferrara, died, according to the best accounts, on the 31st of August 1534.

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and certainly not for the Strozzi,* as depositaries of the funds of the Italian league, to decide whether bills drawn by the Imperial commissioners are to be paid or not. It is their business to pay, as they have paid other expenses of the League, and certainly were We to bring in a bill for our own expenses in keeping the Spanish infantry, all the funds received on account of that league would be insufficient to repay us.

Letters from Germany inform us of the death of Luigi Gritti.

It is well that 1,000 ducats should have been paid to Andrea Doria for his own expenses, at the time that pope Clement had the Genoese galleys armed.

Of Miçer Ambrosio, the Pope's secretary, We have heard much good, and know the trust that is placed in him.† . .

. . . . . .

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 6.

— Dec. ? **120.** ——— to the EMPEROR.‡

S. E. Rom., L. 861, f. 83.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 155.

Considering the many services that Cardinal Farnese has rendered, and is still rendering, especially in the matrimonial cause of England, of such importance for His Imperial Majesty, and of his being a person of so much authority, and dean of the Sacred College; considering how important it is to secure his goodwill in the English business, as in other affairs, which may spring up any day, it would be well if His Imperial Majesty should grant him favour at the first ecclesiastical consulta; for besides his being well worthy of reward, his services have not yet been acknowledged. Although the Emperor granted to him, and to each of the cardinals present at his coronation at Bologna, the right of naturalization, it would be advisable to send the diploma to him in due form, inasmuch as he feels much hurt just now at

* See above, p. 333. The Strozzi were the bankers, at whose house the funds of the League were deposited. The bills, as it appears, were worded, *for the expenses incurred by the Spanish infantry sent to Genoa,* in 1533, to defend that town against Barbarossa. It was alleged that if such expenses were to be paid out of the funds of the League for the defence of Italy, the Romans had also a right to demand what had been spent by them on the fortifications of Ostia and Civitta Vecchia."

† This is only a fragment, or rather sheet 4, of a long minute which happens to be imperfect. It has no date, and was placed by Bergenroth after a paper of the 11th December 1534, at fol. 147, vol. xvi., of his collection of papers from Simancas; but as Clement's death took place on the 25th of September of that year, that of Alfonso duke of Ferrara on the 31st of August, the election of pope Paul in October, and the final restitution of Novi shortly after; as, moreover, the Emperor was holding his court at Madrid, where he arrived on the 10th of October, to stay until the 2nd of March 1535, I have not hesitated in calendering it here. As to Micer Ambrosio, the Pope's secretary, *see* above, p. 333.

‡ "The letter, which is anonymous, may be an abstract of one of Sylva's despatches, or else of Ortiz, Aceves, or any other of the Emperor's agents at Rome; but though dated December, and placed at the end of the volume, it is almost certain that it belongs to the year 1533, before Clement's death, and when Farnese was still dean of the college of Cardinals.

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the summons he has received to appear personally or by proxy before an ecclesiastical court in Spain under pain of losing his naturalization, &c. The canonry he owns is now held by lic^te^ Baeza.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

Dec. **121.** IDIAQUEZ'S REPORT on the AFFAIRS of FRANCE.

P. Arch. d. l'Et., *Neg. Pap. de Sim. (olim* k. 1483, No. 27). B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 160.

In view of viscount Hannart's despatches, and the King's persistence in his former answer, delivered through Mr. de Nassau, rejecting the proposed marriage of his third son, the duke of Angoulême, to the princess of England, the councillors beg leave to report as follows:

Firstly. Whether the negotiations for a lasting peace with the king of France ought to be abandoned altogether, and no reliance placed on the promises by him made on former occasions to observe existing treaties, considering that though he has often pledged his word, and said so in writing to the the Count, he seems to have since changed his mind; or whether the Emperor ought to temporize with him, and thus gain time the better to convince His Holiness, the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian powers, of his utter inability to bring the French king to reason, &c.*

Secondly. Whether, in order to try every possible means of cementing the peace of Christendom, it would be advisable to offer the king of France some sort of compensation for his disappointment in the affair of Milan, especially in the event of the present duke (Francesco Sforza) dying childless, as has often been proposed; or whether it would be better to leave matters as they are at present, since the King persists in having the Duchy unconditionally, at or before the Duke's death, with sons or without, as well as Genoa and Asti, besides the securities and pledges which he demands from this time, which would make him the sole and real master of the Duchy—a thing which, besides offending the Venetians and other Italian powers, is sure to bring discredit and be the cause of our losing Genoa.

Whether the King's offers respecting the General Council should be accepted, or the endeavours which, he says, he is making to bring it about, provided it be held at a secure place, and his own deputies and ministers admitted, as has been done on other occasions, trusted in; or whether it will be preferable to place the whole affair in the hands of His Holiness for him to treat of and discuss with the King himself, since it is quite evident, as may be gathered from his answer, that king Francis, under colour of selecting a

* A note by secretary Covos on the margin of this report (consulta) has the following: "Let a gracious letter be addressed to the King, explaining the reasons His Imperial Majesty has for not granting his request; also circular letters to all the powers informing them of the breaking off of the negotiations, as well as to the Germans, warning them against the enlistment of troops."

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town secure for all parties, will ultimately raise all possible obstacles against the meeting. If he does, as no doubt he will, oppose the Council, that will be a proof to the whole of Christendom of his bad intentions on that subject.

Whether any answer is to be made by word or in writing to the French ambassador residing at this Imperial court, or to the one in France, for them to look out for an opportunity of ascertaining what truth there is in the report that king Francis had said to the late pope (Clement) at Marseilles, that the Emperor had actually sent some one to treat with the Turk without his knowledge or consent. Of course his Majesty cannot invoke the testimony of a Pope now dead, but it is, nevertheless, a notorious fact that count Salm* and Sancho Bravo† were expressly despatched to pope Clement from Alessandria [della Paglia] to ask his opinion and consent respecting the mission of Cornelis and Geronimo Zara [to Constantinople]. Witnesses to this are some cardinals and several other persons well worthy of credit, such as the said count Salm and Sancho Bravo, who will readily attest that Pope Clement approved of the mission and praised its object. He did more, he recommended that Cornelis should return [to Rome] a second time, and therefore that ambassador was particularly instructed not to treat in His Imperial Majesty's name, but in that of Pope Clement, and of the kings and princes of Christendom with His Holiness' consent, not otherwise.

Whether a declaration of this kind ought to be addressed to the new Pope, and the King's assertion contradicted, especially when it is known that he himself has been in constant communication with the Turk (as Pope Clement has often reported) without his knowledge or consent, and without declaring, before or afterwards, what was the nature and result of the negotiations, &c.

Whether count de Cifuentes at Rome and the Imperial ambassador in England (Chappuys) ought to be informed of the proposed marriage of the princess of England and the duke of Angoulême, that both and each of them respectively may be prepared to answer all questions, and show that the Emperor's intentions were sound and honest.

Whether the Imperial ambassador in France ought to be told something more of the contents of the private and secret instructions forwarded to the count of Nassau respecting the security of the marriages, which the King said could not be enforced, inasmuch as when the parties came of age, a change might come over them, to which question the Ambassador has answered nothing; or whether it is preferable to leave matters as they are, since there is no probability of such a step being profitable, and, on the contrary, it might be the cause

* *See* vol. iv. part ii. p. 666.

† Secretary at Naples in 1532–33, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 402, 780.

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of their asking conditions from which he could not disengage himself.

Whether the said ambassador (Hannaërt) ought to be informed of what the king of France falsely attributes to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), and whether the latter ought to know that king Francis accuses him of having once said and published that "between the Emperor, his brother, and him (the king of France) an agreement would shortly be made to punish the Lutherans," all with a view, as he said, to making him lose his friends and allies in those parts; and whether the king of the Romans ought not to be warned against such false imputations, calculated, perhaps, with great duplicity to incense the Lutherans and render them more bitter and obstinate against His Imperial Majesty and the king of the Romans.

Whether, by way of trust, the King's aspersions against the Venetians, and what he says of them and of their wish to become masters of the Duchy, ought to be confidentially shown to the ambassador of the Signory residing here; and whether count de Cifuentes ought also to have copy of what that king says of the present Pope, and make such use of the information as he may think most fit.

Whether the Imperial ambassador in France ought to be written to respecting the King's accusation that We wanted to divert him from his purpose by means of calumnious charges;* or whether it is better to dissemble and take no notice of such insulting words, telling the ambassador that whenever such controversies occur, he must, though entirely in his right, answer with modesty, as behoves His Majesty's representative.

Whether the ambassador is to answer the King's objections as to the seignory† of Flanders and Artois, or whether it will be preferable to leave matters alone, for fear of casting doubt upon what is considered certain; besides which, it is not a thing within the ambassador's province, and although the answer is, on the other hand, irrefutable (*irrefragable*), because, even supposing the Emperor to have been the vassal of the king of France (as he pretends) for the lordships of Artois and Flanders—which he never was, yet, as the king of France had without just cause or reason, and against the existing treaties, waged war against him, His Majesty could have shaken off the pretended allegiance, especially having vanquished the King on the field of battle, and made him his prisoner; the more so that by the treaties of Madrid and Cambray the King fully consented to it.

Whether information should be sent to Rome of what the archbishop of Lunda (Lunden) and Mr. d'Andalot have had

* "A lo que el dicho Rey de Francia ha dicho que le querian entretener calumniosamente, y si sera mejor dissimular."

† "Superiority (*superioridad* in Spanish) is equivalent to "domain" in French.

‡ "Y no ha jamas pensado ny entiende Su Mag^{d} hazer cosa ninguna contra los recessos de las dietas Imperiales."

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occasion to observe, namely, that during their stay in Germany the French ambassadors have been in continual communication with the Lutherans. If so, the Count might be recommended the utmost discretion, and not to affirm anything, but refer only to letters in German received from that country.

Whether letters ought to be written to the Imperial cities of Germany, stating in general terms that His Imperial Majesty has been given to understand that some people who are only looking out for means of promoting dissension and war in Germany, have stated, and are still stating, that His Majesty is about to use force, which is entirely untrue and false. They (the Germans) must by this time have found out that His Majesty has always used his utmost efforts to preserve peace in Germany, and by means of a General Council bring its inhabitants to a good and Catholic union; he (the Emperor) has never attempted or thought of attempting anything during the recesses of the Imperial Diets. The cities and other German estates should not lend an ear to the above imputations, which are entirely devoid of truth; they ought to expel from their country and severely punish the spreaders of such false rumours and accusations only calculated to engender suspicion and cause dissension in Germany. Letters so worded might profit at this juncture.

Should the king of the Romans be addressed in similar terms, referring him to the above-mentioned German letters, and to the offer he himself has made of arresting the King's ministers and ambassadors (Langes and Dr. Gervaise),* who for the last five or six years have continually been at the bottom of certain intrigues both in Germany and Switzerland? Langeay, in particular, has been most active in the divorce affair. Should the King's offer be accepted, and the above-mentioned individuals arrested, we might easily learn from them what has been done in matters of Faith and of the pretended divorce, as well as the reasons which have induced the kings of France and England to refuse the help and assistance against the Turk at the time that His Majesty was in Germany, and we might also ascertain what are the King's plans for the future, and who are his allies and friends. This might be accomplished secretly, in the name of the king of the Romans, he assuming all the responsibility of the affair without His Majesty seeming to have anything to do with it. An excuse could easily be found in the late undertaking of the duke of Würtemberg against the king of the Romans, which, as is well known, has been conducted by the said Langeais. Or whether it will be better for the above considerations, and the Emperor's wish for peace, to leave matters as

* "Si se devra scrivir al Rey de Romanos sobre esto, señaladamente quanto á lo que él [mismo] ha scripto [de] las cartas en Aleman, diziendo que él podria prender los dichos ministros y embaxadores, los quales son Langes y el Doctor Gervasio," &c.

† *The copy in Bergenroth's collection is singularly defective, as if the original had been mischievously torn.*

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they are, and not give occasion to the King to shut the passes into his kingdom, and perhaps do something worse.

Spanish. Original. pp.

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1 Jan. **122.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.*P.C.,*Fasc.*269, No. 71.

Although there is at present no matter worth writing about, yet not to break my habit, I profit by the departure of this messenger to inform Your Majesty of a few particulars in expectation of an answer from home. Considering also that Mr. Darcy has not yet obtained leave to return to his county, and the very great danger to which his person might be exposed, should these people come to discover any signs of understanding between him and me, I have purposely abstained from sending any one of my secretaries to visit him, nor has he sent to me. Yet three days ago he sent me word through a priest of his household, a native of Hainault,* to say that if I had any news to communicate, I was to transmit them through the same person I had lately employed, and that he wished particularly to hold a conference with me as soon as he had obtained his congé to go home. Mr. Darcy presented me on that occasion with a very fine sword of modern manufacture. I cannot help thinking that there is some mystery beneath, and that by sending me such a present at such a time, his meaning for lack of a more definite verbal message is, that this is the proper season for the brandishing of knives.† I am the more inclined to think that there is some mystery in the whole affair, because when, some time ago, he sent me the message, which I hastened to communicate to Your Majesty, he (Darcy) accompanied it with a forget-me-not made of gold, and richly ornamented,‡ requesting me, at the same time, to keep it by me as a souvenir.

I have no doubt he will be delighted to hear that the earl of Northumberland is no longer such a friend of this king and of his ministers as he used to be, for the Earl's physician tells me that his master had lately complained to him of certain wrongs and injuries received at the hands of members of this government, and had declared that those who had so behaved towards him would soon have to repent of their ill-doings. The English people (he added) were so indignant at the oppressions and excessive tyranny they suffered, that the least effort on the part of Your Majesty would be the means of working the King's perdition and ruin. The King, said the

* "Depuis trois jours en ça il menuoya de dire par ung syen presbitre quest du pays de Haynnault."

† "Et quant a quant menuoya presenter par [le dict presbitre] pour [le nouvel an?] une belle espee faicte a la moderne, et a ce que je ymagine y a du mistere au dict present, vuillant denotter par icelle, puis quil [ne trouvoit] moyen de le menuoyer dire sehurement que la saison moderne seroit propice pour jouer des cousteaulx."

‡ "Il mauoit enuoye une pensee faict dor et bien esmaillee."

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Earl, had no other hope at present but the Turk's great military power, in which his friends trusted and glorified, but which after all was a most abominable trust. The Earl went on charging the King's mistress with arrogance and wickedness, saying, among other things, that a few days ago she had heaped more injuries on the duke of Norfolk than on a dog, so much so, that the Duke was obliged to quit the Royal chamber, and that, though finding only in the hall a gentleman to whom he no longer bore affection, such was his anger that he forgot entirely whom he was addressing, and began to complain in the bitterest terms of the said Royal mistress, bestowing on her the most opprobrious epithets, and calling her among other things "grande putain."*

Yesterday evening came in all haste from Scotland one, who was once my servant. He was the bearer of letters from Your Majesty's ambassador in that country, but they were taken from him at the English frontier. He gave me to understand that, before leaving Scotland, he had seen the Imperial ambassador embark on a vessel bound for Flanders, after having fulfilled the commission for which he went thither, and having been very well treated by the Scottish king. The people of that country, said the man, were marvellously incensed against the French, owing to their having refused to entertain the marriage promised to their king. The man, it appears, had left Scotland in company with a Nuncio of the last Pope (Clement VII.), who dared not make the voyage by sea; but on his arrival at the English frontier he was stopped and detained. There is some talk of this king being about to send an ambassador to Scotland, for what purpose I cannot say; but the matter cannot be very important, or require great diplomatic experience, if the charge is to be intrusted to old William, the duke of Norfolk's brother, as it is rumoured.†

The Princess has been warned that the King, her father, in virtue of the rigorous statute lately made against all those refusing to take the oath on the occasion of his new marriage, is about to summon her, immediately after these festivals, to renounce her title, and swear to the said statute, bidding her on pain of death no longer to take, or allow any one to give her, the title of "Princess," or call Madame, her mother, "Queen." *But I take it that even if she should be*

* "Que ces jours elle dit plus diujures au dict Norforcq que lon ne diroit a un chien, de sorte quil fut contrainct de sortir de la chambre, et ne trouvant en la sale autre que ung [gentilhomme] au quel plus ne portoit bonne affection, touteffois la colere lui fist oblier cela et l'esmeut a soy desclairer au dict personnaige et luy dit les reprouches de la dicte dame," &c.

† "Mais il ne fault que ce soit matiere ou il faille expert ne arrest puisquil est question que le vieux Uvillyam, frere du duc de Norfolk, est celluy que doit auoir la charge." If by "le vieux Vuillyam," William Howard, the ancestor of the earls of Nottingham and Effingham, be meant, he was the Duke's half brother, being the son of Thomas, the second duke, by his second wife, Agnes Tilney. He was younger than his brother Thomas, and therefore the epithet old (*vieux*) could hardly be applied to him.

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sent to the Tower, or put to death, with which she is frequently threatened, the Princess will never change her purpose. The same may be said respecting the Queen mother.

This King's Privy Council hearing of the discovery lately made in France, concerning the Zwinglian heresy, and fearing lest it should spread over this country, where it might make greater havock than in France, has caused a certain book filled with the doctrines of that sectarian to be strictly prohibited, and I am told that during the last few days the present Chancellor has had 15 copies of the New Testament, translated into English, publicly burnt, in consequence of the said fear, and that an ordinance has been issued forbidding all booksellers to sell or keep a prognostic lately printed in Flanders, threatening this king with war and misfortune for this present year. And I have further been informed that some of the principal Privy Councillors have said, in the presence of a personage who repeated it to me, that should matters go on as they are at present, it would be the easiest thing in the world to create rebellion and anarchy in this kingdom by merely having the said prognostic translated into English, printed, and widely circulated among the people of England.

The governor and burgomasters of Belguez (Berghes) have arrived in this city well attended, their object being, as I am informed, to treat for the anticipation of the fair, which is annually held in that town, and other business connected with it.* And a worthy citizen has come to tell me *that the King and the members of his Privy Council, far from not attaching importance* to the arrival of the said governor and burgomasters, are on the contrary making the most of it, and publishing among the people that fear of the English merchants taking their goods elsewhere had *been the cause of their coming here; that their purpose is to prevent that which would cause their ruin, and, moreover, that they (the inhabitants of Berghes) would at once disobey Your Majesty's commands should trade with England be suspended or entirely prohibited.*

I have been told that a connexion of the lord of Kildare, having entered into a conspiracy to deliver into the hands of the Royal officers the person of that chieftain, the latter had scent of the traitor's movements, and succeeded in counteracting and defeating his plans. Falling suddenly on the assembled conspirators he slew no less than six hundred of them, and among the rest his own relative, who being taken prisoner was immediately executed. The intelligence must be correct, for a few days ago Master Cremuel (Cromwell) was heard to say several times, that ere long the said earl of Kildare would be brought a prisoner to England, which is a sign that the above news from Ireland is correct, namely,

* "Pour, comme lon dit, traytter de anticiper les festez que se tiennent au dict Belguez et autre chose concernant les dicts festes, et ma adverty ung homme de bien," &c.

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that a secret plan existed to carry away the person of the Earl, but has been defeated by him. I will make every inquiry respecting this affair.—London, 1 Jan. 1535.

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. pp. 5.

2 Jan. **123.** The EMPEROR to VISCOUNT HANNAERT, his ambassador in France.

P. Arch. d. l'Et., *Neg. Pap. de Sim. (olim B.* 3, No. 22). B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 164, Dup. 174.

Your despatches of the 7th inst. were duly received on the 15th. We are glad to hear that our letter of the 3rd ult. was by you shown to our sister, the queen of France, as well as to the Grand Master [Anne de Montmorency]. Thus, I hope, will our intentions and wishes be more clearly defined and better understood. Indeed, We imagine that had the Most Christian king of France sufficiently pondered and weighed the contents of our note, he might easily have perceived what our intentions were, and how different from what he takes them to be. The formal declarations made by the count of Nassau and by you some time ago, to the effect that we had entered into this negotiation with perfect sincerity, and solely moved by the desire of peace and the welfare of Christendom, ought, We imagine, to have been a sufficient guarantee for our actions. That was then, as it is now, our only motive, and to that end We stated that We were disposed to treat of the marriage of our sons and daughters in general, and most particularly of that of our only daughter, the Infanta of Spain, with his eldest son the dauphin (François), which marriage the King himself was the first to propose and put forward.

The King's answer to the three above-mentioned points, you say, has been: with regard to the first, or the defence of Faith, that he is continually making a severe example of all those of his subjects, who are convicted of Lutheranism, and that he considers the convocation and meeting of a General Council a matter of great necessity, nowadays that the number of sectarians is fast increasing everywhere, that the rest of the Christian princes are of the same opinion, and that the newly elected Pope has declared his intention to have it convoked as soon as possible.

Respecting the Turk the answer, you say, is, that the King is ready to serve Christianity as his predecessors on the throne did, and that Christendom will find him at the head of his forces, whenever he is called upon, provided the Christian princes allow him free passage through their respective dominions. But it seems to us that such words from the King's mouth are rather vague, and that he might have expressed himself in clearer terms, especially now that Barbarossa, the bitterest enemy that Christendom ever had, is, as it were, at the gates of Europe. As that corsair's attack will be made by sea, and there is no appearance of a Turkish army this year, King Francis might at once have promised the help of his galleys, as he is bound by the treaties to do. Christendom would

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have been saved from a great danger, and the king of France himself relieved from further contributions.

We understand perfectly well that, Barbarossa being where he now is, the danger is more imminent for us than for any other Christian prince, and that We ought to prepare, as We are actually doing, to defend principally the coasts of our dominions likely to be invaded first; but that is no reason why all princes, potentates, and good Christians ought not to help in repulsing the infidel. And since king Francis tells you that, should We grant his request, he would send us his galleys to be employed in so glorious an undertaking, it strikes us that the sincerity and straightforwardness of our proposition and our desire to please, joined to Christendom's imminent danger, should be enough to make him waive all scruples and co-operate in such meritorious work. You will add that His Holiness with the utmost goodwill has offered his galleys, and that if he (the King) would assist with his own, Christendom will for ever feel grateful for the service.

As badly intentioned people, with a view to depriving us of the favour of the Pope and his Apostolic See, have sedulously spread, at Rome and elsewhere, the rumour that our armaments by land and sea might well be destined for another purpose, you will take the very first opportunity of telling King Francis, in my name, that we solemnly declare that the armaments we are now making by land and sea are solely and exclusively intended against the Infidel. As the enemy is very powerful, and We know not where and at what time he may land, it is incumbent upon us to be prepared to meet him in whatever point of the coast of Spain and Italy he may direct his attacks.

You tell me that king Francis remarked that he is as much at liberty to send ambassadors to the Grand Turk as We and our brother the king of the Romans are, since We ourselves send whenever it suits us, and negotiate a truce with the whole of Christendom, without even consulting the rest of the Christian princes or the Supreme Head of the Church; and that the last Pope (Clement VII.) said so at Marseilles, and that he (the King) will act as his honour dictates, &c. You will tell him in answer to such a gratuitous accusation, that We cannot call as witness a Pope now deceased; but that there are many persons now living, who can testify that from Alessandria [della Paglia] We ourselves sent count de Salm and Sancho Bravo, gentlemen of our Chamber, to ask the advice of pope Clement as to our sending Micer Cornelis Sceperus and Geronimo Zara to Constantinople; and that not only did pope Clement applaud the idea, but said he considered it necessary. When Miçer Cornelis returned a second time to Constantinople for private affairs of the king of the Romans relating to the kingdom of Hungary, he had express charge from us not to contract or conclude any truce or peace without including therein the Pope and the rest of the Christian princes, and previously asking for their assent.

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Respecting the third point, namely, the peace of Christendom at large, the King, you say, declares that he is willing to co-operate in its establishment, and listen to our proposals, provided We grant the request specified in his memorandum, and that he himself is not called upon to do things against his honour or that of his allies. Our reply is that since We cannot please him, and nothing has been alleged to make us change our opinion, all arguments become useless. Should, however, king Francis abandon his pretensions [upon Milan], it will be, in our opinion, very easy to arrive at the conclusion of a good peace. We have no doubt that the duke of Savoy (Carlo) will listen to reason, and that his differences with France, whatever they may be, will be satisfactorily adjusted within a reasonable period of time.

In what respects the marriage of the princess of England (Mary), our cousin, to the King's third son, which the King pretends is not our concern, and that the union could not be effected as long as king Henry lives, and that he (Francis) is his friend, We are sure that if you have read to him, as We have no doubt, the paragraph of our letter relating to that, he must have understood, as our letters testify, and count Nassau had also charge to explain, that We never meant that the Princess was in our hands to make her do anything to the detriment of her father's honour and conscience, or to alter or do away with the alliances and treaties that might exist between those two, but rather that the King might see and appreciate the affection, inclination, and goodwill We bear him, and our desire for the aggrandizement of his sons, and at the same time do a friendly and honourable act towards the king of England, very improving for his conscience, and very conducive to the contenting and repose of his subjects.

The King, you say, observed that were We to leave his pretensions to Milan for the said offers of marriage, it would be equivalent to leaving the certain for the uncertain. We will not retort that his sons have no claim whatever to that duchy, and therefore that the offer of marriage made by us was not only advantageous, but indicative also of our love and affection for his sons, and a proof besides that We desire their aggrandizement.

To his complaint of our having said to his ambassador here that he (the King) seemed to attach more importance to the demands contained in his memorandum than to the proposed matrimonial alliances between his sons and ours, the reply is obvious. He himself owns that they are the best and most honourable that could be made for both parties, as well as for the consolidation of peace, granting that they were of an age for the said marriages to be solemnized and consummated; but that such not being the case there is no security whatever in words and promises, which might materially change. We could not say more on this point than what We once said to Mr. de Nassau, and is contained in your instructions; We were

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disposed then, as We are now, to furnish and give such securities and conditions as may be deemed necessary among Christian princes.

Nor is his resentment more justifiable against the King, our brother, for having, as he says, wilfully spread the rumour in Germany and elsewhere that count de Nassau had treated with him (Francis) for the utter destruction of the Lutherans, and that the said rumours and others equally injurious to his royal person, had been spread by our brother with a view to make him lose his German friends. Our answer to that accusation is, that We believe king Francis to have been misinformed, and that there is no likelihood at all of the said rumours having been, as he pretends, spread by our brother, inasmuch as the king of the Romans had full cognizance of the instructions given to Mr. de Nassau, in which, as you know, no mention was made of force and violence to be employed against the Lutheran sectarians. Of this, however, We are quite sure, namely, that if the words have been said, it was not our brother who uttered them. Besides, you may tell king Francis, if there should be an opportunity, that at the time of the receipt of your last letter, information was here received that his ambassadors and ministers are daily publishing at Memminghen, Ulm, and other Imperial cities that We of our own accord have pressed him to take up arms against the Lutherans! Whence We conclude that those same ambassadors and ministers may have been the inventors of the report.

You will also tell the King that We are aware that at his court various conjectures have been formed concerning Mr. de Nassau's mission, in order to produce an impression both in Italy and in England; some saying that We were ready to cede to him the duchy of Milan, on condition that he himself would forsake the alliance of England; and although We are sure that this and similar reports do not emanate from the King or from his privy councillors, We nevertheless mention the matter in this place because it behoves us to justify ourselves, principally in Italy, where the effect produced has been such that We are obliged, more than ever, to refuse what he asks of us.

The King tells you that neither this new Pope (Paul), nor the Venetians, wish to see us united; and that the latter are anxious that the duchy [of Milan] should remain in the hands of its actual possessor, that they may gain him over and seize his estate when they please. We are not aware that such a fantastic idea ever entered the head of pope Paul, nor do We believe the Venetians to aspire to the possession of Milan. True it is that patriotism and other mighty considerations may make them wish that the duchy should not fall into Francis' hands, or remain in ours, or in those of another prince whose power they dread. This has been one of the causes which have moved us to dispose of the said duchy as we have done,

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to the great satisfaction and according to the wishes of the late Pope (Clement), and the rest of the Italian potentates, owing also to the often expressed wishes of the kings of France and England. And singularly enough, the king of France relinquished for the time all his pretensions to the duchy, and never alluded to his rights, but declared, he and his ministers, that he saw with pleasure the arrangement made, and considered himself disengaged. We have no doubt that the Pope and the Venetians would wish to see the King and us united, in order that, leaving Italy in its present state, We might both apply ourselves to the remedy of Christendom.

Respecting Esquire Maravella, and what the King himself said to you, We need not enter into more details than those specified in the Duke's paper as a sufficient and proper excuse for what he did.

Repulse of the Turk, &c.

There is still one point to which We must call your attention. The King, you say, seems inclined to dispute the renunciation he once made of the seignories of Flanders and Artois, saying that many doctors [at law] maintained that the said renunciation was null and void, inasmuch as a vassal could not ask such a thing from his lord. We do not think that a long reasoning is needed to refute that specious argument; neither is there necessity for adducing here our titles and rights to the possession of those countries from the time preceding the last wars until the treaties of Madrid and Cambray.—Madrid, 2 January 1535.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

2 Jan. **124.** The Emperor's Instructions to Count Rœulx on his leaving Madrid for Italy, Germany, and Flanders.

S. E. L., 1458, f. 38.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 183.

1stly, the Count is to bear in mind above all things that our intentions are peaceful, that We shall not go to war unless actually forced to it, for the sake of avoiding greater dangers to Christendom, and promoting the welfare of our own subjects and vassals. For that purpose We are now fitting out a powerful fleet against Barbaroxa (Baba Arox), or, if necessary, against the Grand Turk, whose formidable power is continually threatening the Christian world. You will say that this, and no other, is the end of our present armaments; for unless we prepare in time to meet the Infidel on his own ground, Christendom will everywhere meet with a most serious danger, especially now that the said Barbarroxa is to be reinforced by the Grand Turk, as the late advices from Ragusa seem to imply.

Notwithstanding the above avowed intention, the words uttered by king Francis and his ministers, their threats of commencing war next summer, the attempts made by him and his agents to recruit men both in Germany and in Switzerland, the mustering and enlisting throughout his

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dominions of all men fit to carry arms—a measure which he had not ordered until now—the conduct of his governors and officers in the provinces bordering upon Flanders and Spain, and above all, the behaviour of Don Enrrique de Labrit, who boasts that he will shortly invade Navarre and besiege Pampluna, make us fear that the said king of France may perhaps seize the opportunity of seeing us engaged hand to hand with the Infidel, to declare war on some pretence or other, the more so that, if the advices lately received from various parts be true, Barbarroxa is coming at the solicitation of king Francis, who is to assist him with money and men, and that the war is to be exclusively carried out for the profit of France, which is to get whatever that renegado may conquer from me and other Christian kings.

That such is the purpose of king Francis may easily be proved by the fact that, notwithstanding all our late efforts to conciliate him, at first made through Mr. de Noircames, our chamberlain, and afterwards by Mr. de Nassau, proposing the intermarriages of our children, which he himself seemed to desire, and having besides proposed to him advantageous settlements (*partidos*) for his own sons, he has persistently refused to establish peace between us on such grounds, unless We gave him Milan, Genoa and Asti, besides Monferrato, on the terms and conditions which you must have seen by the copy of his note, which We sent you. This demand, being of course a most preposterous attack on our honour and conscience, and one directly injurious to our allies and confederates [in Italy], We could not possibly grant, and have, therefore, replied to him in the negative, though in the most moderate terms possible, and showing the reasons why we could not possibly accede to his wishes.

Yet king Francis, instead of commending our sincerity and uprightness in this matter, has spoken in the most insolent terms, and used most improper language to our ambassador at his court, as you will see by the copy herein enclosed, thus showing his determination to do us all possible harm under the plea that it is he who wishes to observe the treaties, and We who break them. Such is indeed the language of the King, and yet he himself has owned and stated, as have also some of his principal ministers, that he had taken in his service the duke of Ghelders, given him money, and made him the captain of one hundred lances, boasting at the same time, as he actually did to the Venetian ambassador, of having induced the said duke to make war on us, as he has since done in Flanders, regardless of the particular treaty between us and him, and of the articles of the peace of Madrid and Cambray approved and ratified by king Francis.

This naturally brings to our recollection another monstrous infraction of the said treaties of Madrid and Cambray, of which king Francis made himself guilty last year in the affair of Würtemberg, as you may see by the enclosed copy

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of the article referred to. The troublesome events in that duchy, entirely promoted by him and his ambassadors, and defrayed by French money, make us think that Francis will now carry on war against us by means of the duke of Ghelders. If so, We shall be obliged to take up arms for the defence of our Flemish provinces, and as it is probable that king Francis will openly assist the Duke, and declare himself, We must prepare for the onset, especially as in such an event the king of England might attack us on the side of Gravelinghes, according to the common report now being circulated at the court of France.

You are, therefore, sent to those countries that you may hold consultations on this case, and ask the advice of all and each of our allies and friends, in order that We may at once decide on what had better be done in this emergency in view of the apprehended French movements from this day to next April. Considering king Francis' power, the means he has of making war, and his close alliance with England and other countries, of which he boasts most particularly; considering also that We know not on what terms he may hereafter be with this new Pope [Paul III.], who is still showing great animosity against the duke of Urbino, besides a strong desire of aggrandizing his own family; considering the French overtures on this occasion, and the probability that Florence will also take part with the French; considering the non-settlement of the dispute between Rome and Ferrara, the conduct of the Duke [Alfonso], and the unsettled and confused state of Germany, both as regards matters of Faith and political differences; considering the hope the king of France has in the help of the Swiss, who, should war break out, are sure to side with him in virtue of the old treaties and confederacies made between them; all the above considerations you will take care to submit to our allies, and ask them what is their advice under the circumstances.

Another consideration is whether in case of war with France, Barbarroxa is still to be attacked, or left alone for a time; for if both our army and fleet, as is very natural to suppose, are required for the enterprise by land, the galleys of Barbarroxa joined to those of France, would be superior in number, and might attack Genoa, or other ports in Spain.

Should the king of France not declare war before St. John's day, and should our military preparations for the invasion of France not be ready at that time, it might be thought, and We fear that it would, that the enterprise We meditate might be tardy and fruitless for our purpose, which is to forestall the King, defeat him in the field, and compel him by force to come to reason, since all hope of friendly intercourse would then be lost. Such being the case, it seems that it would be better to remain on the defensive for the rest of this year, and yet try to surprise some sea-port town, or send a body of troops into France, so as to oblige the King to make war, if war he will

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have, at home and in his own kingdom. This would give a footing for next year's invasion, and then We should see what had better be done, especially if, with God's help, Barbarroxa was vanquished.

Should the said invasion of France by sea and land be decided upon, Princes* Doria and Leiva should consider which is the most convenient point for the attack. The land and sea forces combined might easily conquer Provence, perhaps Languedoc also, where the army would find provisions in abundance, and many large towns without defences from which money might be extorted. But on the other hand, the length of the march, the difficulties of the road, the want of supplies, and the dangers of the plague in the districts of Languedoc must be taken into consideration, and especially the circumstance that, the king of France being disengaged at the time, he might flock thither with all his forces. It is, therefore, desirable to ascertain the princes' opinion as to whether the army entering France by way of Langres and Bassiny, on the German frontier, might not do more execution by preventing the King from obtaining recruits from Germany or Switzerland, for it has always been said that nothing could intimidate the king of France so much as to march straight on Paris, which might easily fall long before the King himself was ready for resistance, which after the taking of that city would be almost impossible. There would be besides greater facilities of obtaining money, or collecting it from the surrounding districts, which are said to abound in provisions of all kinds, and are most favourably situated for an army to encamp. Thence a small division of our army might go to Languedoc, and, if protected by our fleet, take the towns on the coast. By these means king Francis would be greatly annoyed, our Spanish frontier secured against all attacks, whilst our land forces in the North would go on conquering territory on the other side, and confronting the English at Calais, should they think of helping France, and the duke of Gheldres in Flanders.

How Italy could aid in the above undertaking; what road they would take to join our armies at Bassiny or elsewhere, are likewise matters to be discussed with our allies and friends.

Another matter for consideration will be the assistance in money or men to be expected from the Italian powers, and principally from the duke of Milan [Francesco Sforza], whom the present business concerns particularly, since its estate is the chief cause or pretence for war, and consequently should an effort be now made, and king Francis defeated and humiliated, it is almost certain that Italy will enjoy quietness and repose for a good many years to come.

* Andrea Doria was by this time prince of Melphi; Antonio de Leyva, prince of Ascoli.

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How, such being the case, are the Pope, Venice, and the rest of the Italian powers to be dealt with, and whether they can be called upon to help the undertaking through the medium of the defensive league, by furnishing a contingent of men, or contributing a sum of money all the time the war may last to enlist Swiss troops, or prevent at least the French from having them, which is a most important matter for the safety of Italy?

What is to be done with the duke of Savoy (Carlo), who is at present well inclined towards us and ours, and ill-pleased with the French? The Duke has certainly the means of invading France at any time, for he keeps a good number of men well trained to war, both horse and foot, especially at Baulx and Fonsigny; though his treasury unluckily is by no means full, and should his force once cross the French frontier, the Swiss, with whom he has at present some dispute, may perhaps invade his dominions under plea that they are of old the allies of France. It is a matter for consideration whether it would not be preferable for the Duke to prepare secretly for the undertaking, keep his men in readiness, pass musters without giving the Swiss umbrage, and wait for the issue of the negotiations to be carried on with the cantons. If We can succeed in detaching the latter from the alliance of France, then will it be time for the duke of Savoy to do his worst against that country.

After examining conjointly with the princes Doria and Leyva* all and every one of the above stated points, and others, which I leave entirely to your discretion, you will communicate with us as soon as possible, by means of the cipher which you have with you, that We may come to a final resolution.

It will of course be for those princes to say what land and sea forces will be required for each expedition, what number of foot and horse, and how many of each nation, what amount of ordnance and ammunition, and all other things required for the campaign.

You will consult Antonio de Leyva particularly as to the best means of letting the duke of Milan into the secret, and preparing for the storm that is gathering, for certainly his duchy is sure to be again made the bone of contention, and the cause, or rather pretence, for war. He must try to collect the largest sum of money he can without excessive oppression of his vassals.

Besides the above considerations you may plead, as an excuse for your journey to those parts,† the words which the King of France has uttered before our ambassador and many of his own courtiers, namely, that he has actually taken into his service the duke of Ghelders.

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* That is Andrea Doria, prince of Melfi, and Antonio de Leyva, of Ascoli. *See* above, p. 362.

† "Allende desto podreys tomar occasion de vuestro viaje por las palabras que el dicho Rey de Francia ha tan claramente dicho," &c.

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We presume that by this time our Italian allies will be informed of the fact; but should they not be so, you will take care that they are properly warned, for fear of a repetition of what happened last year with the duke Ulric [of Würtemberg] and Landgrave [of Hesse]. You will tell Doria and Leyva that, considering the short time you have spent with us in Spain, and the rapidity of your journey to those parts, no suspicion can arise as to the real object of your mission. Should that be insufficient, you might say, and even affirm, that it is this agreement between the king of France and the duke of Ghelders, of which the French publicly boast, that is the real cause of your being sent to Germany and Flanders. The better to colour this feint, We now write to our ambassador in France to say this whenever he has an opportunity, and to declare that were not King Francis determined to make war on us this year, he might stop short and not incite the Duke to commence hostilities. We have written in the same strain to the queen of Hungary in Flanders, and to our ambassador in England, that they may spread the rumour in those parts as they may think proper; and should queen (Mary) find, in the meantime, the means, through a third person, of quieting the Duke and securing his inaction, at least for this year, she may do it at once, the better to disguise our intentions.

Of course, whatever may be decided between you and the princes of Melfi and Asculi must, in a certain way, depend on what the king of France himself may attempt to do, and therefore We do not give you formal and positive instructions as to how you are to act. We, however, particularly commend to you, that after concluding your business in Italy, you pass on to Germany, and there, with the greatest possible secrecy, reveal to our brother, the king of the Romans, the ground and foundation of this your mission. You will inquire from him, as well as from the archbishop of Lunden and equerry Andalot, what state German affairs are in; how far prince-electors, lords, and communities are inclined in our favour as likewise what intrigues the French are carrying on there, and which is the way of gaining over the electors and towns to us, that in case of war with France We may get from them supplies of men and money.

As by this time our councillors, Cornelio* and Godscalco must have received instructions in writing to proceed to Germany, visit in our name, the prince-electors and towns, and find the means of attaching them to our cause, and turning them away from French intrigues, you will take with you a copy of the instructions addressed to the said councillors, and correspond with them, if required, the better to fulfil the delicate charge entrusted to you.

In so doing you will use prudence and discretion according as the state of affairs may be, and the more or less inclination

* Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus, about whom *see* above, p. 350, and vol. iv., part ii., pp. 127, 297, 904, 907, and 912.

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you may find in the people, and what they expect from us in return. You will tell them that our wishes, as is the fact, is not to alter and change things unless We are actually compelled to it, and that our sole aim is the peace and quietness of Christendom; that matters of, and dissensions concerning Faith may be remedied by a general council of the Church, in order that Germany may live under one Catholic union, &c.

One of the great obstacles to the accomplishment of this our wish, the defeat of French intrigues in Germany, and the meeting of Prince-electors, is, as we are given to understand, the discord now reigning on matters of Faith; for if the said princes are not privately spoken to beforehand, and assured of our good intentions towards them, they will easily find an excuse for any agreements they may make with the king of France, in the fear they pretend to have of us, of the king of the Romans, and of other Catholic sovereigns, whilst king Francis, his ministers and ambassadors, will lose no opportunity of exaggerating those fears, besides which, those in Germany who follow the party of France, dreading, perhaps, the punishment of their ill-deeds, or expecting to gain by the change, will try to make matters worse. Unless the German Princes get some sort of security from us, it will be almost impossible to have a council convoked, and matters of Faith settled in a satisfactory manner, and, therefore, you are particularly charged to assure the prince-electors and free towns of Germany, in our name, more particularly those belonging to the French party, who have deviated from the Faith (*desviados*), that it is not our intention to proceed in those matters by force, but observe to the letter the Acts passed at the diets of Ratisbon and Nüremberg, and look for a remedy to the decisions of the General Council. That security to be given by yourself in our name, with the consent and approval of our brother (Ferdinand), as completely as it can be done, keeping, of course, to the substantial articles of our Faith, without expressly consenting to any act or declaration against our conscience and duty, in the place We occupy in Christendom, and all this only by way of tolerance and patience until the meeting of the future Council, doing all you can to bring them to our side, or at least prevent matters passing to a worse state than they are at present.*

The meeting of the Imperial Diet which our brother, the king of the Romans, is now thinking of convoking, may be of use for carrying out the above plan. Our said brother has

* "Y que la seguridad se haga por vos, y con el parescer del Rey nuestro hermano quanto hazerse pudiere, guardando lo substancial de nuestra sancta fee y sin expressamente consentir cosa que sea contra nuestra conciencia y dever, en el lugar que tenemos en la Christiandad, antes solamente por manera de tolerancia y sufrimiento hasta el dicho futuro Concilio trabajando quanto sera posible de reducirlos y á lo menos obviar que las cosas no pasen á peor y mayor inconveniente."

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opportunely been informed of the means he is to employ to gain the affection and goodwill of its members. By convoking the Diet in our name, and presiding over it in our absence, our brother will be able to defeat French intrigues, and prevent the enlisting of soldiers against us, &c.

Though the instructions given to the said Cornelis and Godscalco, of which you have a copy, will sufficiently enlighten you as to the best way of carrying out our plans, We will yet make a few observations. Our brother, the king of the Romans, has been advised, and we have lately written to him in that sense, to do all he possibly can to settle and conclude the Hungarian business, observe the treaties made with the duke of Bavaria [Lewis], and, if necessary, supplement them, thus compelling the two dukes* to become his friends, forgive and forget all past injuries, whatever resentment or doubt he himself may preserve on the subject, and make everywhere new friends and allies. Thus disengaged he will the better be able to counteract and defeat French intrigues, and, if necessary, help us in case of war.

Should, however, the King, our brother, say anything to you about his wish to command the army that may eventually invade France, you will tell him that We have given you no mandate whatever on the subject, nor have We yet resolved who the commander-in-chief of the forces is to be; besides which it would be dangerous for him to quit Germany under the circumstances, and leave it without head, as it were. Moreover, that nothing can be done in this respect until the opinions of Doria and Leyva come to hand, nor until you yourself have informed us of your doings in Germany. Should our brother still persist in his idea of accompanying the army, you will consult upon the case with Doria and Leyva, ask them what they think of it, what advantage the King's presence might be to the army, what assistance in men and ordnance he could afford, and in short, how he can help the undertaking, for after all, on this occasion everything must be risked.

We need scarcely tell you that this matter and all its bearings must be kept a profound secret, and that the ostensible object of all and each of these different negotiations is to be the Gheldres affair.

As your road to our brother's court will take you near the dukes of Bavaria, and you, perhaps, may not have time on your return from Austria to go that way, you will first go to Trent, and inform yourself there from the Cardinal (Bernardo Clesi) how matters stand between our brother and the two dukes of Bavaria since the treaty was made, in order that you may, according to the intelligence received, visit them before you go to our brother. This, of course, only in the

* That is Guillame (William) and Louis or Ludwig, twin brothers, born in 1508.

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case of your suspecting their fidelity, and their attachment to France, for otherwise there is no necessity of visiting them first.

The Duke [William ?] has always shown us affection, and a desire of attending our court. There was once some talk of it at Ratisbon, but nothing was done. You will see whether he perseveres in the same mood, and if so, tell him, as if it came from you, how very fond We are of him and of his concerns, and that you are sure that if he comes here he will be well received, according to the esteem We have for him, and the relationship that unites us. And in order that you may be informed of what passed then, We will tell you: There was a talk of our granting him an annual pension of 5,000 crs. We would willingly renew the offer now, should the Duke consent to follow our court. Lastly, we have written to the archbishop of Lunden* to feel and sound the Duke's intentions, as though of his own accord, without particularly mentioning the pension, and to let us know.

Should the said dukes speak to you about the "telonio," which We granted them conditionally, and only during the time of the observance of the treaty between our brother and them, you will state that it was not the fear of their breaking the treaty which made us insert that condition; nor is this in any way offensive to them, for certainly when We made that concession it was in virtue of our Imperial authority, and of the great friendship we entertained for them, notwithstanding that the said "telonio" is evidently to the detriment of the king of the Romans, and of his vassals. No account whatever ought be taken of the said conditional clause as regards the observance of the treaty and friendship, though our brother's interest might be seriously affected by it.†

To Dr. Ekio, chief councillor of the said dukes, you will take a letter of ours thanking him for his good offices at the time of the last treaty, and the interest he takes in our affairs.

You will try to ascertain from our brother, as well as from Lunden and Andalot, in what state the treaty now being negotiated between him and the dukes, the elector of Saxony, Ulric [of Würtenberg] and Landgrave [of Hesse], is, and when you have, endeavour to detach the three above-named princes from the French alliance.

As the above-mentioned duke-elector of Saxony insists upon having the confirmation of the treaty made between his house and that of Cleves—which treaty is so important that, should the duke of Cleves and his only son die without male issue, the whole of the estates of Cleves and Juliers

* Lund? The bishop's name was Torbernus Bilde, 1532–36.

† "No queremos hacer respecto á ello mediante la observacion de la dicha capitulacion, y buena amistad, sin la qual y mayormente por su falta seria muy grave de sufrir este interesse á nuestro hermano y á sus dichos vasallos."

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would pass to Saxony, the fiefs from the Empire remaining at our disposal—We have resolved that you take with you the ratification of the said treaty, which the Duke so much desires, and keep it secretly by you until you see that it is time to exhibit it to the Duke; you will thereby gain him to our views, do some good in matters of Faith, and if not, prevent his doing worse, and keep things as they are now after the recesses of Ratisbon and Nüremberg, whilst he and his adherents will resist and defeat the plans of the anabaptists, and assist us against the king of France. The ratification to be made after the said duke taking a most formal engagement of allegiance to us and to Ferdinand, our brother, as emperor and king of the Romans, respectively; that he will do nothing directly or indirectly against us, nor against the house of Austria and the provinces of Flanders, and that he will not interfere with the affairs of Ghelders, or impede the duchy coming to us according to our treaties with the Duke.

With regard to the said dukes and Landgrave, and each of them in particular, it will be for you to consider, after reading what the bishop of Lunden writes on the subject, what steps are to be taken to reduce them to Our obedience and separate them from France, especially the last-named, of whom king Francis makes so much, owing to the great military reputation he gained last year, and his having much credit with the soldiery. If required, you will give him satisfaction, and show the reason of the overtures made by his ministers and agents to the bishop of Lunden, and the answer made by Us, taking care during the negotiation to leave matters of Faith untouched,* and, at any rate, divide and separate the said dukes [of Saxony], Ulric [of Würtenberg], landgrave [of Hesse], and also count William of Tristemberg, who was with them in the enterprise of Würtemberg, and who now lately, as We have been informed, is residing in France with other captains in order to create a stir and recruit men in Germany for the service of France. In dealing with the said count William you will refer to Our late instructions to the said archbishop of Lunden, and to the good-will which his brother count Frederic professes to bear Us.

Should you see that some further security is needed on Our part to attract the said dukes, and principally the Landgrave, such as entirely forgiving his past errors, or making offers for the future, you will tell him that his differences with count Nassau shall be adjusted through our mediation, and that We will do our best in his favour. Any other expedient you may think of in order to secure the Landgrave's friendship, and detach him from the French alliance, will be acceptable, provided it does not affect Our honour and conscience. As,

* "Y sobre le qual le havemos respondido, como dicho es, haviendo respecto á lo mesmo que arriba está dicho quanto á los negocios de la fee, y en todo caso, sy es posible, dividir los dichos duques," &c.

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however, the Landgrave himself is rather variable and inconstant in his acts, you will proceed in all this with the utmost caution, and, at any rate, try to discover whether he is likely to abandon the said duke-elector of Saxa (Saxony), or whether there is any way of binding him to our cause, considering the ill-will which the other electors and princes of Germany, ecclesiastic as well as secular, bear him.

With the duke palatine Frederic, and his brother the Elector, their family and relatives, you are to deal in conformity with the trust We place in them, and as you may gather from the perusal of the instructions given to Mr. de Marual,—whom we lately sent to Germany for the marriage of the said Duke to the Princess of Denmark,* our niece,—as well as from the copies of that agent's despatches, showing the present state of the negotiations for the said marriage, and the complete separation of the Palatine and his family from France. Should he, however, allude to the Council, and inquire whether it is to be national or general, and what other means are proposed for remedy in matters of Faith, you will inform him of the steps We are actually taking at Rome by the agency of Mr. de Vaubry, as you may see by the enclosed paragraph of his instructions. We expect that His Holiness' answer will be favourable to Our views in this respect; but whatever it may be We will do nothing rashly. The national Council will be stayed in the meanwhile, and Germany will after all hold a general one, as Our brother, Lunden, and Andelot will tell you.

Seven thousand German infantry to increase the army against Barbaroxa, &c.

Is to learn from Lunden and Andelot what other captains and officers of note there are in Germany whose services may be secured for the future. As the former knows the country and language well, it will be important that you take him with you wherever you go, and likewise employ Andelot, Cornelis, and Godscalk, all of whom have by this time received orders to place their persons and knowledge at your service.

As most likely the danger arising from the anabaptists, and the remedy against their sect and doctrines, will be placed before your eyes,—respecting which Our brother has written to Us many a time, pointing out the manner of checking the progress of those sectarians,—you will adhere strictly to Our answer to the king of the Romans, of which a copy is here enclosed. You will declare that, for effectual resistance to the plans and tenets of the said anabaptists, the most important thing by far is that perfect union and harmony should prevail between the said electors, princes, and states of Germany in resisting the French practices, which are solely and ex-

* Dorothea, daughter of Christiern II. and Isabella sister of Charles V. She married, in 1534, Frederic II., count palatine of the Rhine.

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pressly directed to bring on division and feuds, as aforesaid, and that if the German states place themselves in a position, as they are in duty bound to do, to resist and defeat the said anabaptists, We will willingly help, and would go still much further were it not for the heavy and continuous expense of Our present armaments against Barbarossa and the Turk.*

You will also inform yourself on what terms the said Electors and Princes are with the duke of Ghelders (Charles d'Egmont) who is actually residing in France, and has taken service in that country, publishing, if need be, how handsomely We have behaved towards him since the last treaty [of Cambray], giving him the command of 50 men-at-arms, and a proportionate annual pension for their maintenance; how kindly We have treated him on every occasion, and how ungratefully he has behaved. All this you may say in the presence of the German Princes you may happen to visit on your journey, assuring them at the same time that, should the said Duke remain quiet, and not declare war at the instigation of king Francis, nothing would induce us to draw Our sword against him, and that they ought to persuade him by all means to observe the treaties between us, and not attach himself to France.

As to Flanders, you will see, by another private instruction, what answer We have given to our sister's (Mary) requests, and the provision that has already been, and will hereafter be made, in case our undertaking against France takes place.—————, 2nd January 1535.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 38.

9 Jan. **125.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 863, f. 3, B.M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 201.

Has received the despatches by Tello de Guzman, and likewise the duplicate of that formerly brought by Juan Pedro.

Spoke to the Pope concerning the Council; represented to him the inconveniences likely to arise from its not being held shortly, and the objections raised by the king of France and pope Clement VII. against its celebration, one of which, perhaps the principal, was, that it could not take place at the time, owing to the differences then existing between the Christian Princes. That was precisely the very

All this about the Council is very well. His Impl. Majesty expects an answer from the Pope, to the proposals made through Mr. de Waury. When that answer comes, it will be time to decide on the course to be followed; meanwhile the ambassador will take care to inform us of whatever is said or done in the matter.

* "Declarando donde fuere necessario que tanto mas importa que haya buena union é intelligencia entre los dichos electores, y principes y estados de la dicha Germania para les resistir, desechando las dichas praticas francesas, que no son á otro fin sino de divisiones y parcialidades, como arriba se dice," &c.

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reason why he (Cifuentes), thought the Council ought now to be assembled, because all matters of discord might be settled therein, in proof of which he produced a copy of the letter from the duke of Saxony [George] to the Papal Nuncio, which came by the last post. His Holiness' answer was that he himself wished for the Council; he thought it ought to be convoked as soon as possible: 1stly, on account of the many heresies that had invaded the Church; 2ndly, for the reformation of the Clergy; 3rdly, to set Christendom at peace; and 4thly, to provide means for the repulse of the Turk. That he shared the Emperor's opinion as to the difficulties standing in the way of a preliminary meeting of princes, and of their agreeing to the convocation; but the Council, he said, might still be convoked all the same, and begin its work at once; during that time the christian princes might meet together, &c.

After Waury's return with the Pope's answer, another letter was received wherein His Holiness is more explicit. *See* the ambassador's letter.

Having asked him what he proposed to do in view of a speedy convocation of the Council, he (the Pope) replied that he intended to send an express to the king of France informing him of his wish to have the Council convoked as soon as possible. The French king might perchance refuse his consent at first, but he (the Pope) would still insist upon it, persuaded as he is that the French King will in the end agree, the cardinals of his party having publicly declared, at the time of the last election, that king Francis really wished for a pope who should convoke and hold a general council of the Church.

He [Sylva] having stated his opinion that there was no difficulty at all in that, as king Francis could not possibly refuse his consent, the Pope replied that still he thought

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the King ought to be informed beforehand; he himself would at the same time despatch a courier to the Emperor, and another one to the king of the Romans, to notify his readiness to convoke the Council. Told him that, in his opinion, the Electors and Princes of the Empire ought to be written to; he approved of the suggestion, promising do so by letter.

[The answers are in the handwriting of Secretary Idiaquez.]

Spanish. Original minute. 3 *pp.*

5 Jan. **126.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, I. f. 1.

Received on Christmas day his letters of the 18th and 20th November and 5th December [1533]. Approves entirely of his [Chapuys'] negotiations with the admiral of France (Chabot). Regrets to hear that king Francis does not proceed more openly in the affair. Sends him copy of viscount Hannart's last letter, and his own reply to it.

Godscalke returned a few days ago from his mission. The king of Scotland would certainly like to marry the princess of England, but he thinks that it will be impossible for him to obtain her hand, and therefore wishes to ally himself to some princess related to the Emperor.

Is to report concerning the Princess' flight from England, and say what means and ways there are of accomplishing her departure.—Madrid,* 5 Jan. 1534 (*old style*).

French. Original draft. pp. 3.

14 Jan. **127.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 2.

Immediately after the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 9th ult., I apprised the Queen and Princess of what concerned them respectively, both being very well pleased at the intelligence. With respect to fostering and gaining the good-will of these people towards Your Majesty, I need scarcely say that I have always done, and will in future do, the best in my power to promote it. Indeed, no great efforts are needed to attain that object, since, for a long time back, they have been almost entirely in favour of Your Majesty, and it would indeed be a long task were I to mention the many proofs I daily receive of their readiness to forward Your Majesty's views. Yet I cannot omit one fact, which I consider of some

* "On the 10th of October 1534 the Emperor went to Madrid, where he fixed his court until the 2nd of March 1535, when he left for Barcelona viâ Alcala and Saragossa.

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significance. Not later than the day before yesterday, Milort Sans (Lord Sandys), grand chamberlain to this king and captain of Guisnes, one of the most experienced soldiers of this kingdom, sent me word that he regretted exceedingly that times were so hard that he could not possibly invite me to an entertainment at his house; but that Your Majesty might be sure that the hearts of the inhabitants of this kingdom were all with you, and that his assertion could easily be proved whenever Your Majesty tried the experiment. That if Your Majesty could see the disorder and confusion prevailing in this kingdom, and the small appearance there is of defence in case of its being attacked—even of the good-will of the subjects were not as much alienated from the King as it actually is—Your Majesty would not tarry long in providing for the remedy of the existing evils, for on the least movement on your side one would see this kingdom thrown in the greatest confusion and trouble.* The said Milort Sans (Sandys) is nowadays staying at his country-house away from Court, with which he is much disgusted, under the excuse that he is in bad health. He has sent me the above message by his physician, who is on familiar terms with me, for I need not say that I do my best to get acquainted with people of that profession, inasmuch as they have the means of frequenting the houses of the nobility, and coming to me without suspicion. I have not yet sent Your Majesty's commendations to the people mentioned in your letters, because the man I used to send on such errands is now in Flanders soliciting the payment of my salary. As soon as he comes back I shall not fail to act according to Your Majesty's commands, inform the parties named in the letter, and report their answers.

With regard to Irish news, nothing is said, save that about three days ago, Cromwell, after giving a good sum of money to two Irishmen, was heard to say to the people about him that one of the principal chieftains in that country, the cause of all the Irish troubles, had at last been taken prisoner, and that ere long Childra (Kildare) himself would fall into the hands of the royalists, be brought here [to London], and hence to the place of execution.†

On the same occasion Cromwell recounted how the king of France kept a large force of lanskenets on the frontier of Lorraine and county of Montbelliard. I must add that for a long time back there has been a talk of securing the person of the said Childra (Kildare), and, therefore, that he is likely to take as much care of himself as he has done hitherto, though, on the other hand, I must say that, being sadly in want of money

* "Et que a la moindre emocion que vostre majeste sçeut fere lon verroit en ce royaulme une inextimable confusion."

† "Que desia estoit prins lung des principaulx de ceulx, que estoit cause du trouble de Yrlande, et que auant peu de jours Childra seroit prins et amene içy, et des la a ung pic (?)."

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for the keeping of his force, it is to be feared that his own men will, one of these days, treacherously deliver him into the hands of the Royal officers.

I have been told by a worthy citizen that about 60 English hackbutiers (*hacqueboutiers*) had entered a castle within the said Childra (Kildare's) territory, thinking they might keep it; but that on that Earl's arrival with a considerable force, the English surrendered and evacuated the place, leaving their arms behind them.

I hear also from an authentic source that this king and his Privy Councillors are much concerned and astonished at their not receiving news from the court of France respecting the negotiations between this king and the Admiral, and that they begin to think and fear that there may be some intelligence between that government and Your Majesty. This king, however, hopes that if he can only hold an interview with King Francis, as they have already almost agreed to do, he will be able to defeat any other plans of Your Majesty in that quarter. The better to persuade king Francis to the meeting, and that the latter may not excuse himself, as he did last year, I am told that this king has come to no resolution at all on the matters proposed by the Admiral, delaying his final and conclusive answer till the time when he and king Francis shall meet. Such was this king's answer when asked for a decision on the several points brought forward by the Admiral, and especially concerning the Princess' marriage to the duke of Angoulesme, at which the Admiral, as stated, was anything but pleased, and still less so at what the King himself told him on the occasion of the banquet given to him the day before his departure, for being seated near the Lady whilst the dance was going on, the latter began to laugh most immoderately, at which the Admiral was much annoyed, and knitting his eyebrows said, "How is that, madam; are you mocking me?" Upon which, the lady, after somewhat restraining her laughter, made her excuses, saying, "I could not "help laughing at the King's proposition of introducing your "secretary to me, for whilst he was looking out for him he "happened to meet a lady, who was the cause of his forgetting "everything." I cannot say whether the excuse was accepted or not, or whether the Admiral found it a sufficient one, but I can vouch for the truth of the anecdote.* On the other hand, the King, the Lady, and her friends have not taken in good

* "Et encoires moings ce que le soir du festin, que le roy luy fist, que fust la veille de son partement [arriva]. Estant assis aupres de la dame pendant que lon dansoit, [car] sans occasion ne propos, [elle] se mect a rire le plus des mesurement du monde; de quoy le dict admiral monstra estre bien marry, et fronçant le nez, luy dit comme [çecy]: 'Ma dame, vous mocquez vous de moy?' En quoy donc, apres auoir soule souris, sexcusa [la dame] vers luy, disant quelle ce ryoit a cause que ce roy luy avoit dit quil alloit demander le secretaire du dict admiral pour le mener vers elle pour luy faire feste, et que le dict roy auoit rencontre en chemin une dame que [le] luy avoit fait oblyer; le surplus ne sçay si içelle excuse fut reçeue por (*sic*) souffisante et satisfactoire."

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part, as I hear, the circumstance of the Admiral not having given any signs of satisfaction or pleasure at anything that has been shown to him, not even at the Tower of London, and the war ammunition there stored, at which those deputed to conduct him through the building were anything but pleased. I say nothing about the remainder, because I calculate that Your Majesty knows enough of this by my several despatches.

With regard to Master Godscalke,* I consider, as I have already written to Your Majesty, that he must already by this time be in Flanders. There is no means of receiving news from him, inasmuch as there has been no resident ambassador from Scotland here since the one who came to swear to the peace, and who returned home almost immediately. Nor have the English yet sent an ambassador to that country, although it is reported that the brother of the duke of Norfolk is to leave to-morrow with a present of certain rich articles of dress, besides several pieces of gold and silver cloth and gorgeous silks; the purport of his mission is to ask for the extradition of certain English Franciscan friars (*observantins*), who go about Scotland preaching that this king is a schismatic and heretic. The ambassador, however, must have some other charge, for the King's Privy Council has lately met many a time to deliberate. At any rate, he will have plenty of time and leisure to inquire about Master Goldscalke's mission to Flanders, and will, most likely, set to soliciting and promoting, as he did last year, the attendance of James at the interview of the two kings [of France and England]. People, however, are very much astonished at such a personage having been chosen for the said mission, for he is a blockhead without the least discretion or weight; I hear that, among other things, he takes a barb and three big horses as a present [for king James].†

Respecting count de Huy‡ I have been unable to learn anything, save that I have been told that he has had a meagre reception and present, and that he went away ill contented.

About a week ago the duke of Norphoc sent me word by a gentleman of his household that the King, his master, wishing to proceed frankly, not with cunning and by indirect means, towards Your Majesty, had commanded him to show me certain letters he had lately received [from abroad]. The letters, as it appears, are from one Jacques, a native of Bruges, who left Your Majesty's Court and service as halberdier in consequence of a manslaughter he committed. After residing for some time in France, as I learned from himself, as well as from the treasurer of Besançon (Bonvallot), at that time Your

* "Au resgard de Mᵉ Godscalke," whose name is differently written in various despatches, Godscalco, Gotscalco, and Goudschalke. His christian name was Eric, and, before entering the Emperor's service, he had been chancellor to the king of Denmark.

† "Jentends aussi qui[l] mene pour presenter ung cheval barbe et trois autres grans."

‡ Count John Hoy, Hoya, or Hogen, said to be the brother-in-law of Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden.

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Majesty's ambassador in France, the man solicited again to enter the Imperial service, and I accordingly took him into mine. Yet, perceiving his inclination, and that his behaviour was not exactly what was wanted of him, and, moreover, that he might, one of these days, mix himself up with the very same game which he is now playing, I got rid of him. Jacques afterwards went to France, and entered the service of Mons. de Likerke, but soon had to cross over to Scotland, having committed another manslaughter. After some time spent in that country he came here to London, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty at the time. In his petition to the duke of Norfolk the man professes to have rendered great services to Your Majesty, in proof of which he exhibits certain letters and papers that he has with him, adding that, as he has got no reward from you, he is now quite free and ready to undertake the same services against one whom the wretch charges with greater avarice and ingratitude than any other prince. He has, therefore, requested the Duke to acquaint the King with his readiness to be in anywise employed against you. If he could only contrive to come again into my service and that of Your Majesty, he would be a spy upon all my movements, and report thereupon, informing these people of the departure of my despatches, that they might be intercepted. He it is who advised the day of Master Gouschalk's (*sic*) departure from Your Majesty's court, and when and where he was to embark for Flanders; stating also that the sieur de Childara (Kildare) had accompanied him through Ireland with five horsemen until he embarked for Scotland, and had given that chieftain the whole of the gunpowder and ammunition on board the vessel (*zabre*) in which he himself had come from Spain. Goudschalke (he said) had done all he wanted in Scotland, so much so that most likely next summer Your Majesty, who wished to usurp everything, might very easily, with the help and assistance of the Irish and Scotch—nowadays opposed to the French, owing to the refusal of the promised marriage alliance—undertake the conquest of England, though he (Jacques) imagined that all would come to nothing, and that Master Goeschalke, who had been once king Christiern's chancellor, would conduct the Emperor's affairs as unfortunately as he had conducted those of his master. He added that Goetshalke had conceived great enmity against him (Jacques) owing to his having refused to be the bearer of certain letters for the lord of Childare (Kildare) in Ireland, and that they had had words together; but he (Jacques) had not informed me thereof for fear of causing me displeasure. The man also mentioned in his letter that he was related to the provost of Cassal,* once Your Majesty's ambassador at this court, besides many other facts of minor importance and hardly worthy of transcription.

* Georg Theimseke.

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Having read the letter, such as it was, I said to the gentleman, and afterwards sent the duke a verbal message to the same effect by one of myown secretaries, that although there was no danger of the said Jacques being able to accomplish anything to Your Majesty's injury, especially through my agency, since nothing in the world would persuade me again to take him into my service, yet had I done so, and had the man been able to investigate and understand what I was about, I was pretty sure he could never have reported anything but what was honourable and dutiful on my part, and that other acts of mine, which no one had hitherto suspected, were certainly more commendable than otherwise.* Yet I could not but own that it was a very virtuous and honourable action on the Duke's part to bestow on me such information, and, therefore, that I did not hesitate in sending him the most affectionate and cordial thanks, in Your Majesty's name, as well as in mine, intending personally to thank the Duke and the King himself on the very first opportunity. And so did I next day through my secretary. The Duke's answer was that, if I would take the trouble of calling on him, he would wait for me at the place where the King's ships are being built, half-way between this city and Greenwich. Accordingly, on the morrow, at the appointed hour, I went to the spot, where the Duke and treasurer Feuviellien (Fitz-William) had already been waiting for me a good length of time. On my arrival there the first thing they did was to show me from top to bottom two ships on the stocks, one of which is now nearly finished and ready to be launched, the other not so far advanced. Both the Duke and the Treasurer took the trouble of showing me the guns and so forth, the former in particular repeating many a time: "*What a fine thing it is for a king of England to possess two such ships as these, with which to intimidate those who might make war on him! all the time extolling beyond measure the size, structure, and armament of the said ships, as if he meant to say that with those two, and four or five more at anchor in the immediate neighbourhood, waiting to be caulked and repaired, the King could fight against all the world; adding, by way of a taunt, that Your Majesty would have much to do against Barbarossa, who was just the man to attack and plunder. not only Sicily, but several other countries belonging to you.* The last news of that pirate (the Duke observed) is that of his being in peaceful possession of Thunes (Tunis); that the Grand Turk besides is arming, and would appear in force next August.† I stated my opinion that the ships he had just showed me might some day have to be employed against the Turk, and that my impression was that, the present smoke (*fumees*) being dispersed, everything would be set to

* "Et autres que aucungs navoient suspeçonne par çy devant queust plus tost recommande a ma descharge."

† "Et que le Turcq armoit en force en avust au harble"?

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rights. As to Barbarossa, I firmly believed and hoped that God would effectually defend you against him, and things turn out as before, namely, that when the affairs of Your Majesty were considered in the worst possible plight, it was then that your success was greater and your triumph more patent, to which observation of mine the Duke made no reply, save to say that one ought not to trust too much to fortune.

Perceiving that I did not take his hints as he wished, the Duke changed the conversation, and without any preamble began saying that I must be aware of the incalculable treasure the King, his master, possessed by means of the power which the clergy of his dominions had granted him, *of which he fully intended to avail himself, (as I know he has already,) for the purpose of worrying those whom the case concerned. My reply was that certainly those who had conferred such powers on his master were good subjects of the Crown, but he interrupted me by saying that had not Your Majesty been so staunch a friend of the bishop of Rome, you might have done at home the same that this King has done, and filled your own coffers; upon which I answered him that, if ever that was decided in a General Council of the Church, it would be time for you to join the majority.*

After this conversation with the Duke I went to the King to thank him and the Duke personally for the communication of Jacques' letters, and begged him to give me the originals, that I might forward them to Your Majesty as evidence against the culprit. He said he did not know what had become of them, and that he fancied he had that very morning thrown them into the fire along with many more papers, but that if he could lay his hands on them they should be sent to me forthwith. *I have no doubt, however, that he has them by him still, and that he wants to make use of them both as regards French and Scotch affairs.*

In a like manner I mentioned to the Duke the fact of Mons. de Roguendorff having written to me strongly to remonstrate in the name of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) about the disorderly state of affairs in England, believing that the honesty and virtue, of which he knew him to be endowed, would prompt him to the remedy. If there was any misunderstanding between Your Majesty and this king, he (Roguendorff) would do his best with his master, the king of the Romans, to get rid of it, and arrange matters.

The Duke's answer was that he would willingly part with one of his hands if by that means Your Majesty and the King, his master, could become again as good and staunch friends as they were in former times, and that, should Mons. de Roguendorff, or I, make any overtures in that direction, he certainly would set to work more assiduously than he had ever done. I replied that Mons. de Roguendorff being insufficiently acquainted with English affairs, and I myself deficient in the good sense and wit required for such a negotiation before so prudent and

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wise a set of Privy Councillors as the King's were, it was not for us to make the overtures and propound the remedy. I myself had ventured to remonstrate respecting the treatment of the Queen and Princess, which, in my opinion, was offensive to God and to the world at large, and yet I had perceived no real amendment, notwithstanding the promise made to Your Majesty by their ambassador that both Queen and Princess would be treated with favour and due respect; so much so that I had made up my mind not to mention the subject again. The Duke then tried to exculpate himself, and, feeling that the task was an arduous one, ended by saying that if I was unwilling to enter upon the subject he himself had no inclination to do so, and, therefore, that it was for me to say whether I knew of any other way of coming to a satisfactory solution. My reply was that God would, no doubt, find some sooner or later, and that if I broached the subject it was more to fulfil the wishes of Mons. de Roguendorff than for any other purpose.

At parting, and whilst going down into his barge, the Duke observed that it seemed rather strange that Your Majesty should have received ambassadors from such a traitor as the lord of Childara (Kildare), and still more so that you should have sent him ammunition of war and men, as report ran. I answered that I saw nothing remarkable in that; Your Majesty might have sent someone to Ireland on business of the Spaniards fishing on that coast; had they suspected in the least that there was foul play in it, the King's ambassador might have complained thereof, and Your Majesty attended to their remonstrances, whereas nothing of the sort had been done.

Jacques has, no doubt, had scent of the whole affair, for during the last two or three days he has been hiding and trying to get away. As he might leave the country before an answer comes to this despatch, I have written to the queen [of Hungary] in Flanders, inquiring whether it would not be the proper thing to have him prosecuted and arrested in this country, which would not be difficult to obtain, *knowing, as I do for certain, that the Duke hates him, owing to an encounter he had with him some years ago in France. It appears that as the Duke was going to the conferences of Marseilles he met Jacques in the Royal palace, and had him arrested of his own authority, as Mons. de Likerke very well knows, who had to go to the King to complain, as Jacques himself has stated. I should, therefore, not be surprised if his hatred of Jacques had not been partly the cause of the Duke showing me his letters.*

A rumour has been afloat here that the new Pope [Paul III.] has sent a brief to this king. If His Holiness imagines that by such means he will be able to amend the affairs of this country, he is very much mistaken, for, since the arrival of the brief, if one has actually come, this king, who had still in

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his own hands, as if in suspense, the appointment to the two bishoprics, once filled by cardinal Campeggio and the Auditor of the Papal Chamber (Ghinucci), has since given them both away, that of the Cardinal on the Lady's almoner, and the latter on another ecclesiastic,* and nowadays more sermons are preached, and more strange and ridiculous farces enacted against Papal authority even than in former times.

I have as yet been unable to ascertain what the Vayvod's man is here for, although it may be presumed that his principal object is to obtain money for his master, *and likewise to incite and stimulate these people and the French against Your Majesty and the king of the Romans, for, as I have been told by a worthy Englishman, the Vayvod's man has been heard to say that the quarrel about Hungary did not affect his master so much as it did this king and that of France, since, once in possession of that country, the king of the Romans will give the law, and the kings of England and France bow down their heads and follow Your Majesty's will and commands, as if they were your slaves, or else be punished accordingly.*—London, 14 January 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. .

20 Jan. **128.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MONS. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 3.

"Monsieur le Secretaire, mon bon sieur et frère." I am very sorry at not having been able to write to Monseigneur our common Mecenas,† and to you; but indeed the sudden departure of the last courier, a slight indisposition of mine, and the news of the very lamentable decease of the good and holy queen [of Hungary], have upset me altogether. Having now somewhat recovered from the last shock, and principally owing to the very good news contained in the despatch brought by George, I would willingly have made up for my fault had I known that the contents of my letter would be agreeable to you.

I need not say what pleasure I have received at hearing of the consignment of the 3,000 ducats, which without your aid and favour, as mentioned in your letters of the xii. and xvi. ult., I already considered as lost to me. (Speaks of his own personal affairs,‡ and then continues):

* Those of Salisbury and Worcester. To the former, Nic. Shaxton, Anne's almoner, was appointed in January; to the latter, Hugh Latimer.

† Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, Charles' principal secretary and privy councillor at the time. Antoine, to whom this letter is addressed, was his brother.

‡ The following rather obscure passage is among the rest: "Je cuyde que sainct Barthemy est ocuppe aux Indes, dont yl nose partir pour crainte des moschez a miel, pourquoy a son lie que pourroit invocquer Sancto Carlo que guerit los colenados, sainct Nicolas et sainct François, pour la curee mencionee en vos dites lettres yl viendroit mieulx a propos. Monsieur le comendador maior conforme a ce que men escripvez par vos lettres de dezembre men donne le meillieur expoir du monde, et suys scheur quil ne tiendra ni a monseigneur notre Mecenas, ne a luy pourveu quilz en soient remantonez en saison," &c.

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You have done me great favour in soliciting His Majesty's answer to my last despatches, for without it I should have been in great perplexity, especially at this critical moment, when the English people are murmuring more and more at the slowness of the Emperor's decision. Please God to dispose matters in such a way that the Emperor's tardiness may not be the cause of our losing the Princess, and may He listen to your good wishes, couched in cipher, provided they are soon realised. His Majesty ought to treat and negotiate, no matter with whom, to revenge the injury which these people have committed against God, and against His Majesty and all his relatives (injury on the redress of which, as you know better than me, depend the repose and tranquillity of Christendom).

I very much doubt, notwithstanding what you tell me in your letter, of your being fairly settled in your house for some time to come, for you will not be able to leave the Court during the Emperor's journey, and if you do, you will be obliged to return thither as soon as possible, for your own profit and comfort, as well as for the ladies' pleasure.* Had I not thought of your occupations and engagements as well as of the prolixity of my despatches to His Majesty, I might have gone on occupying your attention, but your letter has just come in time to prevent further importunities on my part. I shall now wait patiently for the arrival of George, &c.—London, 20 January 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A Monseigneur Me Anthoe (Anthoine) Perrenot, secretaire destat de lempereur."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

20 Jan. **129.** The Emperor's Privy Council. Report and Opinion (Consulta) on the projected invasion of France.

S. E., L. 1368, L. 114. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 203.

The report which don Luys Davila (de Avila) brings of his conversation with Andrea Doria at Genoa is that the Prince agrees entirely with Antonio de Leyva as to the proposed invasion of France. He thinks that the Emperor ought by overtures and fair words to secure, if possible, the inaction of France for this next summer. During that time Barbarroxa might be attacked and destroyed, and, if so, king Francis could not move if he wished. However, if no security can be obtained from him, and he is to attack us this spring, Doria's opinion is that the fleet should be immediately increased, so as to convey the land force already appointed, that is 25,000 infantry, who ought to be in Sardinia by next March at the latest. Between that time and the month of April we may, perhaps, hear of Francis' doings. If, as is to be feared, he

* "Car yl ne sera possible que en ce voyage habandonniez sa majeste, et vous fault deslibere[r] de dresser çi-aprez vostre voiage en Court, et pour vostre prouffit et commodite, et le plesir des dames."

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perseveres in his bad purpose, and wishes to begin hostilities, then, in that case, and the fleet being ready to put to sea, the Emperor ought not to wait for him to declare war, but at once send his fleet to the coast of Provence, to Aguas Muertas (Aygues mortes), or its immediate neighbourhood, where a good deal of harm might be done. An army of 30,000 men might at the same time invade France from Burgundy, so as to occupy the King's forces, and place him in greater trouble than ever. This seemed to Doria the best plan, because the system which king Francis has adopted of threatening war on the Emperor's dominions, and yet not actually invading them, is highly disadvantageous, for, while he himself spends no money, the Emperor is obliged to keep a large fleet at sea and a considerable land force, at such enormous expense that, if this state of things continues for two or three years more, the Imperial treasury will be completely drained. If the enterprise, therefore, is decided upon, let it take place as soon as possible.

In addition to this, Leyva writes that for the greater security of Italy, and to defeat any resolution that might be promoted there, it would be advisable that a body of three or four thousand infantry, Spaniards and Italians, should be continually kept up in that country, and that, if required, 3,000 Germans should also be bespoken, so as to be ready for crossing the Alps in case of need. Leyva further suggests that since these German auxiliaries are meant for the security of Italy, it would be just and reasonable that they were paid by the Italian league. Doria asks, moreover, when the fleet which is to sail from Spain will be ready; how many vessels it will consist of, and what artillery it can carry. By the last post he was informed that 20 caravels and 2 galleons from Portugal, 20 "pataches" and "zabras" from Biscay, under captain Renteria, were ready to put to sea, besides the Imperial galleys under Alvaro Bazan. He writes again to ask for more particulars, and to say that don Alvaro's fleet ought to sail in the middle of February at the latest, in order that on its arrival at Genoa he (Doria) may go with his 35 sail to Naples and Sicily, and there take up the stores, ammunition, &c.

Without in the least meaning any offence to the Empress,* Doria suggests that, in case of war breaking out, Your Majesty should go at least as far as Barcelona, in order to get speedy answers to any communications he or Antonio de Leyva may have to make.

The infantry in Lombardy must be paid. The last payment made to them was on the 15th of November.

With regard to the Italian league, Leyva writes that Venice has ratified it, as well as Siena and Lucca and the duke of

* The empress Isabella had been left on this occasion, as on others, to govern Spain during the Emperor's absence, who, at the date of this letter, was engaged on his expedition against Barbarossa.

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Mantua [Frederigo di Gonzaga]. The Pope offers difficulties, as count Cifuentes remarks. The duke of Ferrara (d'Este) argues that, having been newly incorporated in it, he is in nowise obliged to contribute; they say that it is cardinal de Lorraine who has put him up to that. The Council, however, is of opinion that Antonio de Leyva should be instructed to insist upon the duke [of Ferrara] contributing towards the expense of the Italian league, like the others; Leyva to be furnished with letters of credence for that purpose, or to be empowered to send thither some trusty person to negotiate. If so, the person chosen might first call at Rome on count Cifuentes, receive instructions, &c. However, as the Ferrarese resident ambassador at this court says that he wishes to speak to Your Majesty on the subject, it will, perhaps, be better to wait until he has had an audience.

The Genoese say that they are ready to ratify; but as they are suspicious of France, and do not consider themselves secure at all, they wish that, should any expense be incurred for the defence of their republic, it should be taken into account and discounted from their contingent to the League. It seems, however, as if Your Imperial Majesty could not introduce a novelty of this kind in the affairs of the League.

Florence, in the name of the Duke and of the Republic, sent an agent to Leyva, stating its readiness to ratify the League. The agent was told that the contingent of the Republic would be 25,000 crowns. This was afterwards reduced to 15,000, and ultimately to 12,000, owing to the Florentines alleging extreme poverty. As the Duke's agent, however, had no orders to subscribe even for such a sum, he returned to his master, and an answer is shortly expected. The Council is of opinion that if the 12,000 cannot be got, owing to their present distress, 10,000 at least ought to be secured.

The Privy Council has nothing to observe respecting the advices which Antonio [de Leyva] sends from Rome, because Your Majesty has seen both what the count of Cifuentes has written, and the answer made to his despatch; besides which the Council is waiting to see what the ambassador will have to say after Waury's arrival at Rome.

Spanish. Original. pp.

31 Jan. **130.** Hannaërt to the Emperor.

P. Arch. Neg. and Pap. de Sim., k. 1484, No. 98, Ol. B. 3, 16. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 207.

The king of France having formally promised the release of the Spanish and Flemish subjects serving in his galleys, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty on the 18th, the day before your letters of the 5th were received I waited on him, and begged for the final settlement of that affair. I found him very unlike his usual self, and in a towering passion, saying, "The engagements entered into with "me are not kept at all. If the Emperor arms, I cannot but "do the same. I hear that his ministers, and those of the "king of the Romans, his brother, speak of me in con-

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" temptuous terms, and utter expressions against my honour. " They say that ambassadors from all parts of the world are " carrying on most strange negotiations and intrigues at this " my court, at which I have good reason to be angry and " offended. If there be any man of my quality who pre- " sumes to offer me dishonour, let him come forward; I " will give him personal satisfaction; if he be only a knight, " I will appoint one of my own to fight him." Thereupon, I (Hannaërt) began to say that I knew not what origin the proffered accusation had, nor what it meant. I could affirm that neither Your Majesty nor your brother, the king of the Romans, had ever allowed, much less ordered, your ministers to speak in disparagement of a friend, a brother-in-law, and ally. Hearing which, the King, without saying a word, turned round and went away.

The Grand Master (Montmorency) came afterwards to me and told me not to mind what the King had said, and not to write home about it. Owing (he said) to certain news from Germany, received two hours ago, the King, my master, is rather put out and incensed: that is the cause of his having addressed you in those words. The affair of the galley-slaves is already settled, and they will be set free immediately. I would willingly have given 10,000 cr. of my own purse that it had been done two months ago.

Two days after that your Majesty's letter of the 5th inst. came to hand. I called again on the Grand Master in the morning, to communicate the news I had from Your Majesty, and at the same time begged his permission to read him Your Majesty's letter to me, that he might be fully acquainted with its contents before I spoke to the King, and at the same time appreciate your good purposes. The Grand Master answered abruptly that there was no need of letters being read to him; he was in a hurry, and had to go where the King was. He would, however, arrange an audience for me; I might go forthwith and wait in the King's ante-room. I, nevertheless, proceeded to give him a concise summary of what the letter contained; which being done, he left me in haste, and went into the King's room. When he came out, he told me that I must have patience, and wait two or three days. The King, he said, was engaged in the preparations for a solemn procession to be made in this city [of Paris], which he and his sons would attend. That Your Majesty may learn the cause and motives of the said procession, I enclose a printed tract giving a description of it. It was, indeed, very solemn and very devout, and attended by an admirable concourse of people, of clerks, and laymen.

That day, after dinner, the King summoned some of the members of the Municipality, and principal men of the Court, of the Parliament, of the Accountant's Office (Chambre des Comptes), and of the Faculties of the Sorbonne, and ecclesiastics, the provost and echevins of the city,

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and addressed to them a long and full admonition, giving them to understand, among other things, the displeasure and anger he felt against those who had forsaken the Faith, who might perhaps still inhabit Paris or some other city or town of France,—saying, by way of a rhetorical figure, that, should one of his arms be so contaminated, he would sever it from his body; if any of his sons—all of whom were there present—he himself would offer him or them in ready sacrifice [to God]. In short, after many excellent words on this same topic, king Francis ended by requesting and exhorting those present to educate and instruct their children and families in the Catholic religion, and to accuse and denounce, not in anger, excitement, or envy, but in truth and conscience, all those whom they knew to have deviated from the Faith, that they might be punished according to their crimes, and serve as an example to others. On that very day some Lutherans were burnt, and among others the receptor of Nantes; indeed, not a week passes that justice is not done here, as well as in other parts of France, on some of them.

To this meeting all foreign ambassadors were invited. In the afternoon of the same day the King left for the country, where he stayed five or six days, during which the Grand Master again told me to have patience, as the King would give me audience immediately upon his return.

In the meantime I have delivered Your Majesty's letters into the hands of the Queen, your sister, carefully explaining to her all you say to me; at which she is exceedingly distressed and sad, perceiving that all attempts to establish a permanent peace between Your Majesty and this King have hitherto failed, and that both of you are arming. Should she send me an answer to Your Majesty's letter before the closing of this present despatch, it shall certainly go with this, but my own shall not be detained on that account.

Whilst the King was out hunting, the Admiral (Brion) feeling indisposed, remained here in Paris. I seized the opportunity to call on him; and as he is one of the principal courtiers, and a great favourite with his master, I made an attempt to speak to him on the subject of Your Majesty's letter and intentions,—the more so that, generally speaking, he is not so close as the Grand Master of France, but is in the habit of stating his opinion more frankly and openly. Of this quality, and of what passed at our conference, I will treat presently, after informing Your Majesty of the result of my audience from the King.

On his return from the country the King received me in his own chamber, attended only by a few of his Privy Councillors, whom he bid withdraw a few paces. I commenced by giving him the most cordial and fraternal commendations (*encomiendas*) in Your Majesty's name, telling him that I had received an answer to the overtures which he himself

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had made me at Chenonceau[x], with a view to contracting a fresh alliance; but as the letter which Your Majesty had written to me was rather long and diffuse, and I might, perhaps, forget or omit some of its contents, I begged he would let me read it in his presence. This, the King said, was quite unnecessary, and that he considered me sufficiently able to repeat one by one all the points of the letter, or at least the substance of them. I began my peroration without further remark, and after again assuring the King of the cordial and fraternal affection you bore him, I proceeded to say that your present armaments were solely and exclusively destined against the Grand Turk and Barbarossa, and for the defence of threatened Christendom. Some people had tried to prevent His Holiness, the Pope, from giving his help and favour to the expedition; but the Emperor hoped that in the present emergency the Christian powers, far from refusing to assist in the enterprise, would contribute to it with all their power. This last summer (I said) the pirate Barbaroxa had most cruelly ravaged the coasts of Spain, and, if unchecked, might come again this next summer, and do still greater havoc in Christendom, &c.

The King owned that Your Majesty was perfectly right in arming. The Turk had certainly invaded Africa, and was most powerful there, close upon your Spanish dominions. He himself was thinking of doing the same, and sending to the Levant a fleet of 50 galleys, galleons, and other big ships, superior to any that had ever furrowed those seas. To this end he was about to dispatch to Normandy his Admiral (Chabot) there to fit out some more vessels to add to the fleet. He was not a man to remain through negligence at the mercy of the Infidel, or of any other Prince likely to come down all of a sudden upon him. Though the Grand Turk had proposed to him a truce, which he had resolved to accept for two or three years at least, yet there were Turkish pirates at sea, who might, perhaps, do harm to France, as they had done once to certain islands dependent upon his Crown, and for that reason he was also arming by sea. The King further said that he was likewise arming by land because he perceived that he could no longer remain Your Majesty's friend, inasmuch as he had heard that troops were enlisted in Germany to come down upon him. In addition to which he remarked that the kings of France, his predecessors, had always kept standing armies; he himself was not one to be caught unprovided in that respect. Upon the whole, his forces both by sea and land would not cost him much, and he preferred bearing that expense to placing himself at the mercy of others who were also arming, and with whom he was not on the best terms.

As to joining his galleys to those of the Pope for resistance to Barbarossa, in view of the urgency and danger in which Christendom was, the remark that were he (Francis) to do

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that now it would be enough for the time, and there would be no further need of making employment of his forces, or fresh expences—his answer was that I (Hannaërt) ought not to propose his disarming in order to increase thereby the forces of another; the armaments of France could not and ought not to be restricted. Neither were his ancestors, the kings of France, so weak and insignificant as to follow the directions and will of others in their wars with the Infidels; they had, on the contrary, of their own inclination and free will, marched against God's enemies in order to participate in the glory and honour of such meritorious undertakings. It was his full intention to do that, should the Grand Turk himself invade Christendom by sea or land, provided free passage and provisions should be afforded to his army or fleet wherever it might be convenient. He further stated that it was not for him to strengthen by his co-operation the forces of another Prince [meaning Your Imperial Majesty] unless their mutual friendship waxed stronger, and some of the many concessions which might satisfy him were granted, which concessions (he said) it was in his power to get at any time without attaint to his honour and conscience.

Prosecuting his reasoning the King went on to say that the Grand Turk had offered him a general peace for the whole of Christendom, including the Pope and the Church, reserving also a place in it for Your Majesty on condition of the Powers restoring to him what they had taken of his land. "And " yet (said the King) it is not by means of the Turk and of " his alliance that I intend to recover my property and that " of my sons, I myself am strong enough for that." But you must not misunderstand me: if the Turk makes the above offer, it is not for love of me, but owing to the jealousy and ill-will he bears the king of the Romans, and the Emperor, his brother. However this may be, my behaviour will be such as to safeguard the interests and the honour of Christendom. I will make it publickly known throughout the Christian world that the duchy of Milan has been the cause of your Emperor having refused my offers of closer friendship, alliance and good intelligence, besides his giving the investiture of that duchy to a foreigner, and proclaiming a league in Italy to keep me and my sons away from it.

On the other hand (the King went on saying) though Mr. de Noircames had no special powers from the Emperor, and only a simple credence, his coming to this my court made me think for a time, though wrongly, that your master wished to proceed sincerely and without dissimulation to a new alliance and intelligence between us two, for the greater repose and security of our dominions and the welfare of Christendom. Under that impression I neglected the opportunity of making in other parts profitable alliances, the more so that my ambassador at the Imperial Court had signified on my behalf that should the Emperor wish to negotiate

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on the basis of the note shown to you here, he had better confer special powers on count Nassau, when he came over here; my ambassador having been told in answer that the count was provided with full powers to negotiate. I, therefore, imagined that the Count, being a person of such esteem and credit, and so much attached to the Emperor, could not possibly come empty-handed, and, as it were, upon quite a different mission; and yet after the first and second interview he declared to me that his commission was fixed and limited (*fixa y estrecha*), and that he had no powers to treat of certain things. He then changed opinion, and went somewhere else to attend to his affairs. Upon which, perceiving that it was impossible for me to continue to be the Emperor's ally, I determined to keep to the letter the treaty of peace of Madrid [in 1526], which, as is well known, was made at a time when I or my sons were prisoners. Beyond the faithful observation of that treaty I will do nothing unless His Majesty does something for me.

Hearing the King's declaration respecting the observance of treaties, I could not help saying to him that Your Majesty also intended keeping to the letter of the said treaties, and was disposed to do for him and his sons anything that could be reconciled with your honour and reputation. This well considered he ought not to carry on practices in Germany, as well as in Italy, against the clauses of that treaty, nor furnish money to the Germans nor to the duke of Ghelders to Your Majesty's detriment and injury.

Thereupon the King, smarting under the accusation, suddenly replied, "If I have done so, the Emperor showed me "the way; for after the treaty of peace between us, he made a "league against me in Italy, and before that caused Andrea "Doria to quit my service. If I have brought over to my "side the duke of Ghelders, it is because the Emperor first "took him away from me. Besides (continued the King) "the Crown of France had formerly alliances, confederacies, "and friendship with several electors of the Empire, and it "cannot be said that the keeping and fostering of those "alliances is tantamount to infringing the treaties of peace. "I am bound to look out in Germany and elsewhere for "allies and confederates for my own protection as long as I "do not get a better security of the Emperor's feelings towards "me. My reply was that the Italian league was merely "defensive, without detriment or injury to anyone, whilst "the duchy of Ghelders belonged to Your Majesty, and was "actually occupied by the Duke."*

He (the King) is very much hurt at Your Majesty's ministers and agents, and at those of the king of the Romans having published, as he says, things touching his honour

* "Y estava de presente occupado por el dicho Duque, y que le tenia por tractado y apunctamiento para durante su vida."

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and conscience, besides making contemptuous remarks about his person and affairs, giving the Lutherans to understand that he does not want the Council, but intends to destroy them; and, on the other hand, persuading the Catholics that he is clearing his estate of those sectarians and having them burnt, his real intention being to subjugate them all, and make them subservient to his plans. Owing to that (the King said to me) no less than twenty-two captains of Your Majesty's forces in Germany counselled a descent into France, saying that he (king Francis) was the real Grand Turk. He also said that on another occasion the King, your brother, had refused passage through his dominions to Mr. de Langes, his ambassador, and that people had been set upon him to have him arrested or personally hurt. This accusation I tried to answer as well as I could by saying that neither Your Majesty's nor your brother's ministers could have been so bold and indiscreet as to utter such sentiments concerning his person and acts, not being, as they were not, countenanced by you, and in short, I did not hesitate to affirm and maintain that if such injurious words had been uttered at all it was entirely against the wishes and intention of you both, who had always held it as a rule that the persons of kings, and especially of one who, like him, was their brother, friend, and ally, and one of the greatest in Christendom, ought to be completely safeguarded. On the other hand he and his ministers (I said) had done all they could in Germany to hurt the King, your brother, who had never done him any harm. It was very difficult to shut people's mouths; they would talk, and France ought not to mind what they said, &c.

The King replied: "All that is very well. Excuses and "even denials will not set matters right. I can see that if "they (meaning no doubt Your Majesty and the king of the "Romans) could, they would do me all possible harm." These words he pronounced with particular emphasis, and I have since heard on good authority that he has written to the Prince-Electors and free towns of Germany in answer and justification of the charges preferred against him, and in contempt of his person, as he says.

Passing on to the subject of the galley-slaves, the King said that, although Your Majesty had not fulfilled your promises, yet he would stand by his. He, himself, had promised their liberation, and therefore, rather than be called a liar (*mentiroso*), he would give immediate orders for their release.

On the other points of the instructions, such as the Pope's readiness to convoke and celebrate a Council, the superiority of Flanders and Artois, the pretensions of Jean de Labret, the King said nothing, and retired into his private chamber, where his Council was assembled. I have been unable since then to hear anything respecting the dealings and plans of the said Mr. de Labret: should I get reliable information on that point I will not fail to advise and act according to Your Majesty's instructions.

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Having next day called on the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency), I related to him what the King had said on the subject of the galley-slaves, and that if he chose to put into my hands the order for their liberation, I would say no more about it. If not, I would request him to say "No" at once, that I might inform Your Majesty thereof by the same Imperial gentleman usher, who came here for the purpose. On this occasion the Grand Master told me that it was Dr. Joannes Faust who, in virtue of credentials he had from Your Majesty, had said so many evil things of the King, his master, and who had tried to persuade the Lutherans as well as the others to make a descent into France.

This is the summary of the conversation I had with the Grand Master. As to that held with the Admiral before I had audience of the King, I must say that it was more clearly defined, and in terms still more explicit, than those of king Francis. "My master (he said), perceiving that no ample "powers have been given to count Nassau, as announced, and "that the Emperor is unwilling to promise him the duchy of "Milan after the Duke's death, compensating his sons, if he "left any, with the marquisate of Monferrato, now in the "Emperor's power, could not do less than suspect that he "no longer wished to be his friend. The King, nevertheless, having regard to the Duke's marriage to the Emperor's "niece, and knowing that money having been paid for the "investiture, the Duchy could not, therefore, be taken from "him during his lifetime, refrained to a certain extent, and did "not renew his application; but having since heard that the "Emperor has flatly refused to negotiate even for after the "Duke's death, with the provisoes and conditions above stipulated, the King, my master, has come to the conviction that "the Emperor is not his friend, and wishes to lull him with "promises," &c.

The Admiral went on to say that the king of England had complained to him of your having an ambassador in Ireland. My answer was, "That is nothing; my master, the Emperor, has a much graver charge against the king of England, which is the help he has given to the Lubeckians and other German rebels." The Admiral also remarked that the princess of England (Mary) was very delicate (*enfermiza*), and that the King, her father, and all his courtiers, sang many praises of her virtues. I then asked the Admiral whether the Princess had been lately betrothed to any of the sons of France. He did not say "Yes" or "No," only that on his return from England the King had told him the contents of Your Majesty's letter respecting the duke of Angoulême.*

* "Yo le demandé sy habia hecho algun casamiento con alguno de los hijos de Francia, á lo qual él no me respondió palabra syno dezir como el dicho Señor Rey á su buelta le havia dicho lo que se le havia dicho (*sic*) de parte de Vuestra Magestad por Mons. de Angulesmas."

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The Admiral did not deny that money had been sent to help the duke of Ghelders and other German princes. He added that there would have been no need of that, had Your Majesty given full powers to Mr. de Nassau to treat on the points contained in his memorandum; but the King, his master, observing that, notwithstanding his having taken Your Majesty's sister to wife, you would not do anything for him, had been forced to look out for other means and expedients to recall you, though they might be disagreeable to you; otherwise he would never have acted as he has done. The King, his master, was exceedingly annoyed at seeing that a closer friendship and alliance did not exist between you two, knowing that on that depended entirely the welfare of Christendom, whereas the contrary state of things would cause much harm. Neither he nor his people wished for war, nor to go back to Italy, because war was a very expensive amusement, and had already cost France much treasure and many men. On the other hand, the Italians were incapable of fidelity and loyalty to their masters, all their efforts being directed to eject from their country whomsoever was the strongest. The Admiral ended his discourse by saying, "What a pity that my master and yours cannot agree on a "thing which brings no profit at all, but is, on the contrary, "a source of care and expenditure to its owner!"

I must not conceal from Your Majesty that in the course of conversation the Admiral hinted that in case of war king Francis would not, as before, attack Fuentarrabia; he would invade Flanders, which is a flatter country, and one with fewer defences. The general rumour here, at the French Court, among the gentlemen and courtiers, who frequent the Royal chamber or that of the Dauphin, is that this next summer there will be war inevitably; that Flanders is to be invaded by the English, the Gheldrese, and others, whilst the French will give Your Majesty so much work in Italy, Naples, and other parts, that you will have great difficulty in resisting their attacks. They will thus compel you to invade their country, in which case they will have the advantage of being on the defensive.* In my opinion, should war break out as they say, the first point of Your Majesty's dominions attacked be Flanders and the county of Burgundy.†

I have also heard from an authentic source, that should war break out, this King says that he will immediately put himself at the head of a large force, and fight the very first division of the Imperial troops that invades his territory. Every Frenchman will take up arms. Should your Imperial Majesty attempt to go to Italy, he himself will also go

* "Y que vos daran tantos fastidios que sereys forçado de romper y de invadir, y que entonces ellos se governaran como defensores y assalidos."

† At this time the duchy of Burgundy belonged to the Crown of France; it was only the county that was disputed.

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thither; otherwise he will remain in his own kingdom, and take up a position on this side of the Pyrenean range.*

With the Legate Chancellor † I have also spoken, as he is one of the principal courtiers here. I have found him to be of the same opinion as the rest.

It is certain that the King is about to send his own Secretary Laforest to the Grand Turk, and that he has already been provided with money for the expenses of his journey, which will occupy 15 months, there and back. A Sicilian gentleman, of the name of Cesare, an exile himself, and at present residing here, is to accompany him to Barbarossa, wherever he may be. I understand that both are to start soon in company with the Turkish ambassador, who is still here and returns to Constantinople.

I hear also that the King is sending a gentleman of his Chamber to the duke of Savoy, to ask for a passage through his estate; should he refuse, the King will have one more reason, in addition to former causes of quarrel, for taking away from him the county of Bresse and other towns and villages.

A man named de Castron, one of the Florentine "fuorusciti," has also come on behalf and in representation of his colleagues, to ask for aid in money and men against the duke Alessandro. The cardinal of Lorraine interests himself for the said "fuorusciti," and is trying to obtain the King's signature in order that the Florentine merchants may advance money upon it. I have since heard that the King is sending thither an Italian by post to pursue the negociation.

It is likewise an ascertained fact that a sum of 110,000 has been remitted to the duke of Ghelders; and it is generally believed that a second remittance will be made, the duke having mortgaged to king Francis the whole of his estate, which negociation between the Duke and this King is sure to be a source of quarrel and annoyance for you and your successors. On the other hand, it is rumoured that this next spring Mr. de Guise will enter Ghelders with a large body of men, and take possession of the castles and fortresses thereof against the Duke's death.

I know positively that the King has said somewhere that the duke of Clèves is not well satisfied with your Majesty's behaviour towards him; and therefore I should not be surprised if something was being planned in Germany against your Majesty's interests, in which the dukes of Clèves, Ghelders, and Lorraine are mixed up.

Fifty thousand crs., I hear, have been remitted to the duke of Virtemberg (Würtenberg), and it is rumoured that the

* "Que sy tiene guerra no tardará de yr derecho con grande pujança sobre la primera banda que entrará en su Reyno para dar hatalla, syn quedar en la guerra guerreante, y sy vos passays en Italia, que se hallará tambien en persona, y de otra manera no, y se quedará de aca de los montes en su Reyno."

† Antoine du Prat.

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Landgrave is also to have as many. Count William (Guillaume) of Furstenberg has already taken his departure with 23,000 crs., and 4,000 more of annual pension in advance. I believe the money is for the Count to enlist as many as 1,800 infantry the very moment that your Majesty attempts to do the same.

The Swiss are now quiet and agreed among themselves. This King some time ago sent them money on account of their pension.

In conversation with the English ambassador the other day, I asked him whether the proposed interview of the two Kings was likely to take place soon, and whether his countrymen would land in great numbers against Flanders, and how much money his master had received from this King for the purpose. He answered that he could not say whether the interview would take place or not, inasmuch as the Admiral (Brion), who had gone to England for that purpose, had brought no categorical answer to that effect. As to troops of his nation going to Flanders he knew of none, and the money sent to king Henry was the amount of two years' pension.*

King Francis has received intelligence, not from his own ambassador at the Imperial Court, but from some other quarter, that your Majesty had decided to have your son (Philip) crowned immediately. Though I do not consider myself entitled to give advice, I cannot help saying that it is a very good move to do away with the disputes that might be raised respecting the succession, were the Empress to survive your Majesty.

I have heard somewhere that the marquis de Saluzzo is bringing about a marriage between the daughter of the queen of France, and the prince of Piedmont, giving her the marquisate of Montferrato as a dower.

The taxes of this kingdom, amounting already to 3,600,000 crs., have been lately increased by 600,000 fr., and the King is besides raising money, the prelates and the clergy having been convoked to grant the King four-tenths, or say one-half of the revenues of their respective churches.

I have also been told, though not by a reliable person, that when the Admiral (Brion) was last in England, king Henry pressed him much to write to his master and ask for two things in his name: one was that he should at once declare war against your Majesty; the other that he should refuse the payment of the annates to the Pope. What Francis' answer has been respecting the war, I cannot say, but I know for certain that with regard to the other he said, "Let the Pope have his due."—Paris, 31 Jan. 1535.

Signed: "Hannaërt."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

* "Dos añadas de la vieja pension acostumbrada."

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— Jan. **131.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to the Emperor's HIGH CHAMBERLAIN for his journey to Italy and Germany in January 1535; as discussed in the Emperor's Privy Council.

S. E., L. 1458, f. 39.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 221.

Having read king Francis' answer to the representations made by viscount Lombecke (Jean Hannaërt), and it being now clearly proved that, notwithstanding all the reasoning, all the courteous and complimentary language (*cumplimientos*), used by His Majesty, the Emperor, towards him, that King persists in each and every one of the points contained in his note, as delivered to count de Nassau, marquis de Zenete, knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and his Majesty's Lord High Steward,—that the said King, moreover, has rejected all conciliatory means proposed, and made no new declaration respecting measures for the defence of the Faith, resistance to the Turk and Barbarossa,. and other matters more or less connected with the peace and welfare of Christendom at large,—the Council [of State] has met and deliberated as to whether it would be possible to find some expedient for pacifying the king of France, for gaining time, arresting the armaments he is making, and inducing him to suspend his present negociations with the Christian powers, as well as with the Infidel, which must be greatly detrimental to the Emperor and his brother, the king of the Romans.

That Barbarossa comes at the bidding of the king of France, and to favour his plans, cannot for a moment be doubted. The French memorandum proves it, since the King himself insists now, more than he ever did, on the restitution of Genoa; to which restitution no allusion had formerly been made by him or his ministers, who formerly contented themselves with bringing forward certain claims against the Genoese on the ground of letters of mark and reprisals (*marcas y reprisalias*). Now it appears, and it is announced from every quarter, that Barbarossa brings especial charge and commission from the Grand Turk to place the said city of Genoa, and others he may occupy in Christendom, in the hands of Francis.

Another proof of what we advance is the declaration which the King himself made to pope Clement at Marseilles, according to the report made by count Cifuentes. When closely interrogated by the Pope as to his views respecting the Turk, king Francis is reported to have said, "Not only "will I not oppose the invasion of Christendom by the Turk, "but I will favour him as much as I can, in order the more "easily to recover that which plainly belongs to me and to my "children, and has been usurped by the Emperor," &c.

The continual practices of the kings of France and England, as well as their correspondence with Denmark, Ghelders, Lubeck, and other Anseatic towns bordering upon Flanders and the Low Countries, is another serious wrong of which the Emperor has to complain, &c.

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We will say nothing on the piteous case of the queen and of her daughter, the princess of England, still undecided, and which, notwithstanding the Emperor's constant solicitude and care, is every day waxing worse and worse; nor of the troubles and difficulties of the king of the Romans, who, with an exhausted treasury, has lately had to meet and defeat everywhere French intrigues; who has since through Francis' hostile interference, not only lost the duchy of Würtemberg, but is also in danger of losing the rights appertaining to the princesses of Denmark, His Majesty's nieces, on the said kingdom of Denmark, Norway and other patrimonial estates of the King, their father, to say nothing of the help given to the Vayvod, which prevents him from revindicating his right over Hungary, which belongs to him as inherited from the emperor Maximilian, and from his own wife, the queen of the Romans.

On the other hand, the danger of entering into closer communication with the said king of France, such as he insists upon, is very great, if we consider the nature and custom of Frenchmen, which is never to observe or keep treaties unless they may gain something by it, as the experience of their past doings has sufficiently shown. The King himself has in this respect gone from bad to worse in his time, both before and after the wars, promoting and encouraging the violation of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, and doing such things against the form and letter of the said treaties, as it would take us too long to recount. Suffice it to say that against all and each article of the said treaties duly sworn and ratified, the king of France would, as he has done at other times, find objections, allegations and all manner of excuses, without any shadow or foundation of reason whatever. He would, no doubt, make everything spring and emanate from his own captivity and that of his sons, which might perhaps afford him a motive for having the present treaties altered, as may be proved by the fact that the treaty of Cambray, made, signed and ratified by the King himself on his return to his own dominions, and in which he glories (and not without reason) at being entirely free, and obeying his own fancy and caprice (*apetito y plazer*) —that treaty being also signed by his own mother, by his sister, and by the princes of his Royal blood, by his Chancellor, and by the principal personages of his Court and Parliament of Paris, and provincial councils, in short, by the highest functionaries of State in France, whether ecclesiastical or civil, in the presence of the Apostolic Legate and other cardinals, as well as of the ambassadors of almost every prince in Christendom, the King himself having afterwards confirmed and ratified the same most solemnly in Paris, the capital of his kingdom, and caused it to be approved by his Parliaments and Chambers, as well as by all the Councils of Finance throughout France that treaty we say has now become

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a source, nay, a pretence for contention, king Francis and his ministers maintaining that it ought to be modified.*

Were His Imperial Majesty to consent now to the modification and revisal of that treaty, no promise, no oath, no renunciation, the King might make at the moment, would be of any use, as the King evidently might again allude to his own captivity, to the right he pretends his sons had then, or might now have, by reason, of the marriage of the duke of Orleans to the Pope's niece, to the duchy of Milan. Indeed, the experience of the past shows that no sooner would king Francis set foot in Italy—no matter on what cause or pretence—than he would look out for an opportunity, which he would always find at hand, for invading next the kingdom of Naples. His boasting pretensions to Florence, Urbino, and even Parma and Piacenza, as well as his newly invented claims on the duke of Savoy, that he may make all that territory a sort of footstool to mount into Italy, his claims on Monteferrato and Genoa, of which he never thought or spoke before Barbarossa's arrival in the Mediterranean,† all prove to us that king Francis is only wanting an excuse to set his foot in Italy.

That the King would put forward on that occasion the very same excuses that he now alleges for a revision of the treaty of Cambray that he would even persist in getting from us some security as to that, whilst on our side we could only exact from him the same promises, oaths and ratifications, which he himself has so often violated, is quite clear and evident, since the King himself, in his conversations with Mr. de Nassau in reference to the intermarriages of his sons and those of the Emperor, has more than once stated, that no trust could be placed in words, promises, and engagements that could be broken, changed, or modified at will.

It is, moreover, understood that about the same time that Mr. de Nassau was in France, king Francis despatched to England his admiral [Brion] to request and demand from the king of that country the accomplishment of the marriage of his son, the Dauphin, to princess Mary, his daughter, long before negociated; although about the same time king Francis had proposed that of his son, the Dauphin, to the infanta of Spain [Maria], the Emperor's daughter; which marriage the King himself praised and extolled beyond measure during the time that the Emperor, for the sake of peace and public welfare, felt inclined and willing to grant it, notwithstanding the Princess's tender age.

And what can be said of the dissimulation practised with Italians, English, and Germans, whilst Mr. de Nassau was

* "Y hecho lo aprobar por sus parlamentos y camaras y consejos de sus haziendas y por todo su reyno."

† On the margin, "conforma esto con las palabras que el mismo Barbarroxa ha dicho, y con lo que se ha entendido de Constantinopla."

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residing at the Court of France, for the sole purpose of irritating the princes and potentates of those countries, and making them His Majesty's enemies? And yet the sieur de Nourcames (Noircames), who was sent to France* before Mr. de Nassau and the Imperial ambassador residing at that Court (Hannaërt) had frequently heard from the King's own lips most kind and affectionate words, as well as the assurance that he wished frankly and sincerely to enter into closer friendship with Your Majesty, without, however, affording to other princes any cause for jealousy or suspicion. Which proceeding on the part of the king of France, reflecting so strongly the malignity, dissimulation and treachery which he himself has employed in past times, and there is every reason to suppose he will employ again, especially if we are to judge from certain rumours now being circulated that not only does that King persevere in his purpose of stirring up enemies against the Emperor in Italy, in Germany, and in the whole of Christendom, above all in the latter country, not only among the princes who have separated from Faith, but also among the Infidels, force upon us the conclusion that there is no sincerity in the King's words, &c.

There is still another consideration no less important, which is that King Francis wishes, in case of a treaty being made with him, that whatever friends and allies he may have in Germany, principally the separatists, also those he has in Italy, and the king of England and the rest, should be included in it. God knows what king Francis is aiming at, but we fear that, even granting all his demands, we should be placed in the same position as before.

Owing to the above considerations, and many more that will be submitted to the Emperor at a future time, the councillors do not hesitate to say that reason, conscience, equity and honesty are against His Majesty, the Emperor, giving away to king Francis any of the dominions and lands he so unjustly claims as his own, and that without the consent of the legitimate owners and possessors of such dominions and the existing treaties with the Italian powers. Besides which, it must be observed that in the event of the duke of Milan's death, the claims of king Francis to that duchy are as futile as ever, since the duchy would be inherited by the Emperor's niece, and almost daughter, the princess of Denmark (Christina), married to Sforza.—[Madrid ——, 1535.]†

Spanish. Copy. pp. 34.

* "El señor de Nourcames, sommelier (sumiller?) de corps de su Mag^{d} que habia pasado antes que el dicho conde por la corte del dicho rey de Francia."

† The paper has no date or endorsement, but is headed, "Consideraciones "platicadas en Consejo de Estado, y consultadas en Madrid para despachar al "mayordomo mayor para Italia y Alemania [en] el mes de Enero 1535, y la "substancia en castellano de la instrucion que él [mismo] llevó en Franzes." It is, no doubt, in view of it, that the definitive instructions to the Lord Chamberlain (Rœulx) abstracted at p. 361, were drawn up.

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5 Feb. **132.** D'ANDALOT to HANNAËRT, Ambassador in France.

P. Arch. de l'Et., Negoc. Ol. B. 3, 13.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 237.

I have received your letter of the 19th January, and at the same time one of the 12th, and another of the 13th, as well as the cipher, of which there will be scarcely any need in future, if the passes on the frontier of this kingdom remain open, as they are still. I will, however, make use of it when required.

As there is nothing to fear for the present, I have no difficulty in advising that I have had letters from the prince of Melphi (Andrea Doria) and from Antonio de Leyva, commanding me, in the Emperor's name, to recruit and lead to Italy 7,000 German infantry, which will be soon done, notwithstanding that the French are daily inventing things to cause mutiny amongst the men, and prevent their enlistment; in fact, they promise more to one man than we are willing to give to four. I suspect even that that charming king of England has lately been consulting the Admiral of France (Brion) upon some undertaking or other against His Majesty on the side of Flanders, for he has fitted out some war vessels, and made, a few days ago, a league and confederacy with the inhabitants of certain Imperial towns* situated on the coast of those distant seas, who, in consideration of a large sum of money distributed among them, have promised to help him with twelve ships and sixteen companies of infantry whenever he may want them. The Landgrave [of Hesse] likewise† is beginning to raise troops for the purpose, as he says, of succouring the duke of Olstain (Holstein) in those parts; which makes me think that the said Landgrave might, perhaps, take the command of the whole force for the king of England, considering there are now in Hesse from 16 to 18 companies of infantry under arms, and, moreover, that for some days past the Hessians have readily taken an oath to enlist under the Landgrave's banners when called upon to serve.

I have not yet been able to ascertain for what purpose the French captains met on the 26th ult., as I wrote to your Worship. During the assembly, I hear, letters came from their general, Guillaume, who was then at the Court of France. I have no doubt that the French captains alluded to will make every effort to get hold of these men, and bring them over to their master's side; and I doubt not but that the moment the Emperor's fleet has sailed off we shall be assailed

* "Et me doubte que ce gentil Roy Angloys n'ait consulte avec l'admiral de France quelque emprinse contre Sa Maieste du coustel de Flandres, veu qu'il apreste aucuns naves (*sic*) de guerre, et que depuis peu de jours en ça a fait lighe avec aucunes villes imperiales," &c.

† "Pareillement le Lansgrave commence a faire gens, et ma escript que le nombre de gens qu'il faisoit estoit pour secourir le duc de Olstain, qu'est de ce coustel là, que me fait ymaginer que le dict Lansgrave auroit peu entreprendre la generalite (?) en nom du dit Roy Anglois, veu que au dit pays y a de seze à dix huit enseignes de pied."

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on every side; indeed, it will be too late to remedy the evil, when the enemy who has got the best men of Germany under him happens to invade the Empire.

I beg you to inform His Imperial Majesty as soon as possible of this news.—Augsbourg, 5 Feb. 1535.

P.S.—(*Cipher.*) Since writing the above, news has come from some merchants that on their return from France the duke of Würtemberg and count Guillaume were assailed (nobody knows by whom) and taken prisoners. I expect in six or eight days to receive full information respecting this.

Signed: "D'Andelot."

French. Original. Partly in cipher.

6 Feb. **133.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 11.

Received on the 16th of January his letter of the 19th Dec. last. He (Chapuys) may assure the Queen and her daughter, the Princess, that every care shall be taken of them both, and that the Emperor will continue to defend their cause.

Viscount Hannart writes that upon the Admiral's return to France a rumour was spread that, during his stay in England, he had arranged with the King of that country for a joint attack on the Low Countries. Does not believe a word of it; and, besides, Hannart himself has sent in a report of his conversation with the English ambassador in France, as well as *of what he (Wallop) said to him on the subject;* and there is nothing in it to cause apprehension. A copy of Hannart's report is enclosed for his (Chapuys') inspection.*

Count Rœulx† has just left with the Spanish galleys for Genoa, whence he is to go to Germany, and hasten the departure of 7,000 Germans for the fleet.

Is to keep up with the English malcontents, and assure them that assistance shall not be wanting at the proper time. Is daily expecting a messenger from the person called Reynard‡ living close to Venice. He is, moreover, to report what had better be done for the safety of the Queen and Princess in case of any attempt being made to help the English malcontents.—Madrid, 6 Feb. 1534 (*old style*).

French. Original draft. pp. 5.

12 Feb. **134.** Katharine to the Same.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 26.

Especial friend. Her physician has just told her of the illness of the Princess, her daughter. Has been ill herself, and suspects that her daughter is much worse than they say. He (Chapuys) is to ask the King's leave for the Princess to come to Kimbolton, as that will be a great joy for them both, mother and daughter. Is to tell the King that no extra servants will be

* See above No. 131.

† Ferry de Croy, lord of Rœulx; about whom, *see* vol. iv. part ii. pp. 37, 105, &c.

‡ Reginald Pole (?), then at Padua.

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required, as she herself will attend to her wants, make her share her own bed, nurse her, and sit up with her when needed. Nobody in England would now dare to speak in the Princess's favour but himself, and therefore begs him to go to the King and intercede. God will reward him for what he has already done, and is doing in their behalf.—Kimbolton, first Friday in Lent.

Signed: "Ya La Reyna."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

26 Feb. **135.** The EMPEROR to the SAME.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f.16.

The ambassador's letters of the 1st and 14th ult. have come to hand, together with the report of what lord Darcy and lord Sans (Sandys) said to him.* Is fully aware that a prompt remedy to the disorders of England is much wanted, yet at the present time it is impossible for him (the Emperor) to interfere by force of arms. The Imperial councillors have examined the communications made by the English ambassador in France (Wallop) to the sieur de Likerke, and deliberated thereupon. A copy of these deliberations shall be forwarded to him.—Madrid, 26 February 1534 (*old style*).

French. Original draft. pp. 4.

28 Feb. **136.** The SAME to HANNAËRT.

P. Arch. Nat., Pap. de Sim., No. 1484. No. 277. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 238.

Since the letter in French that goes along with this was written, the French ambassador at this our Court received one from his master, the King, which a servant of his brought. None came from you, the courier having pleaded as an excuse that he had been dispatched from a place outside Paris. The ambassador's statement had reference to the King; he said that the assurances you had given him of our friendship and goodwill towards him had produced no effect whatever on his mind, inasmuch as when the count of Nassau went to his Court, he had refused to negociate respecting the overtures made by him, and had even declared that he had no powers to treat. The Count's behaviour (added the French ambassador) had placed him and his master in a most difficult position; for, trusting in his words, and believing that the Count had been invested with full powers, king Francis had suspended all action, as well as the intelligences he had abroad in foreign parts. Hearing this, We gave orders that an answer should be immediately prepared for the said French ambassador to this effect: that our friendship and goodwill towards his master could not be mistaken, since We had plainly and in good faith given to the said count of Nassau commission for negociating.

* "Le sieur de Darcy et le sieur Sanz" (Sandys?).

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The ambassador then alleged that in the meantime, and whilst Mr. de Nassau was negociating, We had been scheming and carrying on negociations, owing to which some [princes] had forsaken the alliance of France; and that his master, perceiving how meagre Mr. de Nassau's commission was, and how very fruitless in its results, had naturally again clung for protection to his friends abroad, and confirmed their friendship, so that, as a matter of fact, he was as well or better off now than he had ever been before, for he had retained in his service the duke of Ghelders (Egmont), and given him a company of 120 men-at-arms to command,—not indeed to contravene in anywise the existing treaties to our hurt, but merely to do his duty as King and attend to the security of his kingdom.

The answer given on our part to the ambassador was this: that We had not made or procured any intelligences to his master's prejudice, much less against the existing treaties; the German princes were all our subjects, parents, or allies; it was to us, not to others, that they ought to apply for the security of Germany. If the allusion had reference to the dukes of Bavaria (We said) both dukes were our friends. "King Francis," retorted the ambassador, "has great reason to arm when he sees the large fleet the Emperor is fitting out." The answer was that We were really surprised to hear that. His master knew very well the cause of our armaments: they were not destined against any Christian King, but solely and exclusively against Barbarossa.

"Francis' galleys (said his ambassador) are but few. He cannot venture to sea with them, as they are all needed for the protection of his own coast should Barbarossa come to the Mediterranean; nor would the King, my master, willingly trust them under the command of Andrea Doria."

The French ambassador further said that a rumour had been purposely spread in Germany that State prisons in Paris were crammed full of Germans, who were treated most unfavourably throughout France, whilst the Turks were treated with great courtesy. The rumour (added the ambassador) had been intentionally circulated in Germany in order that his master's ministers might be expelled therefrom,—as for instance Langes,* the King's servant, who would have been in great danger of his life, had he not been succoured and helped by king Francis, who had been obliged to send some one to Germany for his own justification. The answer to the French ambassador respecting this last accusation and rumour current in Germany was the same as the one in our letter of the 2nd. We denied having said or heard that the prisons of Paris were full of Germans, &c.; and if Langes, as may be inferred from the words of the ambassador, was really detained or besieged in his own house, We have heard nothing about

* Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeais.

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it. Many a time have We written to our ambassadors not to attempt anything against king Francis' servants, though they may have given occasion for it, especially in the case of the said Langes, who is known to have openly conducted the negociation in favour of the duke of Würtenberg and against my brother last year, &c.

Among other topics discussed was the offer of a marriage in England, the French ambassador remarking that, in his opinion, that was a rather difficult matter to negociate. Our answer was that We had already upon a former occasion declared our views on the subject, and given you our instructions as to how the king of France and ourselves might conduct that negociation in a manner most befitting the honour and conscience of king Henry. And upon the ambassador remarking that this might revive in France the old quarrel with England, and be the cause of fresh disagreement between brothers, our reply was that if there was any appearance of that the Princess might be married to the third son of France, who might thereby be well provided for, and securities obtained, especially if the other alliances were contracted. Even if any untoward event should happen, such as the death of the princess of England, a marriage with the infanta of Portugal might be contracted, and then aim at the succession to the throne of England, which, through the death of Henry without legitimate heirs, would become vacant. The ambassador ended by saying that all that was very well, but that, nevertheless, he was almost certain that his master would never accept the proposal short of some good security as to the duchy of Milan or some other estate in Italy, and, moreover, went so far as to declare that Mr. de Nassau's mission, unfruitful as it had been, had evidentally exasperated his master.

After this, the French ambassador complained of the execution of certain criminals by order of Mr. de Rœulx, our Lord High Steward, which had been published in language highly injurious and hostile, as he said, to the King, his master. To which complaint the answer was that it was true that in the countries of Tournay and Artois some criminals convicted of treason had been executed, but that We were not aware of anything injurious to the King having been published on the occasion, and would on no account allow it. It would be better that our subjects of Flanders were not solicited by France,—and We refrained to act by order of the King,—to do things in the Low Countries and other dominions of ours to our detriment. Madrid, the last day of February [1536].

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter of His Majesty, the Emperor, to his ambassador in France."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 10.

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3 March. **137.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 864, ff. 105–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 239.

Having again spoken to His Holiness on the subject of the tithe (*decimas*) granted to the king of France, he answered, that the grant was on condition of his giving his galleys for the undertaking against the Turk, and that he (the Pope) had written to the King to that effect.

It is, however, understood that the king of France has not accepted them on such conditions.

Has heard that the Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court brings a commission to treat of the marriage of certain grandsons of His Holiness, and that another is to be educated at the Emperor's Court.

He has said nothing yet about it.

The man about whose arrival here at Rome he (Sylva) wrote the other day, comes straight from France. He is a servant of cardinal de Lorraine, and his name is Paulo de Porto. His commission is to ask for a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Paris, and another for a nephew of that Cardinal, besides the Papal legacy in Lorraine for the uncle. His Holiness has flatly refused both, though he was reminded at the time that he had promised this much in the conclave for his own election; hearing which, it is said, His Holiness got exceedingly angry, answering that it was untrue.

The Cardinal, it is said, refuses the legacy because its powers are limited. As to the hat for the bishop of Paris, that ought to be prevented, for he would be a regular firebrand in the College.

Paulo has since gone to Venice, as it is rumoured, to engage count Guido Rangone in the service of France. Lope de Soria has been informed of the fact, that he may be on the look out, although this may be said of Paulo, that he is not a man of much consequence.

His Holiness, as it appears, has another cause of resentment against the above-mentioned cardinal of Lorraine; for when the latter was about to leave Rome, the Pope begged him most earnestly to go to England on his behalf and that of king Francis, and try to bring back king Henry to the obedience of the

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Apostolic See; and that the Cardinal had answered, through the intermediate agency of the said Paul, that he had not done so because king Francis told him that there was no necessity for it; both were about to hold an interview, when the thing might be done just as well. This is, no doubt, the reason why the executory letters are delayed, which he (Sylva) is always applying for; though with the moderation and reserve recommended to him from home. Yet he never lets the opportunity pass of telling His Holiness that he must not allow himself to be lulled by words and promises from England; for, according to late advices, the King of that country is far from showing signs of wishing to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See.

Let him report if he hears anything more about this.

The French ambassador has positively assured His Holiness that this year his master will not come to Italy. He even hinted that Flanders and Navarre would not be invaded, for fear the undertaking against Barbarossa should fail altogether. Yet His Holiness says he gathers from certain expressions of the French ambassador that his master, the King, might perhaps be tempted to do something on those frontiers; for it is a notorious fact that he has sent 200,000 crs. to help the dukes of Ghelders and Würtenberg in case of a war, &c.

It is very important for His Majesty to secure the friendship of the two powerful families here at Rome, the Colonna and the Orsini, espepecially if Renzo da Ceri's contract with the French be carried out. If the services of Girolamo Orsino and Giovan Colonna are secured, the Emperor may be sure that everything will go right.

There is a report that the king of France has sent here 25,000 crs.; others say 50,000. Wishing to

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ascertain the real object of so considerable a remittance, he (Sylva) inquired of the Camarlengo. His answer was, that His Holiness had agreed with the king of France that a deposit of 26,000 ducats should be made at Rome previous to his granting permission for levying a tax on the clergy of that country. The money in question is His Holiness's share in the affair, and has been remitted exclusively for that purpose. Such is the Camarlengo's information; he (Sylva) will try and ascertain whether there be something else under it.

Both the Auditor of the Papal Chamber and Simonetta have lately made the following proposal to the Ferrarese ambassadors here:—That upon the Duke (Alfonso d'Este) giving up Modena and Rezo (Reggio) to the Church, the Pope would allow him to retain Ferrara, besides the money which he is bound to pay for the investiture; or else if he gives up the lands he has in the Romagna, close upon the territory of the Church, His Holiness will relinquish all claims on the money, and give him besides Rezo (Reggio) and Modena, or else Ravenna and Cervia, whichever he likes best. The Duke's ambassadors have answered that their master does not accept either of the offers. Upon which the Pope's commissaries have suggested that His Holiness might perhaps waive all his claims on the Duke for a round sum of 500,000 crs.; upon which the ambassadors said again that the sum was excessive, &c. He (Sylva) has not taken any part in the affair,—firstly, owing to Tribulcio being the cardinal who is now managing the whole affair; —2ndly, because the agreement, if made, is not in consonance with His Majesty's sentence at the time; and 3rdly, because the Duke has not yet entered the Italian League,

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and therefore there is no need to stand upon much ceremony with him.

The Camarino affair was sentenced the other day. The two duchesses and the son of the duke of Urbino were declared defaulters (*en rebeldia*), owing to their not appearing; and it was believed that the duchy would be given to the claimant, to whom the Pope had already given the investiture. He (Sylva) has not yet spoken to His Holiness on the subject for fear of irritating him; but such is the insistence of the Duke's ambassador that he is seriously thinking of remonstrating with His Holiness one of these days, without, however, exceeding in the least the instructions he has received on that point. The churches and bishoprics of Gaeta and Lanciano will pass on as proposed.

The ambassador must take care that no detriment to the Imperial Chamber and its rights be done.

The same Papal Nuncio who in Clement's time went to the king of the Romans, left the other day for Germany; he takes with him similar instructions with regard to the General Council as the one who went once to the Imperial Court.

Count de Languilara (Anguillara) wishes to appoint captains of his own to the three galleys that His Holiness is now arming at Genoa. He (Sylva) would not consent to it until both the Camarlengo and cardinal Cibo positively told him that Andrea Doria would be glad of it. Since then Andrea has written that the Republic will not allow of such a thing; upon which His Holiness has sent for the Count to try and arrange matters, &c.

Cardinal Cesarino continues favourably disposed. A letter of acknowledgment and thanks for his services should be written to him.

The Pope, the other day, in conversation with cardinal Matera (Palmeri) about the marriage of

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his grand-daughters and the proposals he had received from France, said that he would very much prefer that the daughter of Pier Luigi should marry the duke of Sessa, leaving the dowry entirely at His Majesty's will; and that the heir of the house of Farnese should marry the eldest daughter of prince Bisignano, since, besides the claims of the latter to the principality of Salerno, should this latter die without male heirs, his widow would also inherit that estate. And the Cardinal further said that, should His Majesty consent to those marriages, he would secure for ever the affection of His Holiness, and entirely detach him from France, since his only wish is to aggrandize his grandsons and daughters as much as he can, though by no means at the expense of the Church, as other Popes have done.

Let the Ambassador refer to his instructions on the subject, besides communicating with Pero Capata.

Encloses a memorial of the Florentine "fuorusciti."

Cardinal Matera to be thanked for his good offices.—Giovan Conrado Orsino and his offers.

The Genoese merchant who has the jewel says that he cannot wait any longer; he must have his money or sell the jewel.

Pier Luigi has had a relapse.

Has heard of the Emperor's departure for Barcelona, which some think is for the purpose of coming to Italy.

The duke of Ferrara had been ill with spasms (*pasmo*); some even say that he is dead. His illness, however, is of such a nature that he cannot be expected to live long.* —Rome, iii. Martii MDXXXV.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.

4 March. **138.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien. *Rep.*P.C., *Fasc.*229, f. 42.

On the 1st inst. Your Majesty's letter of the 7th February, together with the ciphered note therein mentioned, came to hand. *This last contained a summary of the conversation which this King's ambassador in France had had with that*

* The Duke died on the 31st of August 1535.

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of Your Majesty. Of which conversation, and other matters directly or indirectly connected with it, I myself was prepared to make use before hand, had not Your Majesty's express commands given me discretionally instructions to that effect, and had not Cromwell himself opened and shown me the way, as I lately wrote to Your Majesty, by his frequent excuses of his not daring to broach the subject without the express orders and authority of the King, his master.*

Respecting the removal of the Princess from this country there would be no difficulty at all, if she resided in the neighbourhood of this city, and *there was in preparation the train of which I last wrote to Your Majesty, namely a vessel with oars, large enough to defend herself against small craft here. As to the larger ships at the mouth of the Thames, they ought to be sufficiently well armed to fight any ships that might sail thither in pursuit of her, should the wind be unfavourable.* There would be no fear here *in the river of English ships,* for the same wind that would bring them up would help the others *to go out to sea.*† *But since there is a talk of having the Princess removed to other quarters it will be better to wait, and see what place of residence is chosen for her, and, according as that may be, think of other expedients to gain our purpose.*

As to the security of the Queen and Princess in the event of a popular commotion or rising, my impression is that the first thing these lords will try to do will be to get possession of the persons of the two ladies, and place them in a castle or town of some importance. I have not yet been able to confer with any of them respecting the place likely to be chosen for the ladies' retreat and residence during the intended rising, but hope that in three or four days I shall have occasion to communicate with some of those about whom I lately wrote to Your Majesty, or others of the same party and equal rank, whom I intend to address, as if the idea were exclusively mine. For the better issue of our plans I have long been trying to inculcate upon Master Cromwell and the rest of the Privy Councillors the expediency of treating the two ladies with proper consideration; for, have I said to them, even in the case *of a deadly war between Your Majesty and their king, both of them might be the means of pacifying and settling the dispute between you two, as Coriolanus's mother [Veturia] did once at the gates of Rome. As Cromwell, moreover, had often assented to this argument of mine, and owned that I was right, it is not probable that in the event of a popular rising the King would hastily do further injury to the ladies; he*

* "Moyennant quil y eust lequippaige dont jescripuoy dernierement, a sçauoir ung vasseaul de rammes que fust assez suffisant a ung besoing de soy secourre des petites barges; que pour les autres navieres estant en lentree de la riuiere conviendroit estre bien armee et pour soubtenir limpotz des grands bouz (?), que pourroyt la venir en cas que le vent ne fust propice pour desloger, car par le vent quelles descendroyent les autres sen pourroient aller."

† "Il ny auroit craincte des grandes navieres diçy, car par le vent quelles descendroyent les autres sen pourroient aller."

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would, on the contrary, try to secure their persons, and have them lodged in the Tower. By doing which I fancy the ladies would not then be so much in his power as they would otherwise have been, and as he imagines; for the captain of that fortress professes to be, and has hitherto shown himself, the servant of Your Majesty, and of the ladies, mother and daughter, and is besides a worthy man. As soon as I have communicated with some of the above-mentioned lords, I shall not fail to advise Your Majesty thereof.*

As to the rumour lately spread in France respecting Gravelinghes, the truth is that during the Admiral's (Chabot) stay in this city some one came to me and reported that Milord the High Steward of England, and Captain of Guisnes, was actually preparing to go to reside in his government, and had boasted that shortly after his arrival there he would seize the castle of the former town. But I have since *heard that the whole of it was a lie, and that the above-mentioned personage had said nothing of the sort, nor had he ever thought of such a thing. Perhaps the originators of the report commissioned one of their number to come and repeat the story to me in order to arouse my suspicions. Since then, however, I have had no further news of that affair.*

Your Majesty's instructions and commands concerning the service of the Queen and Princess, the official announcement of your journey to Barcelona, and the causes thereof, as well as of Mr. Du Rœux' mission to Germany, will be punctually adhered to. I will also communicate with Your Majesty's resident ambassador in France, as I have already done, and inform him of the progress I may make in the negociation entrusted to my care.

With regard to news of this country I have to report that the French ambassadors, Morette and the Treasurer of Britanny, went to the King, to Antom Court (Hampton Court), and stayed there from the day after St. Mathias (15 Feb.) till the day before yesterday (2 March), when both returned to town. Yesterday (the 3rd) the Treasurer went to call on Cromwell, and remained with him almost the whole day, this King's Chancellor (Audeley) being also present at the conference, which lasted so long that one of my men, whom I had sent with a verbal message to Cromwell, could not get admittance. This morning, however, my man has been most graciously received, that secretary having sworn to him on his faith that, had he not been prevented by a rheum, which had caused a swelling of his cheek and eye, as he could see, he would certainly have called on me yesterday; but that he hoped between this and to-morrow to be able to do so, if

* "Et croys quen tel cas les dites royne et princesse ne seroyent tant a son commandement quil penseroyt bien; pour estre le cappitaine, a ce quil monstre, serviteur de vostre maieste et des dictes dames, et homme de bien." The governor of the Tower at this time was Sir William Kingston.

† Charles Soliers, sieur de Morette or La Morette.

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he felt better: that meantime he took the opportunity of declaring that he had not forgotten our conversation of the other day, as he himself would soon inform me; and that he had obtained from the King, his master, the promise that the Princess should be removed to a locality close to the Queen's residence, where she might, in case of illness, be attended by the former's physician and apothecary. He (Cromwell) had not yet gained his point as to the Queen being allowed to visit the Princess in her new residence, but he hoped that, little by little, every thing would turn out according to my desire.

Cromwell further said to my man that he hoped the affairs between Your Majesty and the King, his master, would go on well, inasmuch as the latter was greatly pleased at your having by your great clemency and humanity ordered the release of certain Englishmen imprisoned by the Inquisition, and the restoration of their sequestered property, as well as of the vessels captured by the Imperial fleet; which acts on your part (said Cromwell) were likely to promote a peaceful settlement of all your quarrels. *He told him further, that there were just now great schemings, disputes, recriminations and angry words on the part of the French, but that I might feel sure that on their side every impediment should be removed, and that I was to trust and rely entirely on him.* After which he put into the hands of my man the copy of a letter which the king of France had written to the electors [of Germany]; he was to bring it to me, *and say that in his opinion the letter was a brutal one, and that if the French had any regard for their own honour and reputation they ought not to publish it.**

Considering that the slight indisposition above alluded to, owing no doubt to some capricious move, which I cannot guess at, might still detain Cromwell at home and prevent his calling, I intend waiting on him this very afternoon, after dinner, in order to satisfy the wishes of the ladies, both of whom are anxiously expecting a resolution respecting the Princess's future residence, as well as news from abroad.

The secretary of the duke of Olst (Holstein) went to Court on Sunday last, and, as I am informed, the substance of his oration was to convince this King that the friendship and alliance of the Duke, his master, would be more advantageous and honourable to England than that of the Lubeckians, whom the King had hitherto favoured, and who at the last moment would abandon him as they had abandoned other princes. The secretary is to receive an answer next Sunday.

Yesterday a friar and doctor, whom I have known for some time and treated with familiarity, came to ask me for a prognostic, wherein a revolution (mutynacion) is foretold

* "Lui disant qua son advis la dicte lettre estoit bestiale, et pour leur honneur les françoys se pourroient passer de la publier."

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against the governors of this kingdom, of which prognostic every one had been forewarned by Milord Brez, a rich, wise, and good-hearted lord of these parts.† The said friar also told me that he had been requested by that lord to furnish him with a cipher, or means of writing without danger, should his letters be intercepted, for he purposed to write to several worthy personages, and incite them, as the friar gave me to understand, to rebellion against the present Government, for he despaired of Your Majesty's assistance, seeing that it tarried so long. The nobleman's desire, as the friar informed me, was to hold an interview with me, at which he might explain his views on the subject. This, however, has seemed to me rather a dangerous experiment for the present, and therefore I have declined the offer of his visit, though sending him all manner of polite messages encouraging him in general words to persevere, and telling him that it was better to wait for a fit opportunity than spoil the whole affair by too much precipitation.* London, 4 March 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 4.

7 March. **139.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, f. 46.

My despatch of the 4th inst. must have apprised Your Majesty of late events in this country. The day after, on the 5th, the treasurer of Britanny left with middling success for the mission he brought here.

On the 6th Master Cromwell called on me, alleging that his late indisposition had prevented him from visiting me before. He stayed more than one hour and a half with me, when, among other minor matters, that relating to the Queen and Princess became the topic of conversation. Cromwell told me that the King at his recommendation (*porchaz*) had decided to have the Princess removed to a fine manor of his, as he called it, distant 16 or 18 miles from this city, and about 25 or 30 from the place where the Queen is now residing.‡ And upon my remonstrating with him as to the distance and situation of the royal manor destined for the Princess's habitation, as well as its unfitness for the project of which I had spoken to him before his departure for Court, I earnestly requested him again to intercede with the King, his master, to have the Princess placed nearer to the Queen, her mother, and one part at least of her household servants recalled to attend on her person. Cromwell, however, who seemed rather to dislike the subject of our conversation than other-

* "Qui me vint demander une pronosticon que parle de la mutynacion qui doit estre contre les gouverneurs de ce royaume."

† "De la quelle pronosticacion chacun estoit requis de la part de millor brez, quest ung seigneur sçauant, riche et de bon cuer."

‡ "Que le roy a son porchaz avoit advise de faire remuer la princesse a une sienne belle mayson, comme yl disoit, quest a xvi. ou xviii. milles diçy, et de la ou est logee la royne environ xxv. ou xxx."

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wise, cut it short by saying that on his return to Court he would certainly do all that was in his power to please me. That, he added, was a matter of very little importance and weight when compared with the principal one for which he had come to me. I saw plainly that he avoided as much as possible to enter on the subject, for although previously to his departure I again alluded to it, and requested him to bear in mind my recommendation, he answered in more categorical terms that really that was a subject of which he could not willingly speak, as it was one particularly disagreeable to the King, his master.

Respecting the principal matter, as he called it, Cromwell told me that he had faithfully reported to the King the whole of our conversation on the eve of St. Mathias; and that the King, his master, had taken in good part my good wishes for the redress of pending difficulties, from which he expected some good fruit might come, especially as the King had heard from his ambassador at the Imperial Court of the entire goodwill which Your Majesty bore him, and of which recent proofs had been given by the release of English prisoners and vessels captured at sea, as well as by the good and honourable words which Mr. de Grandvelle had lately addressed to him; of which goodwill, continued Cromwell, the Imperial resident ambassador in France,* who was in daily communication with the English one, bore ample testimony. Matters being in such a good train, both on Your Majesty's side and on that of the King, his master—who will always be ready to acquiesce in any conciliatory measure not affecting his honour and conscience—it was fit time, Cromwell observed, for me to undertake so meritorious a work, and one of such imperishable glory, as that of re-knitting the friendship and alliance of the two countries. *For this service the King would be very thankful to me, and would reward me accordingly. He (Cromwell) had powers to treat with me, which, in his opinion, was already a great point gained, inasmuch as when a castle began to parley it was half taken, as saith the proverb.*† *There was nothing (he said) so troublesome and irritating for the settlement of the affairs between Your Majesty and the King, his master, as the business of the ladies, mother and daughter, which, as he had already observed to me on other occasions, ought not to be an obstacle to the settlement of others of so weighty a nature and so important in their results, for it must be remembered that the Queen was old and would not live long, and that the Princess herself was in bad health (maladieuse) and her early death (mortale) very probable. Besides which, if the report of the English ambassadors was correct, it would seem as if neither in Spain nor in France was there much concern respecting them, except a desire that they should remain in the state in which they now are.*

* Mr. de Likerke.

† "Car comme lon disoit chasteaul que commenceroyt de parlamenter estoyt a moytie gaigne."

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After the above and other similar discourses Cromwell went on to say, "You cannot have an idea of the pressing "importunity with which the French are assailing the King, "my master, asking him to join them in a war against the "Emperor, using all the time most persuasive arguments, "such as the danger to this kingdom from the always "increasing prosperity of the Imperial arms and His "Majesty's growing power, and pointing out the facility "with which his dominions might be assailed from various "sides, if they only could count upon our help." Among other princes on whose assistance they relied, Cromwell said to me, they had no scruple to count the cardinal of Liege as one. At which statement the French ambassadors were much thrown out, and would have preferred that the Cardinal's name should not have been mentioned, for Cromwell took the matter up, and said he knew on good authority that the cardinal of Liege being ill in bed, had placed all his fortresses in the hands of a nephew of his, son-in-law of Mr. de Beure (Beurren), the staunchest Burgundian that ever was. This piece of intelligence I myself had communicated to Cromwell, though he would not on this occasion name me as his authority. He further told me that the French were making unparalleled offers and conditions to drag the King, his master, into the said war, but that he (Cromwell) would not listen to them, considering, as he had had occasion to tell me before, that the King, his master, had no reason whatever to enter into such an alliance, and that, even if he were inclined to join so virtuous and catholic a prince as Francis was, in an undertaking of the sort, he would most certainly abstain from his alliance at a time when Your Majesty was engaged in so laudable and urgent an enterprise as the war on the Turk.*

The King's wish and intention (added Cromwell) would be to be able to bring about a true and perfect union among the Christian princes, which cannot be effected except through a perfect understanding and brotherly alliance between Your Majesty and the kings of England and France, by meansof which union and friendship a General Council might be assembled without any delay, difficulty or annoyance, at which all matters relating to Faith and the Christian religion might be fairly discussed and satisfactorily settled. *Many quarrels of Princes might therein be arranged and decided, or at least a resolution taken that during the life of the actual possessors of such disputed estates, no innovation whatever should be made, and that France should content herself with what she has now, and other Princes likewise. This once done, it would be time for preparing in common a good*

* "Entre les autres ils navoient honte de nommer Monseigneur le cardinal de lige, de quoy ses ambassadeurs de France demourirent confus et eussent bien voulu nen avoir parle quant icelluy cremuel leur dict quil sçauoit comme le dit cardinal," &c.

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and powerful army with which to attack the Turk, and reconquer the Holy Land, when and where each Christian prince might easily acquire more domains and lordships than those which they now disputed among themselves, and which had already been the cause of so many dissensions and wars. That would be God's service, besides bringing profit and glory to those engaged in the enterprise. His peroration at an end, Cromwell again begged me to pave the way, and devise the means of arriving at the said union, from which, he said, all manner of advantages and prosperity would necessarily result.

I failed not to praise the King's most virtuous and holy intentions, as expressed by Master Cromwell, assuring him that it would certainly not be Your Majesty's fault if the King's wishes were not completely fulfilled. As to myself, I could only boast of perfect willingness on my part; I should consider myself the happiest of mortals to be able to assist the King and the members of his Privy Council in their laudable undertaking. Their's was the province, (I said) considering my own insufficiency, to make the first overtures, and point out the means of carrying such a praiseworthy plan into execution.

*After this I observed to Cromwell that since the King, his master, had by his great virtue and wisdom decided not to join the French and commence war, it seemed unnecessary for me to enter into a discussion respecting that point; otherwise I might have demonstrated what expense the King, his master, would have been put to, and what damage he might have suffered in his own interests and reputation, had he listened to the pressing demands of the French, even knowing, as he himself had owned to me, that all their threats and bravadoes had no other object than the advancement of their pretensions in Italy. The King had seen what little profit he and the rest of the confederated powers had derived from the former Holy League, as it was called;—although I failed not to remark that it was not he, but cardinal Wolsey, who was responsible for it, as the King himself had many a time owned to me. Cromwell's answer was that the King saw the true state of affairs, and that the whole matter had been put forward and been well considered [in the Council.]**

Cromwell then owned to me that what I said was perfectly true, and that the King, his master, was very much obliged to me for a portion of the offers made by the French; for (said "he) ever since you (Chapuys) had audience from him, those "offers have been singularly increased." My reply was that I was glad my visit to the King had been the cause of what had happened since, and likewise of the benefit which the King was likely to derive from it. Upon which Cromwell thanked me again, and told me by way of compliment that he was

* "A quoy me respondit le dict Cremuel quil (le roy) touchoit au vray et que le tout avoit ete mis en avant et bien consideré."

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*about to reveal to me a secret of the Privy Council, which was that among several articles of the note lately come from France the second in order was to complain of my having had such a long private audience from the King, his master Cromwell observing with regard to the said article that the French were certainly the most suspicious nation in the world.**

After this Cromwell asked me what I thought of the letter addressed by king Francis to the Prince-Electors of the Empire, of which he, as I said before, had sent me a copy. I made no answer to his inquiry, except to remark that "any one might believe himself a lord if he took the fancy into his head."† But Cromwell spoke of the epistle and its import in still plainer terms; he said to me that the king of France ought never to have written such a letter, not even to gain a kingdom by it. "As to myself (Cromwell added) I would not for anything in this world have been king Francis' counsellor on the occasion. I have said so before the King, my master."

He (Cromwell) further showed me a summary of news wherein it was stated that Your Majesty's army amounted to 30,000 fighting men, and a most numerous fleet, upon which he cordially congratulated me. There was also in the said summary a paragraph stating that a bishop sent by the vayvod [of Transylvania] had arrived at the court of the king of the Romans [Ferdinand], and that his errand was to treat of a peace between his master and Your Majesty's brother, at which piece of news Cromwell showed no dissatisfaction at all. Having then inquired of him whether the Vayvode's secretary, who is here in London, had come to negociate a marriage for his master, or to borrow money, or perhaps two for both objects, as was reported, he smiled, and observed, "As to money everyone would like to have that."

Respecting the duke of Holst[ein]'s man, Cromwell said that he would, whenever I liked, show me his instructions, and explain the nature of his mission. There was no reason to think, as many did in those parts, that the King, his master, had assisted the Lubeckians against the people of Holstein, and that within five or six days the Duke's man would get a fit answer and go away.

In the midst of our conference Cromwell told me that they had news from France advising that a marriage was talked of between the duke of Angoulesme (Charles) and the daughter of Portugal (Maria); but that some people thought that the prince of Hungary (Maximilian) would be preferred. I told him that certainly the treasurer of Britanny had said something like it when he was here, in England, but that I was not otherwise aware of the fact. Hearing me mention the

* "A ceste occasion le dict Cremuel chargoit grandement les françoys pour la plus suspicieuse nation questoit au monde."

† "A quoy ne luy respondis sinon que tel se pensoit seigneur que se donnoit du doit en loeyl."

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Treasurer's name, he started, and immediately asked me where and when I had met him. He was glad to hear that I had not seen him, nor sent my secretary to him, nor allowed any of my people to go to the French embassy, but that it was the ambassador himself who had frequently sent his own people to dine with mine, and that had he invited mine in return they would certainly have accepted his invitation.*

Since a marriage was alluded to, I deemed it a fit opportunity to tell him that there was a rumour afloat that the Treasurer's mission had been for the express purpose of applying for the hand of the Princess, and I begged him to tell me whether my information was correct or not. Upon which he answered coldly, and as if he were surprised at the intelligence, that there was no truth whatever in the report; though, after a moment's thought, he added, "I have no doubt, however, that the French desire that marriage very much;" from which I conclude, as I have had the honour of informing Your Majesty in one of my preceding despatches, that the Treasurer's mission had really reference to that.

Although Cromwell's words and deeds were evidently directed towards inducing me to ask Your Majesty for special powers to treat with him of the affair in question (des affaires porparlez), yet he never expressly asked me to do so; whether through inadvertence, or because they are still waiting for news from France, I cannot say. Certain it is that he made no overtures to me; nor did I remind him of it, knowing very well that he could not, if he wished, make such honest and reasonable ones now as in a few days hence, and that, should he make any that I rejected, the King, in despair at seeing that he could not treat with Your Majesty, might cling closer to the French, who are still scheming busily, and who, seeing that this King did not reply to their overtures, might so press and circumvent him as to wring from him tacit consent, to the great injury of the present negociation.† In short, I deemed it more prudent on my part not to press him any further, and therefore abstained altogether from mentioning the subject.

Our conference at an end, Cromwell took leave of me to go and dine in the fields, and see his hawks fly after their prey. I went to meet him after dinner, and stayed a good while with him; when I again requested him, as earnestly as I could, to ask the King to grant my petition about the Princess, and to press the matter warmly, as if it came from himself, without mentioning me at all, as otherwise the

* "Il fust tres ioyeulx dentendre comme ne lavoye ne veu ne envoye visiter, ne permis que aucungs des miens [fust le veoir] mais que lambassadeur de france avoit plusieurs fois envoye son monde a disner [et que s'il auroit invite les miens] ils y fussent allés."

† "Et que venant a faire ouverture si je la reboutaye, de desespoir de ne pouvoir pervenir a traicter avec vostre Majeste, il se pourroit ralier avec les françoys estant encore leurs practiques chaudes, et que voyant quil ne respondoit a leurs ouvertures ils le pourroient prendre et interpresser a tacite consentement."

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whole affair might be spoilt rather than assisted; for this King's nature, said I, was such that he disliked being beaten either by words or arguments of another party, but would submit himself to his own reasoning and act in accordance with it. I also told Cromwell that I was certain the King's ambassadors in Spain and France had misunderstood the whole business, when they wrote home that Your Majesty would be contented with the Queen and Princess remaining in the state and condition in which they at present are. In addition to which, I put before him the many inconveniences likely to arise should anything happen either to one or both of the ladies; for that (said I) might spoil altogether the good he intended, and the issue for which he was working. Many, I observed, who are now asleep would bestir themselves, and that I fancied the king of Scotland (James) would not be the last to move in the affair, since he would claim what he thinks he is entitled to by right, and might perhaps then find plenty of marriage alliances possible, which have hitherto been refused to him. I assured him that what I was telling him was dictated by my wish to serve the King, his master, rather than from any other motive. *Many (I said) might suggest to Your Majesty that out of spite to yourself the days of the ladies had been shortened here, or at least Your Majesty might be accused of having been, in a certain measure,* the cause of their death (which may God forbid!), owing to your not having taken steps in time to have the Papal sentence executed in conformity with the Papal letters;* *besides which it might be alleged that had it not been for their expectations and hopes of Your Majesty taking their just cause in hand, the ladies themselves might have yielded to the King's wishes, who would then have treated them with due regard, and not let them come to the miserable plight in which they now are. He (Cromwell) knew better than I did that spite and irritation did away with friendship, and were often the cause of disorder and feuds [in families]. This I took care well to inculcate on Cromwell's mind, for no other reason than the allusion he had twice made to the ladies' possible death within a short period of time, and the evident suspicion that might follow the death of both, or at least that of the Queen, if it should happen soon, as her age and the precarious state of her health might lead us to conjecture. To obviate which suspicion until the arrival of the principal remedy, there is, in my opinion, no other expedient than use the same or similar arguments to this King's ministers or ambassadors, whenever this subject comes under discussion. I have written in this sense to Mr. de Likerke in obedience to Your Majesty's commands.*

* "Et que plusieurs pourroient suggerer a vostre Majeste que pour despit dicelle lon eust avance le pas aux dictes dames, ou du moings lon improperoit a vostre majeste que celle (si elle ne) seroit aucunement cause de la mourt des dictes dames, ce que dieu ne veuille, ains advenoit a cause que vostre majeste ne s'estoit mis en aucungs devoirs de faire executer la sentence conforme aux executoriales."

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To the above remarks of mine, Cromwell gave full assent, owning that I was right, though he would not admit that *the king of Scotland could do them any harm at all.* He assured me that the utmost care and vigilance should be used for the safety of the two ladies, and that God knew how well-disposed he himself was to work in favour of the Princess, whom, he said, he did not love less than I did. In short, he ended by saying that he would do his best in favour of both mother and daughter. After which he again entreated me to take to heart the business with which he had entertained me that very morning, adding that he hoped that before next Pentecost all matters would be satisfactorily arranged.

After a good deal of talk on this same topic, Cromwell went on to say that *all Your Majesty's agents, myself not excluded, were like hawks; they rose very high to come down on their prey with greater rapidity;** and that he fancied the one object all our exertions was to have the Princess declared heir and successor to this crown; but if so, Cromwell added, I may tell you that the thing is quite impossible owing to the statutes and ordinances lately promulgated on the subject. He laid particular stress on these last words, as if he wished to let me understand that he had guessed what we were about, and that we were labouriny in vain.†

Then, changing the conversation, Cromwell began to speak about a marriage between the prince of Spain (Philip) and this King's illegitimate daughter, whom they call princess [*of Wales*]*; but perceiving the mien I put on, he only said two more words; and without waiting for my answer, he himself added, "I dare say, however, that His Majesty, the Emperor, will not hear of it out of respect for the Princess, his cousin." This subject being dropped, he went on to say that the French would never dare declare war without the concurrence of the English; and upon my observing that I had heard that this King was about to send to France four personages, to meet four other Frenchmen at the frontier, and there discuss together their common affairs, he owned to me that it was true that the French had solicited such an assembly, as likewise an interview of the two Kings. I then told him that on our part no possible objection should be made, provided matters of religion and Faith were not discussed at the conferences; but he made no reply.*

He ended by making all manner of excuses at his having several times refused giving audience to my servants; at which he professed to be more sorry than I myself could be, but press of business (he said) and other circumstances had been the cause of it, and that, instead of remaining so long in town

* "Que les autres agents de sa Majeste et moy faysions comme les faulcons que vouloient bien hault pour descendre bien bas a prendre la proye, et quil entendoit, &c."

† "Mais quil ny avoit ordre a cause des statuts et ordonnances sur ce faictes; ne sçay si le faisoit pour le faire sentir meilleur."

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without going to Court, I might now go as frequently as I pleased, the King would be much pleased at my visit.*

I cannot say what sort of a treaty could be made with this King as long as he refuses restoring the Queen and Princess's affairs to their original state, much less mend those of the Church and Faith, which are getting worse and worse every day; for not later than Sunday last a certain preacher said from the pulpit that the King would do well to assemble the doctors of his kingdom, and determine at once whether in the consecrated wafer the precious body of Christ is contained or not, whether there is a purgatory, &c. As to himself, he would not say what his opinion was until the meeting of the said assembly.† It is for Your Majesty's very great wisdom to consider whither such propositions are leading, and what other preachers will say elsewhere through this kingdom. Of their blasphemies I cannot speak without horror, so general are they in this country, for no good priest is allowed to mount the pulpit and preach unless he be one of those appointed by the King for the purpose. I have my doubts whether such proceedings (privaultez) are not intended for the purpose of making their case with the French better, and likewise partly to remove the suspicion that might attach to them in the event of mishap overtaking these good ladies;‡ besides which it suits them admirably to make this people believe that a good understanding exists between Your Majesty and them, for that will make them more obedient and ready to pay the heavy taxes imposed upon them just now. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this King and the members of his Privy Council desire above all things Your Majesty's friendship; but, as far as I can gather, they have very little hope of it, and that is the reason why I doubt of the negociation coming to a good end. The other day, as the son of Mr. Darcy,§ the brother of the earl of Velchez (?), and two more gentlemen courtiers, were dining with me, an appointment was made to call on Mr. Darcy's father. Yesterday was the day fixed for our meeting, which I wished above all things to attend, that I might personally see and speak to the said nobleman without being suspected; but as the rest of the company could not go, I myself did not dare call on him alone. I sent, however, one of my men to ask him what means could be employed to insure the persons of

* "Mais le temps le requeroit ainsy, et que au lieu questoys longuement demoure sans aller en Covrt, y pourroes aller a mon playsir, et que le roy lauroit tres aggreable."

† "Et que quant a luy il ne vouloit dire [son oppinion] jusques la dicte assemblée."

‡ "Vostre majeste par sa tres grande prudence considerera ou cella va frapper [et] que doivent faire les autres prescheurs, des blasphemes des quels jai horreur de parler, et ce generalement, car nuls des bons ne peut prescher ne autres que les deputez par le dit roy, et ne suis sans aucune doubte [quils] ne fassent telles privaultes tant pour en faire myeulx leur cas avec les françoys que pour oster en partie la suspicion en cas quil survint quelque chose à ces bonnes dames."

§ The copy has Dasey, which seems to be an error of the deciphering clerk for Darcy (Sir Arthur), younger son of lord Thomas Darcy, who, on the 23rd of September 1534, was appointed captain or governor of Jersey. *See* Chapuys' despatch of that date. As to the earl of Velchez, who can he be, unless Essex be meant?

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the Queen and Princess in case of a revolution in this country. His answer was, that he agreed with me that the time had come to act, although he believed that if a rising took place better means could then be found to place the ladies in safety ; besides which he thought that although they were actually in the King's hands, they would then be in less danger than at present, as the King would find himself in such perplexity that he could not think of ill treating them. The good gentleman is urging as much as he can the release of the Queen and Princess, and would like to know beforehand on what day it is to be attempted, that he may leave this city and retire to his own estates, where he has a fine castle not far from the sea coast. I am sure that, once under the custody of the person about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, the Queen and the Princess would be out of danger, for he is as anxious for their safety and welfare as the others are, as I have heard this very day from a very reliable quarter, and is ardently wishing for an opportunity to show his good will and devotion.*

For a long time back there has been no news from Ireland, which makes people suspect that the affairs of that country are not going on as these courtiers might wish. The son of Mr. Darcy, who was thinking of going to his government in Jersey, said to me the other day that Master Cromwell had told him that the King was thinking of sending him to Ireland, most likely with an officer of high position. London, 7 March 1535.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed : "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. Pp. 26.

— March. **140.** KATHARINE to LIC^TE MEDONA.†

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. fol. 38.

Was told after he left that Cromwell had gone quite publicly to see the ambassador [Chapuys]. This is most gratifying. The ambassador ought to be rather reserved, as otherwise he might be made a tool in the hands of these people. Is unwell, and cannot write more for the present.

Spanish. Holograph. No address.

Indorsed : 1535. "From the queen of England. Received on the 16th of March."

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* "Le quel me manda quil conuenoit quil estoit temps pour en sçavoir donner precise resolution, combien quil ne doubtoit que lors lon ne trouvast meilleurs moyen et uoyes pour les retirer."

† I should have been inclined to read *Molina* instead of *Medon* or *Medona*, as in the address to this letter, had I not found upon inquiry that it is the true reading in Katharine's holograph letter. *Medona*, much less *Medon*, as elsewhere written, are no proper names in Spain; and as there was at this time one Juan Vazquez de *Molina*, lord of Poyo and La Eliseda, and commander of Guadalcanal, in the order of Santiago, who, since 1528, when Charles left Spain for Italy and Flanders, became secretary of State to the empress Isabella; moreover, as that official is often mentioned in papers of this time as Juan de *Molina*, and might have had a brother or nephew of his name; but, as I say, the reading leaves no doubt.

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17 March. **141.** The Same to Antoine de Granvelle.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. f. 29.

Monseigneur le secretaire, mon bon seigneur et frere . . . . All I have written to His Majesty you must consider as more than certain, and believe that this Devil of a concubine will not rest until she has gained her object, and ridden herself of these poor good ladies, to accomplish which she is working by all imaginable means . . . . .—London, 17 March 1535.

Addressed: "A Monseigneur Anthoine Perreni (*sic*), secretaire destat de l'Empereur."

French. Holograph. ½ *p. Cipher.*

23 March. **142.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½.

On the 16th inst., having called on Master Cromwell for the purpose specified lower down, he put into my hands a packet from Mr. de Lickerke,* which he desired me to open in his very presence, inasmuch as the English ambassador in France (Sir John Wallop) referred to the contents for fuller information respecting his views. Sure as I was that Mr. de Lickerke's letter would contain nothing in plain writing that could be qualified as offensive or injurious to this King, I had no objection whatever to have the packet opened in Cromwell's presence, and, therefore, proceeded to gratify him in that respect. There was in the packet one letter from that Imperial ambassador, of the 12th inst., besides a duplicate of that, which Your Majesty had caused to be written to him on the 25th ult.; also copy of those which the king of France has lately addressed to the electors and princes of the Empire on the subject of the General Council. This last Cromwell showed a desire to read, and I immediately handed it over to him. As to the others, which he saw were almost entirely written in cipher, he did not ask me to explain their contents. Yet, after perusing, in my presence, several which he himself had received, he began to relate certain news contained in them, which, to judge from his countenance, seemed not at all unpleasant to him, *such as the trick which the duke of Ghelders had lately played the French, by taking their money and afterwards laughing in their faces; the schism and division reported to exist in Francis' Council, that King himself being extremely indignant against his own Chancellor; and last, not least, that the said king had sent letters to all parts of France, ordering all Germans within his dominions to be arrested for heresy.*

After relating the above news, Cromwell added that this King's resident ambassador in France *had written respecting*

* Jean Hannaërt, viscount of Lombecke, who, as Imperial ambassador in France, had attended the conferences of Marseilles in October 1533, between Francis and Clement. In 1534 he continued in office, but from his having acquired, through inheritance or otherwise, the lordship of Liedkirke, Liekerke, or Likkerke, in the Low Countries, he was more generally designated under the title of Sieur, Seigneur, or Mr. de Lickerke.

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certain overtures made to him by Mr. de Likerke, which, however, were neither honourable to the King his master nor in any way acceptable, as he himself would prove to me after I had read my foreign correspondence, for which purpose he intended calling to-morrow morning at my lodgings.

Next day, however, Cromwell sent his excuses for not coming on the plea of very pressing business, but in reality in order to ascertain first the King's pleasure, having, as he afterwards owned to me, immediately after our conference, dispatched a messenger to him. The day after, which was the 18th inst., Cromwell called at my lodgings; and, after repeating to me the substance of the conversation which Mr. de Grandvelle had held with the English ambassador residing at Your Majesty's court, on your own departure from Madrid,* he (Cromwell) proceeded to state that the King his master *was very much surprised, and not without cause, to hear that, in a conversation with the said ambassador, Mr. de Grandvelle had declared to him that for some time past you had granted private and almost daily audiences to the French ambassador. I replied to him, "You must not marvel at the Emperor doing so, or take umbrage at it, for he happens to be so kind and so benevolent that he never refuses audience to whomsoever asks for it, much less to foreigners. Perhaps the French ambassador at the Imperial court (said I), knowing the ways of our court, as well as the many occasions there are of speaking to the Emperor, wished to make it appear as if at this precise moment he was in secret negociation with my Imperial master, and purposed to make you jealous, imagining that every nation is as suspicious as themselves,† whom you yourself consider the most suspicious nation on earth. Should the English ambassador at the Imperial court be as cunning and clever as I consider him to be, I have no doubt he will find the means of doing the same thing that the Frenchman is doing." This answer of mine seemed to satisfy Cromwell, for he swore on his conscience that before speaking to me on the subject he had thought of propounding the very same argument to the King. I failed not to add, by way of supplement, that it might be also that the French ambassador had a special charge from the queen of France (Eleanor), for whose sake, though the French were actually at war with the Empire, Your Majesty would not refuse gracious audiences to whomsoever came from her.*

With regard to the overtures contained in Mr. de Lickerke's despatch, as well as in Your Majesty's letter of the 26th ult., Cromwell told me that the King his master had written a holograph letter to him, saying that he was disposed and quite ready to have the old friendship renewed, and to con-

* Charles left Madrid on the 2nd of March, bound for Barcelona, where he embarked for the Tunis expedition.

† "Imaginant que tout le monde soit si ayse a mectre en suspicion comme estoient les dits françois, que luy mesme tenoit pour la plus suspecte nation du monde."

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clude any treaties at Your Majesty's pleasure, provided his honor and reputation were safeguarded. He could not for a moment suppose that an attempt upon his honor was meant, for such he considered the question upon his second marriage to be, which had been legally decided in his favor. That he could in nowise tolerate, he would rather lose his crown, nay, his life, than consent to it, or place himself under subjection to any one. The King, however, (Cromwell said) would beg two things of me; one was, that if I had no power to make different overtures respecting the marriage affair, I would keep aloof and not ask for any more audiences from him; the other was to inform Your Majesty as soon as possible of this his final resolution.

After this Cromwell began to justify both the cause and the motives of the King's second marriage, quoting the numerous opinions in support of it, as well as the promises of pope Clement, not only at Rome, but also at Marseilles, of pronouncing in favour of his divorce. He then went on to particularise the principal grounds on which the justice of his master's case rested; to all of which I listened patiently for a long time without replying, for I did not choose to debate the case with him. I only said that I should be happy if all that he told me could be verified and realised in order that the whole business might be cleared up, and all causes for contention effectually removed for the future. Had Your Majesty thought for one moment that the Queen's right was not so sound and good as it had been judicially pronounced to be at Rome, I was certain that you would be marvellously glad that the contrary should be determined where complete impartiality could be obtained such as at a General Council; and since the King his master, for the reasons alleged, considered himself in his right, why should he refuse submitting to the decision and determination of the said Council when he himself did once appeal to it. Your Majesty could not, and would not. offer him better terms than those proposed,—terms of which, if anyone was to complain it was the Queen herself, owing to the delay in the execution of the sentence, and the Pope also, whose injunctions had been completely disregarded, thus opening a door for the partial invalidation and breach of his authority. "The King your master (I added) need not fear the Pope or the ecclesiastics in that matter, inasmuch as, were they to intend harm, all the princes of Christendom would interfere, most of whom were his (the King's) friends. One thing I could vouch for; the Emperor would never take steps at the Council, or recommend measures to which you yourselves were not ready to subscribe. The King ought to consider what honor and comfort to himself, what peace and tranquility to his kingdom, would ensue were the affair determined at a General Council of the Church. It would also be a full discharge of the Emperor's conscience, inasmuch as, without the determination of that point, he really could not, as a good Catholic,

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refuse to obey the executory letters decreed in favor of the Queen, nor honorably consent longer to the suspension of the sentence unless it were in hope of the King's submission." With regard to my despatching a messenger to Spain with the King's resolution, I was (I said) ready to comply with the King's wishes in that respect; but it seemed to me more proper to wait for Your Majesty's answer, which could not be long coming, and at the same time hear in a more direct way what his master's express intentions and will were. On this occasion Cromwell did not hesitate to own that my suggestions seemed to him reasonable enough. He promised that *in a couple of days he would again speak to the King on the subject, and represent, with his usual frankness and boldness, when alone and without witnesses, the ins and outs of the case, and, when he had seen the King, come to me and report on the whole.**

Then, after a few minutes' thought, Cromwell added, "The Emperor ought not to hesitate and waver in an affair of this kind, the final settlement of which would prove such an inestimable boon for Christendom as would the union between him and the King my master. Both the Queen and the Princess are mortal. Even if the latter were to die to-morrow, her death would not be a misfortune when compared with the happy union and good intelligence likely to result therefrom. He then asked me to consider and reflect, when I should be alone and disengaged, whether it would not be possible to keep the ladies' business altogether in the background; not to allude to it in the new treaty, or rather, hold it in suspense pending the King's lifetime. In the meanwhile, the General Council might assemble and deliberate on the best remedy to be applied to the troubles which distract and afflict Christendom." Besides which (added Cremuel) there might be occasion during, and even before, the meeting of the Council, for amity and friendship to be firmly established between your master and mine, when the business of the Queen and Princess might be arranged without mystery. A Congress might also be appointed conjointly by the Emperor and by the King, whereat to discuss and determine the respective rights of those ladies. Cromwell ended his reasoning by repeating to me with a certain emphasis the very words he had formerly said: "What harm or danger could there be in the Princess dying just now? Whatever people might say and think about it, would the Emperor (I ask you) have reason to regret her death?"†

* "Il me confessa les dictes remonstrances estre raysonnables, et que dans deux jours yl en deviseroit bien amplement avec le dict sieur roy, luy faysant bien gouter le cas et luy parlant avec la hardiesse quil souloit quant ilz estoient seul a seul, et que incontinent me rapporteroit le tout."

† "Me replicquant de nouveaul quel dammage ne danger seroit que la dicte princesse feust morte oyres que le peuple en mormurast, et quelle raison auroit vostre maieste en faire cas?"

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My reply was that as we were just then trying to bring about a closer union and friendship between our respective masters, with a view not to waste time I would refrain from representing the great dangers and inconveniences likely to arise, were the Princess to die suddenly, in these times, and in a manner so open to suspicion. God forbid that such a thing should come to pass, and may she be preserved for the peace and tranquillity of the world! Besides, said I, how could the Emperor, my master, clear himself from the imputation that in order to secure a treaty he had consented to the death of his own cousin, and had, as it were, sold her to obtain peace in exchange? As to the suspension to which he alluded, it was neither honourable nor reasonable. Even if Your Majesty agreed to it, the King (I said) ought not to insist on it in view of the terrible confusion it might entail after him, which would besides burden his conscience beyond measure; whereas, were the case submitted to the determination of the Council, sufficient means of attaining the proposed object might be found much sooner than with the suspension so much desired.

To these arguments of mine Cremuel knew not what to answer, except that he would consult his master thereupon and hear what his pleasure was. Some time after, however, he began to rage against all these popes and cardinals, saying that he hoped the race would soon become extinct so that people might rid themselves of their abomination and tyranny. After which he continued: "You cannot imagine how much these Frenchmen are pressing us just now to join them; but I will never allow the King, my master, to carry war across the Channel, or try to gain one more foot of land on the Continent than he has already. I have thought (he added) of what you told me the other day respecting the difficulty, cost, and expenditure of an enterprise against Flanders. I myself have refused a considerable pension from France, and intend at the next meeting of Parliament to have a Bill passed forbidding, on pain of death, King's councillors and others to accept pensions from foreign princes."†*

On Saturday, the 20th inst., Cromwell spoke to the King; but, owing to the Festival of the Palms,‡ he made his excuse for not calling on me the day after. Yesterday, Monday, he sent me word that although he was slightly indisposed he had got up from his bed and dressed to come to me, but had felt so ill in consequence that he had given up all idea of visiting me, and therefore that he begged me go to him. Doubting whether the alleged illness was real, and believing the affair

* "Et quelque espace apres il commença maulgreer de tant de papes et cardinaulx, disant quil tenoit pour tout certain que la race se perdroit bientost, et quil ne seroit plus question dune telle abhomination et tyrannie."

† "Et quil avoit reffuse grosse pension de France, et entendoit de faire passer au premier parlement que nul anglois ne du conseil du Roy, son maistre, ne autre sur peine de la vie ne praingne pension de prince estrangier."

‡ Et pour la solempnite des Palmes s'excusa de venir le lendemain." Palm Sunday of 1535 fell on the 21st of March.

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to be of too much importance to be treated hastily, I sent to ask him for an appointment, one hour after dinner, that we might leisurely attend to our business. His answer to my secretary was that just at the hour designated by me, he intended to go to bed again, as he did not feel quite well, and that since I purposed to take the trouble of calling on him, he begged me to postpone my visit until Tuesday morning, that is to day, and should anything prevent my calling personally to send one of my secretaries to him. *Yet he considered it his duty to inform me that he had found the King, his master, almost as much attached to his opinion as he formerly was. He (Cromwell) begged me, in the King's name and in his own, to write home. He informed me at the same time that the Treasurer of Britanny* was moving heaven and earth for certain articles and clauses which the French wish them to pass; but that on that point, as well as on others, he (Crowmell) is determined to act as an honest man, not allowing anything to be done to our injury, but, on the contrary, resolutely taking our part, however specious the pretences of the French may be. Cromwell's hint had, no doubt, reference to a meeting of English and French commissioners, which is to take place shortly on the frontiers beyond the sea, the object of which people might imagine and suspect is the mere setting-up of some hostile enterprise against Your Majesty. I have not been able to learn for certain what those articles and clauses to which Cromwell alluded can be; but I strongly suspect that one of them is to this effect, that if the English cannot obtain further concessions from the French, they will try to get the same promise that the Lubeckians made them some time ago, namely, that in the event of a General Council the king of France will favour and support with all his power the King's second marriage, as well as most of his acts against the authority of the Apostolic See.*

Intending to call this very morning on Cromwell, and having sent my secretary to him to know what hour suited him best, I heard that he is worse than yesterday, and therefore can not see any one. I will not insist until Your Majesty's letter mentioned in Mr. de Lickerke's despatch comes to hand. I dare say by that time Cromwell will be disposed to see me; *besides which, I fancy that too much solicitude on our part might perhaps spoil the affair in hand, as it would render these people more vain glorious and intractable.*

The way Your Majesty is taking to remedy the affairs of this country could not be better planned and conceived than it is, provided these people consented to respond to Your Majesty's holy intentions, and would help in all good faith the convocation and meeting of the Council—which, whatever their language, in my opinion they will never do, —and treat better the two Princesses, who are every day in greater personal danger. *The mother in particular has many*

* Palamède Gontier.

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*a time, and especially of late, desired me to write that Your Majesty would be pleased to make these people understand how grieved she is at her daughter, the Princess, being as she is entirely in the hands of her enemies, and that, were anything to happen to her, people might have reason to say that all was owing to the manner of her treatment. The Queen, as I say, is daily begging me to write to Your Majesty on the subject, under the impression that your consummate prudence and incomparable virtues will provide the means of obviating the danger in which both are. And as the Queen herself has always been of opinion that the very moment there is a chance of amity and friendship being fairly established between the parties, all danger will disappear,—as she herself wrote to her physician on hearing that Cromwell had called on me,—and that the whole case will be conducted and shaped according to the overtures, it seems to me as if I could easily persuade her to accept and approve of the whole plan.**

When Cromwell put into my hands the above-mentioned packet of letters, I had gone to visit him for the purpose of hearing if he had, or had not, succeeded in negotiating a change of quarters and better treatment for the Princess; but it appears he had not. He could not obtain leave from the King to have her removed to the place whereat the Queen is now staying, or its immediate neighbourhood, nor for her to remain near this city, where she could, in case of need, obtain the assistance of physicians and apothecaries. On the contrary, she is, I hear, to remain at the house, of which I lately wrote to Your Majesty. On the 14th inst. she was very ill indeed with her usual complaint, so much so that on that day and the two following days the physicians in attendance were in great apprehension of her life. On the 15th I begged Cromwell to send some one to visit her, and at the same time intercede with the King on her behalf, assuring him that his intercession would be by far the best medicine and relief that could be thought of. And I must say that Cromwell immediately after despatched a messenger to the King, informing him of the Princess's state; and that soon after an answer came, requesting him to tell me that "every "care should be taken of the Princess, and that I was not to "be at all anxious about her, as the King would treat her in "every respect as his daughter, and that the day after, the "19th, the King would leave Anthoncourt (Hampton Court) "to come to Greenwich." And so he did, for he arrived at about two o'clock on the afternoon of that day, and remained there until the following about noon, all the time inquiring from the Princess's governess, and from other ladies in her service, how she fared, and what hope there was of her speedy

* "Et combien, sire, que la Royne aye tousjours este doppinion que des que lon vouldra venir en aimiablete et party avec ceulx-cy, comme encoires elle escripuit dernierement a son medecin, entendant que Cremuel mestoit venu trouver toutesfols que pourroit reduire le cas selon la susdicte ouvertue, il me semble que luy feraye le tout trouver bon."

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recovery. *True is it that he did not himself inquire from the Queen's physician, nor would he speak to his own, about her. Yet it appears that the former, out of spite, took upon himself to declare, without being asked, that the Princess's illness was grave and dangerous, unless it were attended to in time; but the King rebuked him for his pains, saying that he was disloyal, and that all he said was to have the Princess removed to the Queen's quarters. He (the King) would take care that no such thing ever happened; for were the Queen, her mother, who was a proud and intractable woman, to take into her head to favour her daughter, she might well take the field, raise assemblies of men, and carry on war against him as openly and fiercely as queen Elizabeth, her mother,* did in Spain.† As long, however, as the King remained on the spot, there was no question at all of his seeing his daughter, nor did he convey to her any sort of consolatory message; on the contrary, he sent her word, through her governess,‡ that he looked upon her as his worst enemy, and that she was the cause of his being on bad terms with most of the princes in Christendom. Which formal declaration the King made more than once in public, and in a manner to give encouragement to those who may entertain designs against the life of the Princess. The King likewise gave orders to her governess that, should any of my servants go thither, as they had been wont to do every day since the Princess's illness, they were to be well entertained, though not allowed to visit the premises lest some plan for her escape should be formed.*

The ambassador this King sent to Scotland some time ago has been back for the last three days. He has spread the rumour that the king of that country is really and truly expecting an answer from Your Majesty respecting his marriage to the princess of Portugal or that of Denmark. The ambassador, it is true, was much feasted in Scotland, and had many presents given to him; but I believe that his real and only mission was to take to king James the insignia of the Order of the Garter, which he has accepted only on condition of this King receiving his in exchange. I hear that the solemnity for the reception was meagre enough, when compared with that which took place when Your Majesty sent him yours,§ for on

* "Il ne senquist ne parlat point au medecin de la royne, et ne vouloit aussy parler au syen, mais le dict medecin par despit sysigera de parler de la maladie de la dicte princesse la faisant gresue et dangereuse que ny remedieroit le temps. Et pour sa peyne le Roy luy dit quil ne luy estoit loyal, et que tout ce quil disoit sestoit en faueur de la princesse pour la faire aller vers sa mere mais quil se garderoit bien lenvoyer la, car estant la Royne si haultayne de cueur luy venant en fantasye a lappuy de la faveur de la princesse elle se pourroit mectre aux champs, et assembler forces force gens et luy faire la guerre aussi hardiement que fit la royne donc Elizabeth sa mere."

† "Isabella, Katharine's mother, soon after her marriage to Ferdinand, the Catholic King of Aragon, made war upon Juana, surnamed La Beltranaja, the supposed daughter of Henry IV. of Castille, whom the Portuguese and Castilian nobles attempted to set up on the throne."

‡ Elizabeth Howard, wife of the earl of Wiltshire, Sir Thomas Boleyn.

§ In 1533 Charles sent the Golden Fleece of Burgundy to James.

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that occasion the King himself was present in the principal church of the place where he was then residing, attending the nobility of Scotland, besides people innumerable of all classes, whereas now the ceremony took place in the King's private chapel, to the exclusion of all except a few nobles of king James's household. *And if I am to believe what a worthy doctor in theology, and a native of Scotland, tells me, king James refused in this instance to take any oath whatsoever, putting it off until he had sent his own Order to the king of England, so that both might take their respective oaths conjointly, and agree first as to the form.*

The same doctor assures me that he has heard king James's chancellor say that this last English ambassador had positively offered upwards of 40,000 *ducats for the earl of Anguix (Angus) to be allowed to return to Scotland, but that the offer had been flatly refused. Also that the English ambassador, having asked James not to allow his subjects to fish in certain rivers which separate the two kingdoms, no notice whatever had been taken of the application. The same result befell another request of the ambassador respecting Hirlande (Ireland); for, upon being asked not to allow his subjects to cross over, he replied that the very prohibition would induce them to go thither; and that whenever the English could prove to him that one or more Scotchmen had crossed over, there would then be plenty of time for him to dictate measures of recall.* I am further told that the said ambassador, having solicited king James to attend the interview which this king and he of France are about to hold, and offered him safe passage and a large sum of money for his own private expenses, his answer was that when the time for the meeting came, if his presence was really deemed necessary, he would willingly attend the conferences at his own expense, without applying to his kinsman and friends, but that for the time being he could not be absent from his kingdom* 24 *hours.*

The same Scotch doctor has given me to understand that the English ambassador attempted to remain longer in Scotland, say three months, but king James would not hear of it, and had actually dismissed him as quickly as he could, though in the most polite manner, for fear he should contaminate any one at his Court with his heretical doctrines.

The above is not the only intelligence I have from the Doctor. He tells me that the duke of Albany's secretary (Barbon ?) was in Scotland at the same time as the ambassador, and that his mission was to solicit the King's presence at the interview, and likewise to offer him the hand of

* "La dict roy descosse a aussi reffuse de faire deffence a ces gens de non passer en Hierlande disant que la dicte deffence seroit plus tost cause les y faire aller que autrement, et que myeulx bailloit que les angloix laduertissent quant il sera passe quelcung des siens au dict Hirlande et il pouruoyroit pour la reuocation."

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Vendosme's daughter, and that the King's answer was, "We shall see."*

It is not known here how Irish affairs go on. There is a rumour that this King is thinking of sending thither three or four thousand men, under the command of the old Marquis.†

The Vayvod's secretary‡ has gone to France without obtaining any substantial help from this King.—London, 23 March 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England 23rd March and 5th April. Received at Barcelona on the 19th ditto."

23 March. **143.** The SAME to VISCOUNT JEAN HANNAËRT.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 27.

When speaking to me the other day, Cromwell affirmed that the King, his master, was ready to make the Emperor every possible concession, save those that were against his honour such as allowing doubts to be cast on his second marriage, and submitting the same to the decision of a General Council of the Church. The Emperor, he says, ought not to insist so much on those points, nor work so strenuously as he has done, and is doing still, in favour of the Queen and Princess, who, after all, are mortal. It would be no loss, he added, if the latter should die. Perhaps Cromwell on the occasion would have liked to speak like Caiaphas. He (Hannart) will thus be able to understand what plight the affairs of this country are in when people like Cromwell speak in such wise.

Cromwell says that the meeting of Henry and Francis will certainly not take place this year, perhaps not at all, if the deputies appointed to the conferences succeed in settling previously the pending questions.—London, 23 March 1535.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

23 March. **144.** The SAME to NICOLAS DE GRANVELLE.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. f. 1.

People here are thinking day and night how to rid themselves of the good ladies. It seems as if, ever since there was a talk of renewing the former friendship, they had grown bolder, for they do now speak quite openly about it. He (Chapuys) thinks that in such a state of things prompt measures ought to be taken for their safety.

*The Queen wrote the other day a letter to lic*te *Medona.*§ *Had it not been for fear, she would have spoken out more openly.*

* Margaret, daughter of Antoine, duke of Vendôme.

† Thomas Grey. ‡ Corsini, the Florentine.

§ See above No. 140, p. 422, where this proper name has been discussed. Though written here *Medina* or *Medona*, as in Katharine's letter, I am strongly inclined to believe some relative of that Juan Vasquez de *Molina*, secretary to the empress Isabella, is meant, unless, perhaps, *Medina*, which is a common Spanish name, be meant. I may allege in favour of the former conjecture the fact that, as long as the divorce suit lasted, Dr. Ortiz frequently addressed Isabella or her secretary on the subject, and kept her well informed of the proceedings at Rome. Isabella herself took great interest in Katharine's misfortunes, and often communicated with her.

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A man has been bribed by the concubine (Anne) to say that he has had a revelation to this effect: that she will never conceive children as long as the Queen and Princess are alive. Has no doubt that the said concubine has made the man go to the King, and speak about it, for she sent him to Cromwell a few days ago on a similar errand. Cromwell would have liked to speak on the occasion as Caiaphas did.— London, 23 March 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, entirely in cipher. pp. 2½.

23 March. **145.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. f. 1.

It would be very desirable, and a very meritorious work indeed, to have the Princess out of the country. The Princess herself wishes ardently for it, and has again sent me a message this morning about it. The enterprise, in my opinion, would be rather hazardous; but, once out of the house where she is at present residing, there would be no difficulty, for all would favour her flight, and those who might be sent in pursuit would make no haste, but would on the contrary shut their eyes and bless her saviours.

French. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

— March. **146.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 32.

Has received his letters of the 9th and 25th February, as well as that of the 4th of March. Approves entirely of his doings in favour of the Queen and Princess. The English ambassador here has called on Granvelle, and told him that he did not come to him oftener for fear of arousing the suspicions of the French; but that he was most desirous of a closer friendship between his master and him (the Emperor). Granvelle answered him that the very first condition for the establishment of that friendship of which he spoke, would be a better treatment of the Queen and Princess.

Is to do all he can to favour the escape of the Princess from England; but this must be done with the utmost secrecy, and great discretion.

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

23 March. **147.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 864, ff. 116–7. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 257.

After his despatch of the 21st inst. by a gentleman coming from Sicily, His Majesty's letter, dated Medinaceli, the 8th, was duly received, ordering him to urge the grant of the "subsidio eclesiastico."

Was likewise commanded to represent to His Holiness the impropriety of his dispatching a messenger, as he had actually done, to the Vayvod (Zapolsky). The Emperor must have seen by his (Sylva's) despatches of the 15th December of last year, and 28th January,* that His Holiness had sent Rosario

* "Por mis cartas de xv. de Diciembre y xxviii. de Enero proximo pasado."

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to the princes of Germany and to the Vayvod, and that the ambassador of the king of the Romans and himself (Sylva) having complained of the measure, the Pope had said that he could not do less than return the Vayvod's embassy ;* and beyond that his Nuncio had positive orders not to conclude anything with the Vayvod, without consulting first the king of the Romans. After that, it appears that on Rosario's arrival at the court of the king of the Romans, he was ordered not to go to the Vayvod's for the considerations specified in His Majesty's letter. His Holiness was then requested to have his Nuncio recalled ; but he, having heard the news beforehand, wrote to him to go on with his commission to the Vayvod as well as he could. Aware of this, he (Sylva) and the Hungarian ambassador called again on His Holiness, and strongly remonstrated against this proceeding. His answer was that Rosario was in the confidence of the king of the Romans, so much so that it was a known fact that cardinal de Trento had put him there at Rome to be his agent at the last conclave (*conclavista*); that his mission to the Vayvod was in no manner intended as detrimental to the king of the Romans, &c. This notwithstanding, he (Sylva) and the Austrian ambassador failed not to complain of the Nuncio's mission. It was evidently a suggestion of the French and English parties. The truth is that the ministers of the king of the Romans are somehow to be blamed for their negligence in all this affair, for they ought not to have allowed the said Papal Nuncio to pass through their country, since they had been warned in time. Neither is it to be believed that the Pope would have taken offence at it ; even if he had, his discontent was preferable to the mischief caused by the Nuncio's journey.

The Emperor's commands respecting the duchy of Camarino, and the care that should be taken in preventing any violent measure from being adopted, will be faithfully attended to. He (Sylva) has already explained in former despatches the state of that affair. There has been no new incident, save that Lope de Soria proposes that the duchy be placed in the hands of the Emperor, for him to decide in justice to whom it belongs, &c.† Meanwhile His Holiness has publicly excommunicated the son of the duke of Urbino and the duchess of Camarino also.

Letters received from the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) of the 27th ult. announce that he had

* Here the paper is very much torn, but the deficiency has been supplied by a *relacion* or abstract of this same despatch at fol. 269 of volume xvi. of Bergenroth's collection.

† Again there is here a gap of two or three lines owing to the paper being much torn. By recurring to the "Relacion" (fol. 269), I find the substance to be that "though the ambassador Soria had written to say that he saw no "harm in forwarding his proposal, which seemed to him admissable, he (Sylva) "dared not bring it before His Holiness, for two reasons ; firstly, that he had "no orders from the Emperor, and, secondly, because he thought His Holiness "would reject the offer."

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lately been much better treated by the King and his Privy Council, no doubt with a view to render the French jealous, and bring them on to certain conclusions and negotiations which they are not at present willing to admit. The ambassador could not exactly say what these were; but the rumour here current is that the marquis de Zenete is on the point of going to England, as His Majesty's extraordinary ambassador, which fact in my opinion favours the conjecture that there is something going on just now which makes king Francis suspicious of the English. His Holiness asked the other day whether it was true that the Marquis was going to the king of England. Answered that he knew nothing about it.

The same ambassador says that the proposed interview of the kings of France and England will not take place. The English had given out that pope Clement knew and acknowledged before dying that he had wronged king Henry by the sentence of the divorce suit; that pope Paul was of the same mode of thinking: and that the English agent residing at this Court had written home that His Holiness had sent for and instructed him to say that, should the King restore the affairs of the Church in England to their former state, means should be found to settle in a satisfactory manner the matrimonial question. He (Sylva) cannot imagine that His Holiness has gone so far as to make such a promise, however prevalent the rumour may be in London, as Chapuys advises. Nevertheless, should there be any truth in the report, he (Sylva) will lose no opportunity of acquainting His Holiness with what they say of him in England, and making him feel how injurious and scandalous the report is for the whole Christian community. —Rome, xxiiii. Martii MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

8 April. **148.** KATHARINE to the EMPEROR.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 35.

Has not answered his letter sooner because she hopes to be able to give him some account of the good effect produced by the sentence given in her favour; but she regrets to say that no such effect has come out of it. Her daughter has lately been ill, and has not yet quite recovered. Should she die in consequence of the treatment she is subjected to, that would be a twofold crime. Urges the Emperor to help them both in their distress. If fear of him is put on one side, the little that has been gained would be lost in one day. Is as poor as Job, and under great obligations to Chapuys, whom she warmly recommends to the Emperor. Kinbolton, 8 April [1535].*

Signed: "Katherina."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

* Sealed with the arms of England, quartered with those of Spain. Instead of Kinbolton, the reading is *Kinualton*.

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149. The Same to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 34.

Thanks him for his trouble. Is glad to hear that the King has promised to allow her daughter, the Princess, to go and reside in the neighbourhood of Kimbolton, though on condition that they shall not see each other. What she (the Queen) principally wants is that the Princess may come near her, since a little pleasure in that way will, no doubt, restore her to health. If the King really is afraid of the Princess being carried off during her visit to Kimbolton, she (the Queen) is ready to offer her own person as security against such an event.*

Signed: "Katherina Reyna."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1¼.

17 April. **150.** Chapuys to the Same.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230, No. 23.

The kindness and favour lately shown to Master Cromwell by the King in visiting him, and supping with him at his house [in town], has had the effect of carrying away the relics of his illness,† during which, as he himself informed me the day before yesterday, he has not ceased reminding the King, his master, of the overtures I once made him [on the subject of the Queen and Princess] and otherwise doing his best towards the accomplishment of my views. Indeed, he assured me that there was nothing he desired so much in this world as to leave a good name behind him, as well as the reputation of having found the means of increasing and confirming the friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master, and insuring it for ever after. That, said Cromwell to me, would be the greatest and most meritorious and most glorious work that a private individual of this kingdom could achieve. It was also his only aim and wish and he had thought of nothing else ever since. His illness, however, had prevented him from communicating with the King on the subject as fully as he might otherwise have wished, and discussing the business [of the Queen] with him. This he purposed doing in four or five days, when he had no doubt he would be able to comply with my wishes, which were, if he guessed right, to obtain his master's declaration and answer respecting the said business and the overtures that had been made to him. He shared my opinion; he thought, as I once told him, that it would be a singular honour for this King, and at the same time a remarkable relief to his own oppressed conscience, and that of those who had mixed themselves up with the affair, if his own acts respecting the divorce and the Church could be approved of and confirmed by a General

* Not dated.

† "A enchasse toutes les reliquiez de la maladie du dict Cremuel." Literally has incased in a reliquary the remaining particles of his illness.

‡ "Et quil ny songeoit ne fantastiquoit a autre."

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Council; whereas, if the contrary happened, the revocation of what had already been done would be a source of shame and obloquy to all the parties concerned in it; which revocation (he added) there was every reason to fear would be ultimately decreed, considering Your Majesty's incalculable power and authority, as well as the close relationship, affinity and alliance with, or devoted adherence to you of almost every prince in Christendom. And upon my remarking to him that, were the said revocation to be made rightly and judicially by the assembled Council, the King, his master, ought to consider himself very lucky, and much indebted to God for his having thus given him the means and the occasion of acknowledging his error, and blotting out the abominable sin in which he lived; and, moreover, that his honour and reputation would in nowise suffer through it, if his own adherence to the opinion of the several doctors consulted on the subject,* and his own voluntary submission to the determination of the said Council were taken into consideration, since both would testify to the sincerity of his conscience, and purge it also of the many sinister rumours and suspicions current on his account. As to the double dealing which he alleged might take place therein, there was not the least fear of it, for Your Majesty, being so virtuous and catholic a prince, and, moreover, equally friendly to the King, his master, as to the Queen [your aunt], could never be suspected of trying to hurt his conscience, or in any way break through the laws of friendship in a matter, which was of no particular advantage or profit to Your Majesty.

To the above remarks Cromwell knew not what to reply. He limited himself to say that he would communicate as soon as possible with the King, his master, and inform me of the result. After which he again assured me, as he had on a previous occasion, that the Princess was an obstacle to all negotiations, and that he wished to God ————. Cromwell did not finish the sentence, but there was no need of it, as what he meant by those words was sufficiently clear.† I then proposed to him to have the Princess removed to the house where the Queen, her mother, was living, but my idea was not accepted; and upon my suggesting to him that, should she (the Princess) be attacked by illness at the place where she is now staying, and not attended to in time, misadventure might ensue, he answered nothing, save to say that there was no fear of that, as the Princess was in very good health just now. Cromwell, however, was a bad prophet on this occasion, for not later than yesterday morning I sent to him two of my own men, just returned from a visit to the Princess the day before, to inform him that she had had a relapse, and to beg he would apprize the King thereof, and send the

* "Veu les couleurs quil a eu sur les consultations et opinions de pluseurs."

† "Que la Princesse estoit telle que mettoit la difficulte, et que troubloit tous les afferes, et que plust a Dieu ——— yl ne ousa dire plus avant, mais aussy nen estoit yl de besoing estant cler assez ce quil luy vouloit souetter."

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royal physician to her, and such medicines as might be wanted. This Cromwell promised to do, *though I very much doubt whether he will, or, if he does, it is to be feared the King will take no notice of it.*

Notwithstanding her want of health the Princess is continually thinking day and night of the means of escaping from this country. She spoke at length on the subject to one of my men, begging me, as affectionately as she could, to advise her in the matter, for otherwise she considered herself as good as lost, knowing, as she did, that those by whom she was surrounded thought of nothing short of causing her death. The Princess has had no leisure to visit the environs of the house at which she is now living, nor think of the means of escape by night or day; and as I consider the thing difficult I keep nursing her hopes of relief through other means and ways, and am trying, as much as I can, to remove the suspicion she has that harm is really intended.*

I must add that although Cromwell has always given me to understand that he had great affection for the Princess, no deed of his has yet come to warrant his words and professions. On this very day a notable personage has come to tell me that when the King went last to see Cromwell, he said to him he had heard much good spoken of the Princess, his daughter, of which he had not been so well informed as he ought to have been, and that upon the King entering into particulars, and recounting what he had heard concerning her, Cromwell did not scruple to assert that the whole of it was pure invention (menteries), and that having sent for the gentleman author of the information, he commanded him, on pain of confiscation of property, and perhaps too loss of life, to go to the King and retract all he had said in favour and commendation of the Princess, which however the gentleman in question flatly refused to do. This will give your Majesty an idea of the miserable plight to which the good Princess is reduced.

Respecting the meeting of commissioners about which I lately wrote to Your Majesty Cromwell tells me that it has not yet been decided whether it will take place or not. Should the two kings meet, I am positively told that nothing will be discussed at the meeting likely to impede our present negociations, or affecting Your Majesty's interests, and that I shall be informed thereof in time. Upon my further inquiring from him whether the Treasurer of Britanny had imparted to him any news of the kind and nature of those he is in the habit of spreading, Cromwell said that he had lately avoided seeing or speaking to him; which was exactly what I wanted to know, my question being only directed to ascertain whether he had or had not given him audience. Cromwell, nevertheless, owned to me that the French resident ambassador Sieur de

* "Que autrement elle se tenoit pour perdue saichant que ceulx-cy ne taichent que de la faire mouryr.

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Morette, instead of imparting news from France and elsewhere, had bitterly complained to him of the familiarity and frequent communication between us two; *which, (Cromwell) remarked, was certainly not a proof of sense or discretion on that ambassador's part. In vain, however, did I try to find out in various ways what could be the object and aim of the aforesaid assembly. I got no information whatever on the subject; the only conjecture I can form respecting it is that these people (the English) would like to prevent the assembling of the General Council, and oblige the French as well as the people of Lubeck, in case of the Council meeting, to support their quarrel against the Pope on the divorce question.*

Cromwell has informed me that the English resident ambassador in France* writes to say that a rumour is afloat that Your Majesty will go soon to Italy, and, that after spending some days at Milan, you will repair to Mantua; at which journey, and your very powerful army in those parts, the French seem much aggrieved. Cromwell, on the contrary, seemed to be glad for the utter confusion of the French, and because he holds it as certain that Your Majesty will then and there apply a remedy to the dissolution and tyrannical falsehood of the [Roman] clergy, this King having been heard to say that he will stake his head, if before long the Pope will not be reduced to become Your Majesty's chaplain [in Italy].

Cromwell also said that he supposed me already aware of the late good news from Ireland; namely, that the traitor [Kildare] had been taken and executed.† Having, however, asked him how and where he had been made prisoner, he corrected himself by saying that he considered his capture as certain, for the King, his master, had (he said) received intelligence from a certain castle which the royal troops had besieged and taken, and from which it was almost impossible that the traitor who was inside should possibly have escaped.

I cannot say how affairs in that country are going on; but this I can tell Your Majesty, that a worthy individual has lately seen two letters from Ireland, stating that the earl of Kildare had purposely evacuated the castle in question in order to attack others, and that he had slain no less than 300 *Englishmen in the undertaking; immediately after which feat of arms, having dressed his scouts in the English uniform, he had sent them to a town in the King's pale;‡ the gates of which his men, having been admitted as friends, afterwards seized, and held until the arrival of the Earl, who entered the town and sacked it without the least opposition.*

* At this time viscount Hannäert was still ambassador at the French Court.

† "Questoient que leur trayttre estoit aspe" (*sic*). Aspar in Spanish means "to crucify."

‡ "Contenant que le sieur de Chieldra tout aposte avoit desempare le dict chasteau pour attirer les autres, et que a icelle emprinse il avoit bien tue trois cents anglois, et que presque tout dung trayn ayant accoustre ses avantcoureurs a langloise il les envoya," &c.

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I am further told that the letters to uhich I allude represent the Earl as much more powerful than ever he was. However this may be, we shall soon hear the truth about this matter.

The secretary of the duke of Olst (Holstein), who has often called on me, has only been dispatched two days ago; how, he could not tell me, for he had received no answer to his message, save a letter for his master, the Duke, which Cromwell had given him without allowing him to speak again on the subject, nor taking leave of the King. *Nor has the secretary, however he has pressed the matter both with the King and with Cromwell, been able to ascertain whether a certain treaty by which the Lubeckians engaged to give this King full and pacific possession of Denmark, has been ratified or not; for it appears that whenever he has made the inquiry, the answer has been both obscure and ambiguous.*

London, 17 April a.° xv^{c}xxxv.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 5.

25 April. Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 230.

151. The SAME to the SAME.

Two days ago a courier from France arrived, who, as far as I can hear from various quarters, brings the decision concerning the assembly which is to take place at Calais shortly after the Pentecost. I have not yet received any message to that effect from Cromwell, notwithstanding the promise he lately made me; perhaps he is waiting to hear the King's answer on the principal matter, and intends communicating with me on his return from Court, where he is going today, this being his very first visit since his recovery.

The Princess, thank God, is already well. The King, her father, at my prayer, sent his physician to her, and gave him his own horses to ride; for the want of which, among other causes and reasons, he (the physician) had at first excused himself from going. However, upon the King telling him that it was for himself an affair of honour, and that he had promised me that, notwithstanding the Queen's physician being in attendance, his own should also be present, his excuses were waived, and he actually went. *I hear that the excuses of the former did not proceed from backwardness in doing service to the Princess, but because he wished to remove the suspicion the King and his lady have of his being attached to her, and of having been the cause of the Princess being lodged closer to the Queen, her mother, and being actually under the care of her physician. I must, moreover, observe that the King's physician having, as he has, the entrance to the Royal chamber,* among the grandees and Privy Councillors, *frequently hears many things said, and has*

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positively told his colleague, the Queen's physician, that there are only two means of remedying the affairs of the Queen and Princess as well as those of this kingdom; the first is for God to visit the King with some slight illness or other, during which he may of himself acknowledge his error and repent, and therefore listen patiently and with good-will to the remonstrances which his people may address to him. The other is to attempt force, of which the King himself (said he) and those who have the reins of the government in their hands are marvellously afraid. Indeed the Royal physician maintains that, should war be declared, this King would take the greatest care of the Queen and Princess, in the hope that at all events they might act as mediators for a peace. Should one or other of the two above remedies be delayed (said he) both the Queen and the Princess would be in great danger of their lives. It was (he added) a very lucky thing for the King, his master, that Your Majesty was not aware of the facility of an invasion, which, if undertaken at this present season, would, in his opinion, meet with complete success.*

A message conceived in these or almost similar words was the other day brought to me by the friar,† who, as I wrote in my last despatch, came to ask me for the interpretation of the prognostic. The message was from the lord about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, assuring me that in case of invasion there would be 20 of the principal noblemen of this kingdom and over 100 knights ready and willing to place their persons and property, as well as those of their friends and vassals, entirely at Your Majesty's disposal, and that with the least possible assistance from Spain or Flanders they would at once rise, this present season being, in their opinion, the most favourable for the undertaking, owing to the people of this country being more discontented than ever owing to the heavy taxation and service-money demanded, to levy which commissaries have already been appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the amount of property each man has, and rating them accordingly. The High Chancellor, himself, has recently visited several counties for the purpose of having the commissaries elected; but I am told that he has met with more opposition on the part of the people than he imagined, so much so, that on his return to town he had high words with Cromwell, accusing him of being the promoter and inventor of a tax which might be the cause of most

* "Et le dict medecin est a la chambre du roy avec les grans et ceulx du Conseil; il entend beaulcop de choses; il a dit au docteur de la royne quil ny avoit que deux moyens pour remedier aux affaires des royne et princesse, et a ceulx de tout le royaulme; le premier estoit si dieu vouloit visiter ce roy de quelque petite maladie," &c.

† "Et de mesme ma envoye dire par le mesme beaue pere (?) le quel il menvoya demander la pronostication le sieur dont nagueres ay escrit a vostre maieste."

‡ "Lautre moyen serot datempter la force, de la quelle, a ce quil dit ce roy et ceulx qui manient les affaires ont merveuillesement grande craincte."

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dangerous riots throughout this kingdom, and that it was advisable to put a stop to it. Cromwell answered that there was no occasion to be alarmed, and that everything would end well. The idea (said he) was not his but the King's, whose avarice and cupidity were well known to him (Audley).

The above information comes direct from the son-in-law of the High Chancellor, who knows all his secrets, and has told a friend of his that his father-in-law, the High Chancellor, is just now very dejected and in low spirits, dreading, and indeed considering it almost certain, that the present Government cannot last long.

The Venetian secretary gave me to understand a few days ago that the King had told him that the news sent by the Signory of the defeat of the Turk by the Sophy of Persia had been fabricated on purpose, and that he knew as a fact that the Sophy had, on the contrary, been routed. The same secretary tells me that lately, in conversation with Cromwell, the latter said to him: "It is a folly to suppose that the General Council can meet at all, for France will oppose it resolutely, alleging the incommodiousness of the place designated for the meeting, or some other excuse; besides which my master, the King, would have no occasion to interfere, and consent to it, for he will certainly know how to provide for the ecclesiastical affairs of his kingdom without the said Council or any other one preventing him." Yet, whatever mien these people put on, and whatever they may say to the contrary, certain it is that there is nothing these people fear so much as the meeting of the Council, and I firmly believe that they will offer to the French either a marriage or some other thing to induce them to oppose its being held.—London, xxv April 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original cipher. pp.

April. **152.** The EMPEROR to COUNT NASSAU.

S. E. Italia, L. 1458, f. 110.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 270.

Before the receipt of this you will no doubt have seen there, where you are, the letter which the king of France has addressed in Latin to the electors, princes, and states of Germany, the same letter which, not satisfied with that, he has since ordered to be translated into French and Italian, printed and circulated, the better to spread its injurious contents against the king of the Romans, our brother, and ourselves. Although our said brother and We have plenty of causes for resentment, and might, if We chose, and have been advised to do, produce a long answer and refutation of the slandering and opprobious accusations contained in the French manifesto, we have hitherto declined to do it, for We think it unworthy of Christian princes to slander and injure one another. Yet in order that you may answer any accusations

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directed against our said brother and ourselves, We will no longer remain silent.

In the first place then the King pretends that our brother and We have tried to prejudice him with the German princes respecting those two weighty affairs, that of the Council and the Turkish invasion, by saying that he (Francis) had actually made an alliance with the Grand Turk, and that infidels in France were well treated, whereas the Christians were persecuted and imprisoned, &c. Such accusation is completely groundless. Germany can bear good witness to our moderation, and how We have always behaved towards the king of France, not heeding the injurious writings published under his name, nor the wicked and damnable practices, chiefly those of his ministers and agents, which, as you well know, have been such as greatly to try our patience and that of our brother, the king of the Romans. It has been, as you are aware, in our power to punish the said detractors and intriguers secretly or publicly, as it might be, and our brother has often been advised to do so, and yet We have expressly commanded our ambassadors, and made it an ordinary rule, not to do or publish anything likely to give offence to the king of France or his allies.

But let us come to the particular charges the King brings in his manifesto. The German princes may recollect that when, after the loss of the battle of Mohatz and death of king Louis, a diet was held at Spires for the purpose of providing for the defence of Germany from a Turkish invasion, king Francis sent his ambassador to the diet with a charge and commission, the import of which was: That if the said prince-electors and freetowns could persuade us to withdraw our armies from Italy,—which was as much as leaving it entirely at his will for him to take possession thereof,—he (king Francis) would assist in the defense of Germany; otherwise, he declined to do anything, leaving it to the care of those most concerned in that business. As to himself, the Turk was too far away from his dominions to cause him uneasiness. Which answer from the most Christian King, at a time when the whole of Christendom was menaced by the Infidel, produced, as you are aware, much discontent throughout Germany. Nor can the prince-electors have forgotton the friendly and brotherly requisition by us made to the king of France, through Messieurs Pice and Balançon, on the occasion of the late invasion of Austria by the Turk, nor the answer which the said King returned to us, both verbally and in writing, the substance of which is that Germany was powerful enough to defend herself against Turkish attacks, and needed not his help. Yet he proposed going to Italy with an army of 50,000 foot,—30,000 of them Germans,—and 3,000 men-at-arms, as if We ourselves had not provided beforehand for its defense, as well as for that of the coasts of Naples, Sicily, Genoa, and other ports of the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, and fitted out a fleet to which,

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by the way, the King refused sending his galleys, on the plea that he wanted them for the defense of his own kingdom. Such is the help which king Francis offered to Germany at that critical moment,—30,000 able soldiers to be taken out of that country to serve his own plans in Italy.

When pope Clement, now dead, was at Marseilles with the king of France, he told a person of rank whose evidence is thoroughly reliable, that king Francis, when called upon to contribute to the defense of threatened Christendom, had answered: "Not only will I not oppose the Turk's invasion, "but I will solicit it as strongly as I can." These words seemed to us so strange at the time, that when pope Clement returned to Rome after the interview at Marseilles, We made the same person, who sent us the report, go to the Pope and ask him to confirm the statement. So he did, and the Pope did not hesitate to repeat the above words in the presence of another creditable person, whose name We do not chose to give. We cannot affirm that the King pronounced the words, nor do We attach faith to the many reports current before Barbarossa's return to Constantinople; all We know is, that during the latter's stay there an active correspondence was carried on between Francis' ministers and that corsair, and the letters, some of which are in our possession can be exhibited any day.

That We and our brother have sent ambassadors to the Grand Turk, offering conditions of peace less honourable than he himself could have made, is a gratuitous assertion, which We might let pass without refutation. Yet to shew you how wrong the King is, We will remind you that if an embassy was despatched to Constantinople proposing a truce, it was with the consent and by the advice of pope Clement, and after due deliberation in the diets of Augsburgh and Ratisbon, and after letters had been received inviting us to it. As a proof of this, that when our ambassadors reached Constantinople the only difficulty that was found for the conclusion of the peace was the conditions stipulated by the Turk, namely, that all that We had usurped from king Francis, as his ministers said, should be restored to him. As We could not accede to so preposterous a demand the negociations were broken off, that being the only and exclusive reason for not making then the treaty. In fact Luigi Gritti, then at Constantinople, and who professed on that occasion to be the friend and paid servant of Francis, said to Mr. Cornelis Scepperus, well known to be a man of faith and credit, that Barbarossa's fleet, then being fitted out and which that Admiral has since brought to bear, had been solely and exclusively prepared at the request of king Francis. The said Luigi Gritti having asked the Grand Turk why he did not suspend his armaments against Christendom, and march against the Sophi of Persia, his great enemy, he had replied: "I cannot do otherwise, for I have promised as much to "the king of France."

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Of this and other particular charges against king Francis you shall make no use in print, though We fully authorize you to speak of them in private circles, as well as of the different advices we have received from Constantinople and other towns, all tending to shew that the Turkish fleet was purposely intended against our dominions, for the invasion of Italy, principally of Genoa, and that the naval forces of France were eventually to join Barbarossa.

That the Council does not meet owing to the impediments that We and our brother throw in the way of its convocation, is another most gratuitous accusation. We need not recapitulate here the efforts that We have made, and are still doing; our voyage from Barcelona to Italy; the return thither from Flanders; our negociations with pope Clement and with the diets of Augsburgh and Ratisbon are a proof of the contrary. As to the place of meeting, it is a well known fact that We consented to the Imperial cities of Metz, Geneva, Losanne (Lausanne), and others on this side of the mountains, being proposed for the meeting. It is quite clear that had We consulted our own advantage only, one of those cities would have been chosen, and yet We are willing to accede to the demand of other parties. But if king Francis will not have the Council in Germany or in Italy, where does he want it to be assembled? He says that the Council ought to be held at a town beyond the Alps, not on this side of them or at a place closer to Germany.* Does he mean it to be held at a town of his own dominions? We confess, moreover, that neither the King nor his ministers ever mentioned the fact to us, and that We never heard until now, that Tunis had been proposed, &c. But to conclude with this affair of the Council, you may affirm in our name that the thing in this world which We desire most is the convocation and meeting of the General Council, and that any place the Pope and the Germans may think fit for it will also have our approbation. We doubt not that the Germans themselves will take into account all that has been negociated and written on the subject, and that they will consent to the Council being held at a place equally convenient for the other estates and provinces of Christendom, as well as for the Most Christian King himself, who has hitherto declared that he was not in need of a Council, and that he would be able without it to put order in his kingdom, and that other Councils had been held without the presence of the French kings, his predecessors.

We will not stop to consider the third point of the King's letter respecting the treatment of infidels in France, nor how Germans themselves have been treated there. We should wish that every thing had been done in that line as befits the King's christian reputation, and as Germany herself deserves, and in consonance with the generous and even prodigal offers to Germany made in the said letter.

* "Y que este deve ser en otro lugar que de aca de los montes, en los lugares cercanos y que confinan con la dicha Alemania."

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Those, however, are things which can easily be put down in writing, couched in fine words and elegant style, but which do not always respond to the promises made,—words which We have no doubt Germans will appreciate in their due value, perceiving, as they cannot fail to do, that it is France's interest to maintain amicable relations with Germany and keep up the intercourse of trade.*

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 20.

April ? **153.** The Emperor's Manifesto against Barbaroxa.†

M. B. d. P. d. G., B. M. *Add.* 28,587, now f. 263.

Unmindful of what people generally say to those who express their sentiments and ideas when in retirement and by themselves, not only do I intend stating my feelings on this occasion, but will put them down in writing. In this I was moved by the consideration that my sentiments and reasons were such, that even when brought to light and manifested, no one who looked at them with dispassionate eyes could possibly find fault with them, but would, on the contrary, see and recognise how convenient it was for all good purposes that such sentiments should be explained and put into practice. I, therefore, make this writing as if I were speaking to myself, praying those who may read it to look upon what I am going to say as upon a thing which concerns me individually, and is of much importance to myself, since my life, honour, and happiness are at stake, &c."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. .

April. **154.** Consulta of the Emperor's Privy Council on the affairs of Germany and Italy, the Council General, duke of Camarino, and other affairs.

S.E., L. 1458, ff. 102–8. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 283.

And first with regard to Germany.

What new instructions are to be given to the Count of Rœulx (Croy), and whether his former instructions are to be altered or modified in consequence of the late news from Germany, Italy, France,

* "Y no hago dubda que la dicha Germania entenderá harto lo que esto vale, y considerare que es cosa que muy necesariamente conviene y importa a la dicha Francia de ser conversada de la dicha Germania, por la contratacion en la qual la dicha Francia consiste lo mas."

† Such is the heading of the Emperor's remarkable manifesto showing reasons for attacking Barbarossa at Tunis, and replacing on the throne Muley Hassán, who had been dispossessed by that corsair. It must have been written at the very end of 1534 or beginning of 1535, for the Emperor sailed from Barcelona on the 29th of May, and was at Cagliari in Sardinia on the 11th of June. A contemporary copy of it, probably one of those destined for the towns having a vote in the Cortes (*ciudades de voto en Cortes*), is in the editor's possession, the same which Bergenroth used and copied for his collection. Most likely it was printed and circulated at the time, though, as far as I am aware, no copy as yet made its appearance. That Sandoval saw it there can be no doubt, for, having published the Emperor's instructions to Presendes (?), as well as his letters to the marquises of Cañete and Mondejar, he must also have seen this manifesto, of which he made some abstracts.

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and England, from which it appears that king Francis will not commence hostilities this year.

As the enterprise against the Turk cannot well be suspended, and on the other hand it would be difficult, and perhaps dangerous, to undertake two such mighty wars at the same time, one against the infidel Turk and another against the King of France, — orders should be sent to Count Rœulx to suspend the levies of men now being made in Flanders and the Low Countries, and temporize with the Duke of Gheldres, who after all is the most dangerous enemy we have in those parts.

Let Mr. Rœulx and the other captains attend to this: instead of enlisting men, it is far more advantageous to prevent the French from getting recruits and securing their services for ourselves. This might be done by promising to pay the men part of their engagements until they are actually wanted.

Whether the said Rœulx ought to be informed of the opinions of the Count Elector and Duke Frederic, both Palatines, and of what has been negociated with the latter, whence it appears that His Majesty might ask and induce the electors, princes, and freetowns of Germany to help in a war against France.

Let this paragraph be lengthened.

Whether the said Rœulx ought to be written to, and instructed to show confidence to Counts Guillaume de Nassau and Novenara, and consult with them as to the best way and means of gaining over to our party the Duke of Saxony, of whom they themselves think most highly, having made him overtures, which seem to have been well-received.*

Let all those who have commission to treat meet together and deliberate as to the best way of carrying His Majesty's orders into execution, and, if necessary, add to their number the Count Marquis [de Cenete?] and Mr. de Bura (Buren), at a place where it may seem most fit.

Whether the answer in a third person to the King's manifesto addressed to the prince,—electors, free towns, and other German States, as well as to the Switzers, ought at once to be printed and circulated, as well as French and Italian translations of the same papers, for the purpose of vindicating the Emperor and the king of Romans, his brother, from the accusations brought against them, and at the same time showing to

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the world whose fault it is if Christendom is in trouble, the Turk not effectually repulsed, and if the General Council should not meet.

Whether in order to answer king Francis' accusations and defeat them, it would not be advisable to print the memorandum which he himself gave once to the Count Palatine Frederic.*

Whether Mr. de Rœulx ought to be written to, to remain in Germany as long as his presence there be necessary in order to prevent the king of France from making levies of men in that country.

And lastly, whether the officer of Besançon (Bonvalot) ought also to return to the Leagues,† and stop any negociations of the French to get men, &c.

With regard to Italy and the Papal Nuncio, and the points touched upon by him at the Emperor's departure from Madrid, and afterwards at Saragossa, Lerida, and even in this very city [of Barcelona],‡ it is the councillors' duty to enquire: What is to be answered to the Pope respecting the General Council, and the place of its assembling?

It would appear, as the Count of Cifuentes writes, that His Holiness had at first proposed one of these three cities, Mantua, Verona, or Turin; but that the Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court still insists upon its being Bologna, Parma, or Piacenza, pretending that for the greater reputation of the Holy See the Council ought to be held in the lands of the Church, thus

* The paragraph is thus worded: "Si se devra escribir al dicho señor de Reux para que confidentemente se entienda quanto a la dicha ayuda con el duque? Federico Palatino." On the margin is a note in Cobos' hand: "No lo entiendo ¿que quiere el Consejo decir con esto?"

† "Si se devera escrivir al oficial de Besançon para que torne á residir con las ligas para estorbar las practicas francesas."

‡ "En lo que toca al Papa y los punctos de que el Nuncio ha hablado á su Mag.d á la parte de Madrid y despues en Çaragoça y Lerida y en esta ciudad." As already observed, the Emperor left Barcelona for his Tunisian expedition in May.

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giving the French king less occasion for resentment. The Papal Nuncio asserts that His Holiness cannot but be pleased at such an arrangement, which, he says, would give general satisfaction. On the other hand, it is well known how much the Germans have insisted upon the Council being held in their own country, if not at Mantua, Verona or any other city bordering upon Germany. It remains, therefore, to be considered whether the Nuncio's proposal should be accepted unconditionally, or whether the Holy Father and the German Princes should be told that the place for the assembly and meetings of the Council shall be such as the Emperor and his brother, the king of the Romans, approve, sending at the same time a confidential message to the Nuncio and to count Cifuentes, to the effect that this is merely done to frustrate king Francis' malignant plans and projects, with the perfect understanding that His Holiness may, of his own accord, appoint one of the two said cities, Mantua or Verona, so that Germany may not be offended, &c.

Whether the kings of Portugal, Scotland and Poland, the duke of Savoy, and other potentates, should be advised to write letters to His Holiness and to the king of the Romans respecting the summoning and assembling of the said Council, &c.

With regard to the duchy of Camarino, on the possession of which the Holy Father insists so much, he having lately sentenced the son of the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere), the duchess of Camarino his wife, and the mother of the latter to be excommunicated, the Council [of Castille] proposes the suspension of the proceedings until a person should come here, and,

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in union with count de Cifuentes find a way of appeasing the Pope and settling that affair by means of umpires; who might be, on the Pope's side, his own son Pier Luigi Farnese and some cardinals, and on that of the Duke the cardinal of Mantua and others. By so doing, and by sequestering the estate until the final sentence, the Pope's fury might be calmed and some time be gained.

Should His Holiness be stern and hard, and reject all conciliatory measures, as may be feared, since he only thinks of enriching his own family, it would be perhaps advisable to propose to him certain marriages for his sons, as cardinal Mattera has lately suggested to count Cifuentes, such as that of His Holiness's grand-daughter to the duke of Sessa, or that of his grandson to the eldest daughter of the prince of Bisignano, or to one of the sons of Don Ramon de Cardona, and others equally advantageous (*partidos*).

Whether some effort should not be made to separate Renzo da Cheri (Ceri) and his son from the service of France, considering that both have lately made offers to count Cifuentes, and only ask for one condition, namely, the hand of the daughter of countess Gayaço. If so, care should be taken not to offend the son of count San Secundo, who has also asked for her hand, and has been strongly recommended, though it appears the Countess, her mother, opposes his offer.

Whether Hieronimo and Conrado Ursino, who have likewise offered their services, ought to be received into the ranks of the Imperial army and paid, since by so doing the two powerful houses of the Colonna and Orsini might be united and powerfully assist our plans.

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Whether some steps ought not to be taken in order to prevent the elevation of the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) to the dignity and rank of cardinal, considering his malignity and that of his brother (Guillaume); or whether it would not be better to dissemble, and ask in turn for four or five cardinals' hats for so many Spanish or Flemish bishops.

What is to be done with the dethroned king of Tunis, and what with Barbarossa. And whether the advice given by the viceroy of Sicily (duke of Monte Leone), now deceased, concerning the imperial fleet of galleys should be followed or not, he (the Viceroy) being of opinion that the fleet ought to congregate in the port of Messina, or in that of Trapani, both of which are nearer to the Favignana, which has two harbours close to Tunis.

Spanish. Original. pp. 20.

Indorsed: "The Privy Council's report in April.*

155. MARY TUDOR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 58.

Asks him to urge the Emperor to apply some redress to the affairs of England, and likewise to solicit from the King that she may be allowed to go where her mother, the Queen, is, to reside with her, and have permission to visit or send messages to her. Would have liked to write to the Emperor herself, but dares not do it, for fear of those who are closely watching her movements.†

Signed: "Marye Princesse."

French. Holograph. pp. 1½.

May 5–8. **156.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, f. 59.

It seems, as I lately informed Monseigneur de Granvelles (sic), *that Cromwell is trying to ascertain what may be the object and aim of the Calais meeting before he makes any overtures; for, although he has often promised me to look to this shortly, he has done nothing up to the present hour, nor is there any appearance of his intending to take up the*

* Para consultar. Lo que se consulto en Barcelona el mes de Abril de DXXXV. para despachar á Alemania y Italia, sobre lo del Concilio, duque de Camarino y otras cosas 1535.

† The letter is not dated, but must have been written about this time.

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affair in hand. True it is that since his late illness he has only gone to Court once, four days ago; and I fancy he may have had no opportunity to speak to the King, owing to the variety and pressure of other business to be despatched. *On his return from Court after his second visit I shall be able to judge better whether he is, as I suspect, dissembling; for I never entertained great hopes of these people being brought by mild terms to anything approaching a reasonable or honest termination of the affair in hand.*

This King's deputies to the Calais meeting are to take their departure on the 11th inst.,—lord Rochefort, the lady's brother, going thither in the room of Cromwell, *who, many think, has declined the appointment, owing to the small chance he thinks there is of the matters there under discussion being brought to a satisfactory issue.*

Three days ago the two doctors sent by the people of Lubeck arrived here, *in order, as I have been told, to solicit money from this King towards further improving their defences against the reported invasion by the combined forces of the Palatine and duke of Olstein (Holstein). I will try, when I next see Cromwell, to ascertain what truth there may be in that, without omitting to make him understand at the same time that the contumacious behaviour and practices of the King, his master, are by no means consistent with the confirmation of friendship, which we both are looking for at present, much less with the preceding treaties of peace between the two Crowns.*

The enormity of the case, *and the confirmation of the small hope I have of this King's repentance,** compel me to inform Your Majesty that yesterday three Carthusians, and one monk of the Order of St. Brigitis, all men of good and sound doctrine, as well as exemplary life and reputation, were dragged through the streets of this capital to the place of execution, and there put to death for no other cause than their having said and maintained that the Pope was the true chief and sovereign of the universal Christian Church, and that, according to God, reason, and conscience, it did not appertain to this King to usurp the sovereignty of the Church and supremacy over the English clergy. Which declaration, for the relief of their own and the King's conscience, the said monks went of their own accord to make before Cromwell about three weeks ago; and upon the latter pointing out the danger of such uncalled-for declaration, and advising them to take warning before matters went any farther, all resolutely answered that they would rather suffer one hundred deaths than change their opinion. About a week ago the duke of Norfolk, in representation of the King, his master, assisted by the Chancellor (Audeley), Master Cromwell, the ordinary judges of the kingdom, the

* "Et pour la confirmacion du peu despoir que jay a la resipicence de ce roy."

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knights of the Garter who had attended the solemn ceremony of St. George, and several other lords, sat in court and interrogated the said monks, who made most commendable answers to all questions, and maintained their assertions until, as I have been told, it being deemed impossible to convince them by reasoning, they were told that the statute had been made, and was not to be disputed, and that unless they retracted and spoke in other terms they had better withdraw, and come next day to hear their sentence. Accordingly, the day after the monks appeared again before the Court, and were again much exhorted to retract; and upon their refusal to do so, they were, after long disputation, condemned by lay judges, and declared guilty of treason and the crime of "læsæ majestatis." There was no question of degradation, nor unfrocking. The same fate was shared by a priest for having spoken and written against this King and his government.

I must here record a most singular fact, which is that the dukes of Richmond and Norfolk, the earl of Wiltshire (Thomas), his son (George), and several other lords and gentlemen courtiers, were present at the execution, openly and quite close to the victims. *It is even reported that the King himself showed a desire to witness the butchery; which is likely enough, considering that nearly all his courtiers, even his own privy and principal chamberlain, Master Noris, with* 40 *horsemen* [*of the King's body-guard*], *attended. It is also reported that the last-named gentleman was one of five, who went to the place of execution, accoutred and mounted as if he were going on an expedition to the Scotch borders, and that all carried arms secretly, and had besides masks on their faces; which tended considerably to arouse suspicion, for the mask of Norfolk's brother having given way, he was easily recognized as one of the five masked gentlemen, upon which the courtiers* [*suspecting that all was not right*] *began suddenly to leave the place one by one.**

A rumour is afloat that this King has had summonses served on the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), on Master Mure (Sir Thomas More), on a doctor, once his confessor, as well as on one of the Queen's chaplains, and on the Princess's tutor (*precepteur*), enjoining them to swear to the statutes lately promulgated here against the Pope, and against the said Queen and Princess, as otherwise they will be dealt with as were the aforesaid monks. A term of six weeks has been granted to them to advise on the matter; and I am given to understand that all, without exception, have answered that they are ready to suffer martyrdom at the King's pleasure, and

* "Et tient lon quil estoit du nombre de cinq questoient la venu[s] accoustrez et monstez (*sic*) comme ceulx des frontieres descosse, lesquels estoient armes a la secrette pourtant couruettes (?) deuant la visage, dont celle du frere du duc de Norphock se destacha que esbranla grandement laffaire, ioinct quil fut note que partant les dicts cinq ainsi vestuz et bouchez, tous ceulx de court deslogearent (*sic*)."

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that neither the six weeks' respite granted to them, nor six hundred years, if they could possibly live through them, would work any change in their opinion. *It is generally believed that they will be dispatched as were the others. And, as several worthy personages conjecture, should this King lose all shame, and get used to such cruelties, it is to be feared that the lives of both Queen and Princess will be in jeopardy, and that they will be dispatched secretly, if not in public, the King's mistress helping with all her power towards that end; for she is known to have frequently reproached the King, and told him that it was a shame for him and for the whole kingdom not to punish them as traitors and defaulters against the letter of the statutes. Indeed, the concubine is now fiercer and haughtier than ever she was, and has been bold enough to tell the King, as I hear, that he is as much indebted to her as ever man was to woman, for she has been the cause of his being cleansed from the sin in which he was living; and, moreover, that by marrying her as he had done, he had become the richest monarch that ever was in England, inasmuch as without her he would never have been able to reform the affairs of the Church in his kingdom, to his very great personal profit and that of his kingdom.**

For some time back the Queen has been apprehensive of some bad turn or other being played to the Princess, her daughter, as appears from a letter which she wrote to me some time ago, and which I enclosed to Monseigneur de Granvelle.

Presuming that the Queen herself is writing to Your Majesty respecting her own affairs and the condition in which she is at present, I abstain from saying anything further on that topic.—London, 5 May 1535.

8 May. **157.** The SAME to the SAME.

Wien., *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.*, 229½ f.

Yesterday morning, the 7th inst., Your Majesty's letter of the 20th ult. came to hand; after the careful reading of which I sent word to Master Cromwell—now staying out of town (*aux champs*), near a house which I have purposely taken to converse with him—and begged him to give me an appointment. Cromwell's answer was, that, owing to the lateness of the hour and press of business, he could not receive me at his house, but that to-day, the 8th inst., he would call on me in London. Accordingly, after dinner, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, as he was returning from Greenwich, Cromwell came, and held a conversation with me; the substance of which is *that the King, his master,*

* "A quoy poussera de tout son pouvoir la concubine que naguieres a pluseurs fois affirme et inculpe au dit roy que ce luy estoit honte et a tout le royaume quelles nestoient pugnies comme traicteresses a la forme des statuz. La dicte concubine est plus fiere et haultaine quelle ne fut onques, et oze bien dire au dit roy, ainsi que ientende, quil est austant tenu a elle que home pourroit estre tenu a femme, car elle estoit cause lauoir oste du peche ou il estoit, et dauantage quil sen alloit le plus riche prince que oncques fut en angleterre pour autant que sans elle il neust reforme les affaires ecclesiastiques de ce royaulme a son tres grand prouffit et aussi de tout ce peuple."

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wishing to testify his great desire of strengthening the union and old friendship between Your Majesty and him, of which I had lately spoken, had, at his request, acquiesced in all proposals not affecting his honor, and actually agreed to the convocation of the General Council, provided Your Majesty consented not to bring before it the question of his divorce, owing to the inconveniences likely to arise therefrom, as he had previously told me. On my replying to him in the same terms, as, at his second visit this last Lent, and after producing many other arguments, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, Cromwell owned to me that my observations were both true and perfectly legal, and that to-morrow he would communicate them to the King, and let me know his pleasure next Monday.

Among other arguments and objections started by Cromwell in the course of our conversation, one was that, even in the case of the King's second marriage being proved to be illegitimate, Your Majesty ought to dissemble, inasmuch as you yourself had done your duty to God and the world in that affair, and might therefore now leave the whole matter to the conscience of so virtuous and Catholic a prince as the King, his master, was. By so doing innumerable advantages might be gained, not only for Your Majesty's subjects and the English, but likewise for Christendom at large, for the exaltation of our Holy Faith, the confusion of heretics, and the destruction of the Grand Turk, of his friends and adherents, *even of those Turks nearest to us, meaning the French, as he repeatedly called them in the course of our conversation. Further on, and the better to explain his idea, Cromwell said to* me that king Francis, for the purpose of recovering Milan, would not scruple to bring the Turk, and the Devil also, to the very heart of Christendom, and that he (Cromwell) wished above all things that a good understanding should exist between Your Majesty and the King his master, were it for no other purpose than to subdue and abate the pride of the French, and put a little more ballast into their brains.* They were, indeed, so lightheaded and flighty that they required being kept well under; could that be done, they would become the most harmless nation in the world. The King, his master, who had done so much for the French, could not boast of having received the least return from them, not even the value of one ducat. Many other things did Cromwell say to the disadvantage of the French, which I omit for brevity's sake.

After this, Cromwell went on to say that the effect of a great many advantages was suspended merely through Your Majesty's respect and affection for the Princess, who (he said) was but mortal, and now in delicate health,† and that if God should be pleased to take her to himself, there would be no

* "Et leur mectre ung peu plus darrest en leur cerueaul quilz auoient si mobille, car les tenant ung peu bas et en necessité."

† "plaine de mauvaise disposition."

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further cause for quarrel and dissension. He had received intelligence from various quarters—though he attached no faith to the report—that both Your Majesty and the king of the Romans had planned to introduce schism and dissension in this country, and then invade it with an army; which undertaking, many of Your Majesty's courtiers, both in Flanders and in Germany, considered not only necessary, but of easy execution, and even profitable to England and the English. Yet, observed Cromwell, the undertaking is not so easy and inexpensive as people may imagine; and *that, even if Your Majesty were to conquer this country, it would not redound to your honour so to have treated such a true and old friend as his master had been. "The Emperor, moreover, could not "(said Cromwell,), after his death, bequeath this kingdom to "his heirs, nevertheless the infamy of such an act would attach "to his name for ever."**

Hearing this, I asked Cromwell what he meant by saying that Your Majesty intended bringing to England the *schism and dissension, to which he had alluded,* and whence he drew his information. He answered that there had been in Flanders and in Spain (*de par dela*) a talk of *prohibiting English merchants to trade with Your Majesty's dominions in order to make the people of this country rise in rebellion. Cromwell could not conceal from me that he considered this would be a very effective measure, and if carried into execution, would inevitably cause discontent among the English. He also mentioned the efforts which, according to information received, were being continually renewed to make Your Majesty undertake the invasion of this kingdom; and this he explained to me with greater assurance and with more details than at the conference, of which I gave Your Majesty notice the other day.*

The said Master Cromwell has given me to understand that the day before the Ascension the Privy Council had discussed the above matters in the King's presence, and that when Your Majesty's [intended] marriage to this Princess was recalled to memory,† the King, his master, had spoken in the highest possible terms of you, *and that he himself (Cromwell) had stated it as his opinion that it would be right and expedient to ascertain whether the articles, which Mr. de Likerke had put into the hands of their ambassador at your Imperial court, proceeded really from Your Majesty, or had been drawn up with your consent. If so, Cromwell said, an extraordinary ambassador ought at once to be sent from this country with full powers to treat of all matters, especially of the renewal of the confederacies and* alliances of both countries; the ambassador ought to recommend *to Your Majesty due consideration for the King's honour, which*

* "Et que icelle apres son trespas nempourteroit ce royaume layant ainsi conquis et que linnominie du mauvais renom vous en demeureroit."

† As early as the year 1524 there had been a question of a marriage between Charles and his cousin the princess Mary.

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could not be saved if at the General Council the divorce question were introduced, and his second marriage annulled. And upon my *observing that the said submission once made, the parties would be in a better position to treat amicably of all matters without injury to their honour, and that in the meantime God might inspire those whom the case most concerned,* Cromwell said that he much preferred treating of such things before the actual meeting of the Council, *for the greater security of the King, his master.*

Cromwell again made his excuses for not having spoken to me sooner. I was not to think, however, that dissimulation or a wish to gain time had been the cause of the delay. It was not of any importance to them if the negociation lagged, much less to Your Majesty and to the king of the Romans, who were daily increasing the number of your friends and servants. Neither had the Calais meeting, which was to take place soon, influenced them (the English) in the least, since they cared not a fig for it. The King could not well refuse, since Francis had laid so much stress on it. His master, said Cromwell, took so little notice of it, that he had not even deigned to write a single word to his own ambassador, and had contented himself with notifying it to Morette.* "As to me (continued Cromwell) I have declined the appointment, and the bishop of Ily (Ely) will go in my room, *being almost sure that nothing will be achieved there, however clever the French may be in negociating. They are now asking for the hand of the King's daughter (Elizabeth) for the duke of Angoulême, with a view to making their profit out of us during her tender age, and then, when it suits them, breaking through all engagements and conventions; which, however, cannot stand long with them, considering their usual instability; in addition to which, the French are all the time favouring and supporting the Roman Church, whereas we ourselves will not hear of that.*

Passing from one topic of conversation to another, Cromwell happened to say, as if coming from himself, and without any special charge or commission from the King, that he would very much like that, *leaving matters between Your Majesty and the King, his master, as they stood at present, a marriage between prince Philip, Your Majesty's son, to this King's illegitimate daughter, might be negociated, and that the Princess (Mary) if she lived, could be honourably married out of England with Your Majesty's consent and approbation. The King would give her the greatest and richest dower that ever was given to any queen or empress. And on my replying to him, that, before thinking of such things, it was necessary that a matter so intimately connected with*

* "Que le roy, son maistre, faisoit si peu de compte dicelle diette quil nen avoit daingne escripre ung seul mot a son ambassadeur, ains navoit fait seullement advertir morette dicelle."

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the honour, reputation, and conscience of the King, his master, should be settled, as I had told him at a previous conference, he replied that next Monday I should, without fail, get a final resolution, and that if, in the meantime, I wished to see the King at any particular hour, whatever my business might be, I should be welcome. My reply was that it would be both unkind and indiscreet on my part to take out of his hands the negotiations of such an affair, and that I had no doubt that he could discuss it with the King much better than anyone else in the world.

Perceiving the freedom with which Cromwell had spoken his mind about the *French, and his repeated assurances that no treaty would be made with them, I avoided entering into particulars about the contents of Your Majesty's last letter to me, and only referred to the King's relations with the people of Lubeck. He owned to me that the King, his master, had actually lent them a sum of money, the receipt for which he would show me whenever I liked; adding that the Lubeckians were "canailles et coquins," who had sought his master's alliance by making many offers, though they had spread the rumour that it was the King who had solicited them with a view to draw up and prepare certain articles concerning Denmark and its King; but the truth was that the King, his master, had refused to listen to them*

With regard to the money lately remitted by this King for the restoration of the duke of Viertemberg (Würtemberg,) Cromwell has assured me,—even taken his oath,—that never did the King, his master, contribute one single farthing towards it. True it was, said Cromwell, that at the pressing request of king Francis, the payment of two terms of his pension, amounting altogether to 107,000 crs., was postponed for a whole year, *a thing (Cromwell added), which is likely to be the source of some quarrelling and trouble, inasmuch as the French have played us a trick by inserting in the receipt for the last payment some clause involving that of the third and last instalment.*

In reference to Your Majesty's instructions touching *the Princess, and the means to be employed to take her out of this country, I can only say that on the receipt of your letter I sent to her my man, who has returned this very morning, saying that she is thinking of nothing else, and believes that she can easily accomplish her flight. Indeed, ever since the execution of the [Carthusian] monks, the Princess is seriously thinking of carrying out her plan of escape, especially since her governess keeps telling her to take warning, and think of her own affairs. Hitherto she has been unable to fix upon*

* "Bien est vrai quil consentit a la tres instante requeste du roy de France que le payement de sa pension, montant pour deux termez cent et sept mille escuz, fust differe jusques a une annee, de quoy, ainsi quil me dit, il y aura du brouille et de la question car les françois ont fait quelque habilite a la quictance du dernier payement comprenant la quictance des tiers passez."

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any plan, nor have I myself, as the locality where she is living is entirely unknown to me. Should I obtain more information on this point, I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty.

The good old lord above-mentioned has sent me to-day a message by one of my own attendants, that he was on the point of leaving for his estates in the country, where he would lose no time in planning the affairs in question. There had been (the messenger said) some talk, if I only approved of it, of sending a gentleman to Your Majesty, the more effectually to acquaint you with all details. He has promised to send the said gentleman to me in a few days that I may talk to him. If he comes, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty of all particulars.—London, 8 May 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor." *French. Original. Partly in cipher.*

10 May. **158.** The Emperor to the King of England.

Wien., *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.* 229½, II., fol. 25.

Chapuys will report concerning the preparations he (Charles) has made to resist the Turk. Intends going to Naples and Sicily, there to provide for the defence of Christendom. While thus engaged he prays Henry to watch over and secure the preservation of peace in Christendom. Barcelona, 10 May 1535.

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

10 May. **159.** The Same to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien., *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.* 229½, II., fol. 26.

Received on the 28th ult. his letters of the 25th of March and 5th of April.

Cannot in good conscience abandon his aunt and cousin, as the king of England wishes him to do. Should king Henry continue obstinate on this point, let Chapuys try and temporize. Is now writing a courteous letter to the King to announce his early departure for the Tunisian expedition.

As to the Princess's flight, the Emperor shares fully Chapuys' opinion; it will be very difficult, and ought not to be tried unless with reasonable hope of success. This is not the proper moment for it, so let the ambassador gain time. Barcelona, 10 May 1535.

French. Draft. pp. 2½.

17 May. **160.** The King of England to his Ambassador in France.

Wien., *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.* 229, II., fol. 39.

Articles sent by the king of England to Mr. Wallop, his ambassador in France, to communicate to the Emperor's ambassador.

Concerning the convocation of a General Council, and the submission of the divorce and his new marriage to it, whilst good treatment is insured to the Princess Dowager, and the

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lady Mary, Wallop is to say, that, notwithstanding the Emperor's ingratitude towards him, and the well known fact that his affection towards a woman has made him forsake entirely his most loyal friend, Henry is ready to forgive all and be again friendly.

Henry has no objection to the meeting of a General Council, provided it be held at a place and in a manner convenient to all, who should wish to attend.

As to submitting the question of his new marriage to a General Council, that has already been done, since it was put before the principal universities and learned men, who decided in Henry's favour. Will not allow the question to be reopened, nor will he consent to a Council being held in Italy, or at any other place subject to the Pope or the Emperor, where pressure might easily be brought to bear on its members.

As to the Princess Dowager and the lady Mary, if the Emperor will write a letter advising them to submit to the law as laid down by the universities (which, after all, Henry holds to be as good as a Council) and by the Estates of the realm, and if the two ladies will entirely conform thereto, they shall be well treated.

If the Emperor wishes for Henry's friendship, he must not propose dishonourable conditions such as those calculated to throw doubt upon the justice of Henry's cause.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.

21 May **161.** Lope de Soria to the Same.

S. E., L. 1311, f. 20.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 308.

Has duly received the Emperor's letter of the 25th ult. Since then his (Soria's) despatches of the 17th and 21st ult. as well as that of the 8th inst., relating to the war between the Turk and the Sophy, must have reached their destination. Since that, letters from Constantinople of the 14th and 15th have been received in this city, containing news, the summary of which is here enclosed. Among other things, it is said that the inhabitants of Greece and of other provinces have lately refused to pay the ordinary taxes, thus indicating the hope they entertain of the Imperial fleet visiting those seas. (*Cipher :*) All here agree that this is the right moment for an attack on Constantinople, that city being now quite unprovided with a garrison and ships for its defence, the Grand Turk away, far from his capital, and the Christian population ready to rise. It would not matter, some say, to leave Barbarosa behind, for all the harm that pirate might do in the meanwhile could easily be repaired; whereas the taking of Constantinople would cause for ever the destruction of the enemy of the Faith, for not only would he lose his empire, but numberless Christians would also recover their liberty. After this Hungary would be completely reduced without having to strike a blow. The Turk could never recover Constantinople and other countries, for he would have the sea to cross, and no fleet to oppose to that of the Emperor The entrance to the Dardanels is by no

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means difficult, for the towers at the mouth of the Canal are weak, and might easily be taken from the south. Though the Turks have some artillery in them, it is merely for the purpose of showing that they intend defending the entrance to the Canal. In short, Constantinople once taken, the whole of Greece would soon fall into the Emperor's power.

At Easter, and during the mass, he (Soria) had a long conversation with the Prince (Andrea Gritti) on these matters. The Legate was not in church, and therefore he had plenty of leisure and opportunity to speak. Said to him, among other things, that this was the time to destroy and annihilate the Turk, if the Signory would join her forces to those of the Emperor. The Prince then asked whether he (Soria) had received instructions from home to express that desire. Replied that he had, not in an official manner, but had been ordered to speak privately to him only, as the Emperor knew well his prudence and wisdom, as well as his experience of Turkish affairs. Gritti's answer was that he loved the Emperor more than his own children and all the rest of the world, and that if it only depended on him he should be delighted that the Signory's forces should join those of the Emperor, but that such measures must needs pass first by a "*pregay*," and that meetings and councils, where different opinions generally prevail, were not easily managed, and he could not see how the motion could be carried. He agreed, however, that this was the fit time to fall on the Turk and destroy him completely, because he is now weak and unprepared.

(*Common writing:*) Notwithstanding these assertions of the Prince, he (Soria) knows for certain that the proposed measure has already been discussed in Council, some of its members agreeing to it, whilst the majority are of a contrary opinion; but he knows also that, should the Emperor decide to attack Constantinople, the Signory is sure to send also her fleet with a proveditor to obey orders. (*Cipher:*) This Soria hears from a very authentic source, and likewise that, should the expedition turn out successful, the Signory will look to the recovering Negroponte and other lands they had in former times, as well as to getting, perhaps, possession of the Morea. The only drawback is that they are afraid that owing to the old rivalry between Genoa and Venice, Andrea Doria may advise the Emperor to their disadvantage; besides which they are rather apprehensive of king Ferdinand's increasing power.

(*Common writing:*) Wrote last that a Venetian gentleman named Joan Mocenigo, who left Constantinople on the 1st of April, arrived in this city, and related that the affairs of the Turk were in a worse state than was generally thought. That it would be an easy matter to conquer Constantinople and the whole of Greece now, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Having been ordered to send some secret agent to Constantinople to report on the state of the war between

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the Sophy [of Persia] and the Grand Turk, he (Soria) will do his utmost to procure such a person that he may bring us back positive news, though he must say that the information received up to the 15th of April is that contained in the enclosed summary. The agent, however, if found, will not start for some time.

(*Common writing:*) Advices from Rome, Genoa, and Milan state that on the 15th inst. the war against the Infidel was proclaimed throughout Spain. The Signory expects from their ambassador at the Imperial Court letters confirming that news. Has told them that if the information be correct, the Emperor cannot have failed to apprise the ambassadors of all the Christian powers residing at his Court.

Told the Signory, according to orders, of the Pope's request concerning Camarino, and what the Emperor's answer had been, and how the Emperor, at the Pope's solicitation, was sending a gentleman who, along with the count of Cifuentes, should see the Pope, and beg for a suspension of arms, &c., intimating that, should it be necessary, the gentleman would go to the duke of Urbino. Both the Prince and the Signory seemed very glad to hear of this. (*Cipher:*) He (Soria) failed not to inform the Duke of the secret clause in the agreement in case the said gentleman should go to him. The Duke's answer was that he kissed the Emperor's feet for the many favours bestowed on him, and that, should the gentleman visit him, he would comply at once with the Imperial orders. (*Common writing:*) Hears, however, that there will be no need of that for some time to come, for he (Soria) hears that count de Cifuentes is about to obtain from His Holiness a suspension of arms for six months, provided the duke of Urbino engages not to introduce provisions into Camarino during that time. This condition is not much to the Duke's liking, but he (Soria) has told his agent here that on no account ought his master to refuse, because the clause is to be understood in this way, "not to introduce provisions from a neighbouring estate;" and as the new harvest is near at hand, it is evident that the aforesaid condition cannot be included in the agreement; nor can that be the meaning of His Holiness. And as Camarino will then be victualled for more than six months, it will need no further supply.—Venice, 21 May 1535.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Spanish. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 8.

22 May. **162.** The Archbishop of Toledo to the Emperor's Confessor.

S. E., L. 30, f. 285.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 313.

The breviary and order of prayers which His Holiness has lately had published is considered by several prelates, religious persons, and ecclesiastics as obnoxious, and tending, should it be put into practice, to disorder and relaxation of

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discipline among ecclesiastics, to the detriment of churches, and deterioration of divine worship ; last, not least, leading in an indirect way to the approval of the many novelties which, by cause of our sins, are now-a-days disturbing the Church.

Sends him copy of the letters which the archbishop of Granada and others have written to him on the subject, and begs him to intercede with the Emperor that he may write to the Pope, &c.—Madrid, 22 May [1535].

Signed : " Joan VII.* Cardinalis."

Addressed: "To the Revd. Fray Diego de San Pedro, provincial of the Order of St. Dominic, in the province of Castille."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

27 Mai. **163.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 30, f. 285.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 315.

The provincial of the Dominicans will inform Your Majesty of certain matters concerning the service of God, and the good order that has hitherto prevailed in his Church. Be pleased to hear what he has to say, and give him credit.—Madrid, 22 May 1535.

Signed : " Cardinalis A. Toletanus."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

27 May. **164.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 863, f. 61.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 304.

As Your Imperial Majesty is coming to these parts to help and strengthen God's Holy Church, and as count Cifuentes from his multifarious engagements may perhaps be unable to inform Your Majesty, as he otherwise would, of the progress of the matrimonial cause, for the watching of which he (Cifuentes) was purposely sent here by the Emperor, I consider myself in duty bound to report as follows :

Some days ago a servant of the count of Kildare, in Ireland, who in past times took away from the king of England all he had in that country, leaving him only one town, called Dubilia (Dublin), arrived in this capital. He alleges that since the king of England disobeys the Holy Apostolic See, his master (the Count) owes no allegiance to that King. The father of this Count had (he says) been slain in a tower, where he was kept prisoner, owing to his having once shown favour in Ireland to Her Highness, queen Katharine of England.

The Count's servant had an audience from His Holiness, in which he said that his master had sent him for the purpose of signifying in his name, and in that of the great Irish lords, who are in his favour, as well as of his friends and allies in England,† that they are very much astonished at his

* Juan Tavera, from the 15th of May 1534 to August 1545, when he died.

† "Le embiava á Su Santidad de su parte y de los señores de toda Hibernia y tambien de parte de sus confederados en Inglaterra."

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negligence, and at his allowing so many souls to be lost, through his not putting an end to the matrimonial cause at once, declaring that wicked King to have incurred the censures of the Church, and forfeited his kingdom,—at the same time absolving his subjects from the ties of obedience, fidelity, and subjection, since for some time past that King has persecuted the Catholics and favoured the heretics, exacting from both an oath that they will not obey the Holy Apostolic See, and forbidding all prayers to God for His Holiness. Had he [the Pope] done his duty concerning the cause, the English people, who were very indignant against their King, would willingly have risen and helped in the execution of the sentence.

After that the Count's agent exhibited a printed paper in English, recounting the many heretical propositions spread throughout England against the Apostolic See, and another copy of a manuscript paper, showing how, in the times of Pope Innocent III., king John had acknowledged, in the presence of Pandolfo, his legate, that he had been justly deprived of his kingdom, and had received it again as a fief of the Apostolic See; on account of which acknowledgment he engaged himself to pay annually the sum of 1,000*l.* sterling, which is the coin used in that country, that is 700*l.* for England and 300*l.* for Ireland;* declaring that if at any time he should fail in the payment thereof his kingdom would devolve to the Apostolic See. "And whereas (continued the messenger) this present count of Kildare had caused the murder of the archbishop of Dublin, owing to his being favourable to the English in Ireland, to his being the principal cause of his father's death, and seeking also his own, he now asks His Holiness's absolution from the excommunication he might have incurred by that act.

His Holiness, after listening attentively to the agent's discourse, showed much pleasure and satisfaction at it, and excused himself for the past, saying that he had been in hopes that the king of England would at last acknowledge his errors, and return to the true path; but that for the future he would do his duty without fail. He then absolved the Count of all the censures he might have incurred on account of the Archbishop's murder, &c.

And yet, though I (Ortiz) have since called on His Holiness, and urgently requested him not to impede the issue of the "executory letters" in the principal cause, which were long ago decreed in Consistory under Pope Clement VII., I have never been able to get them. Formerly the delay was caused by the expected interview of the kings of France and England; now that the meeting is put off, perhaps not to take place after all, the excuse is to see what the duke of

* "En cuyo reconocimiento se obligaba de dar á la sede Apostolica cada año mil libras de sterlings, que es moneda que ellos usan, setecientas por Inglaterra y trecientas por hibernia."

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Norfolk and another great English personage, who have been sent to the king of France, are likely to conclude with him; the end of this month (May), seems to be the time fixed to make the result of the negociations known to His Holiness, as I heard the other day; for His Holiness himself announced lately in Consistory that king Francis was negociating a marriage between his third son (Charles), the duke of Angoulême, and the daughter of Anne, which, if it came to be effected, would be a great encouragement to all the schisms and heresies which the king of England is introducing.

Your Majesty must have heard that some days ago Her Highness the princess of England (Mary) was very ill; so ill that twice her physicians despaired of her life. Since then the ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) writes that she has recovered, and is much better. Her illness proceeded chiefly from melancholy and depression, for it appears that her governess, an aunt of Anne, does not treat her well. The King went some time ago to the house where the Princess is living; but although he stayed there several hours, he did not see her. Nor was the Imperial ambassador, all the time her illness lasted, allowed to visit her, nor could he obtain the King's permission to have her removed to the Queen's quarters. Since then we are without news from England.

I humbly beg Your Imperial Majesty to have continuous prayers said in all the churches of Spain for the preservation and health of the Queen and of the Princess, her daughter; for, besides the many heresies of which you must have heard, it is now asserted in England that there is no Purgatory, that we ought not to pray to the saints; they even dispute the presence of our Lord in the sacrament of Eucharistie;—all heresies of an English heresiarch named Wicliff, whose doctrines were condemned by the Council of Constance, himself burnt, and his ashes scattered to the wind.

Since this my letter was written, I have received one from London, of the 25th ult., from the ambassador Chapuys, announcing that the Princess has entirely recovered. May God be praised for it!—Rome, 21 May, MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 7.

23 May **165.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. *Rep.* P. C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. f. 29.

Since my last, Master Cromwell has frequently sent his excuses for not coming to speak to me on the political matters under discussion, owing, as he says, to his many engagements; fully promising, however, that as soon as he is disengaged, he will come and relate things, of which I shall be glad. Perceiving that his engagements, real or affected, lasted too long, I actually called upon him four or five days ago, when he declared to me that for no money in the world would he consent to have so much work in hand as he has had ever

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since our last meeting. His multifarious engagements had (he said) been the cause of his committing an error, and being in fault towards me; at which the King, his master, had been so much vexed and disappointed, that he had actually called him a fool and a man without discretion. The error consisted in this: having had occasion to send a courier into France for another business, he had answered a despatch of the King's resident ambassador in that country without previously showing the contents of the letter to me, as the King, his master, had repeatedly commanded him to do. *The substance of the answer being, as Cromwell himself told me, that the submission to the Council, as well as the revocation of any acts whatsoever in which both monarchs had joined, were entirely out of the question. Should Your Majesty be pleased (the answer said) to allow matters to remain as they are—though the promise once made by you of not allowing king Francis to remain at peace, but waging incessant war against him until he himself had been crowned as king of France, had never been fulfilled—he [Henry] had no objection to renew his alliance, though he was bound to remind Your Majesty of the many favours he had once conferred on you at the time of your promotion to the Empire and on other occasions.* This, Cromwell observed, was not written in a tone of reproach, but merely to remind Your Majesty of the friendship and amity once existing between you two, and therefore the King, his master, (added Cromwell,) had written to his resident ambassador in France that he was disposed and ready to enter into any conventions or treaties, provided he could do so without dishonour to himself. Which restriction, in my opinion, means that they do not intend going beyond the limits of the last treaties, the more so that many a time have I heard Cromwell say, though incidentally, that there was no longer need of new treaties between England and the Empire, and that the preceding ones were quite sufficient, provided care was taken to remove the obstacles that impeded the execution of the said treaties, thereby meaning the business of the two good ladies. Indeed, on one occasion it escaped him that were the affair concerning the Queen and Princess to be settled in a satisfactory manner between you two, the King, his master, might easily hold the rudder, and govern the ship of Christendom, without having to bind himself to and join any other prince.*

My answer was that I was not in the least offended at his having withheld from me the King's letter to his ambassador. If the letter was such as he represented it to me, and as the case required, it was indifferent to me whether it was

* "Que ne convenoit parler de la submission au concille ne de vouloir riens reuoquer, ne innouer riens quilz aient icy fait, et que estant contente vostre maieste de laisser toutes choses en leur estat le dict roy nonobstant que vostre maieste ne lui ait tenu la promesse quelle luy avoit faicte de iamais laisser de guerroier le roy françois iusques quil fut coronne roy de France, ce quil vouloit bien estre remantue (remantonné?) à vostre maieste et aussi les plaisirs quil a fait a icelle."

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forwarded straight to France, or sent to me for perusal; but that, for certain reasons of mine, stated at a former interview, I strongly suspected that all had been done in order to gain time, *and wait for the issue of the Calais conferences; which was really the case. This Cromwell stoutly denied, trying to persuade me by numerous arguments, which, instead of allaying my suspicions, increased them beyond measure; for, among other things, he went on to say* that ere long an answer would come from the ambassador at the court of France, and then he (Cromwell) would send for me and discuss the affair in all its details. *And on my remarking to him that, according to the late news from Calais, it was easy to guess what the result of the conference would be, he agreed with me, and owned that in his opinion there was no necessity at all to wait for the issue of the conference, inasmuch as he himself was sure that nothing good would be achieved thereat, but, on the contrary, discord and breach of amity between the parties would be the issue.*

Whilst treating of this point Cromwell's sole argument was that it would be a shame for the King, his master, to show such inconsistency in his acts as to revoke what he had once done. My answer, after alleging as an example the case of Clothaire, the emperor, and two more kings of France, was that there was no question of revoking previous acts, but merely seeing whether those acts were just and reasonable, or not; and that there would be no shame in the King's revoking any one of his statutes, since several constitutions of General Councils had likewise been revoked or completely altered. The King, on the other hand, might be charged with inconsistency, if he were to follow the proposed course; besides which the suspicion of positive unjustice would inevitably attach to him by his refusing to acknowledge the validity of a Council, after having appealed to it. That in order to stop the slanderous tongues of those who, in Flanders, as well as in France and in Spain, took away his credit and called him a heretic and a schismatic—of which he had complained most bitterly—there was no other way left for him than to submit to the said Council, and acknowledge its validity; otherwise he would furnish still better occasion and opportunity for the people to speak and write about him, as they are doing, to his eternal infamy. I was quite sure (said I) that had not Your Majesty clearly perceived that the submission recommended would lead to the relief of the King's conscience, as well as to the tranquillity and happiness of his subjects, and would besides be a very honourable act on his part, you would never have consented to the overtures being made. "Your King," I added, "ought not in a case of this sort to be guided solely by the laws and constitutions of this realm,*

* "Que plus seroit notee son inconsistance oultre la suspicion de iniustice de reffuser la cognaissance du dict concille actendu quil avoit interiecte appellation a icelluy."

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which after all is very much at its King's mercy, as could be gathered from the acts of king Richard, who, not satisfied with having had it declared by sentence that Edward's sons and daughters were illegitimate, caused Edward himself to be declared bastard, and had that King's mother arrayed before a court of law to give evidence as to the fact, ordering her declaration to be read from the pulpits. This Cromwell could not deny; but he observed that king Richard was a tyrant and a bad man, and had been punished for his crimes. I said more to Cromwell; I told him that if, in order to render the King's submission more honourable, it should be deemed necessary to make a formal application and request, with due ceremony, Your Majesty would do whatever was required of you, desirous, as you were, of doing him pleasure in every respect,—a proposition, by the way, which seemed greatly to Cromwell's taste.

As most likely the King's secretary feared that, the submission to the Council, as well as the revocation of the statutes concerning the Queen and the Princess once effected, the King, his master, would lose the inestimable profits he makes out of the Clergy by virtue of those very statutes, I gave him to understand that the measure might perhaps be partly confirmed; and that since the principal cause for the King's amassing so much treasure was to obviate or provide against any troubles and wars among his neighbours, there would be no necessity for that in future, the Queen's business being amicably settled in the meantime, and the friendship with Your Majesty confirmed or renewed. Besides which, should the Queen resume her former rank and estate, she would for certain grant him anything he might wish for, as there is every probability, as physicians and others tell me of the King's getting male issue with her rather than with that woman, which was one of the principal points the King had alleged for marrying again. "For the above reasons, and others equally strong, (said I to Cromwell,) the King ought to return to his legitimate queen."

To the objection raised by the secretary, namely, the Queen's inability to bear children, owing to her being more than 48 years old at this time, I named to him some women in this very country, who at 51 had been delivered; and, far from denying the fact, Cromwell himself owned that his own mother was 52 when he was born.

After this he began to say many pleasant things of the Queen personally, blaming, however, those who had brought about her marriage in this country, which marriage (Cromwell observed) had entailed upon his master, besides troubles innumerable, the loss of upwards of three millions of gold. Hearing which, I could not help inquiring from him whether he meant by that the sums the King had spent in the wars of France and Navarre. His answer was "Not that." I made at the time no remark, but I shall not fail, when we next meet, to

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interrogate him, and learn from him how and when the King, his master, spent so considerable a sum of money. Yet, with regard to the marriage, I observed that he who brought it about understood well the manner of acquiring new dominions, as well as of preserving them, and that I held it as certain that the marriage alliance, joined to the Queen's sanctity and fervent prayers, had hitherto preserved England from danger and ruin,

In the end, and after much contention and dispute, Cromwell owned openly to me that *most of the above and other reasons I had alleged were just and indisputable, and yet (he said) it is not in mine, nor in any man's power to persuade the King, my master; he will hazard all rather than give in on such a point.*

Having, moreover, objected to him that no progress in the negociation could possibly be made as long as they persisted in speaking in general terms, he (Cromwell) replied that for the time being he could not make further overtures than those of the marriages of the Princess, and of the young one, of which he had once spoken to me. And upon my asking him to declare how, and in what way, the King, his master, intended settling the Queen's business in the event of your Majesty consenting to ratify expressly or tacitly his second marriage,—which would be a highly dishonest and unjustifiable act—or else dissembling and taking no notice of it, he told me that he could not answer that question without previously consulting his master thereupon, which he would do very shortly.*

Having then pointed out to him what small appearance there was of their ever coming to the friendly terms we were trying to establish—since, besides refusing to submit to the Council, they were continually intriguing with the French, and showing no symptoms whatever of improving the relative position of the Queen and Princess—he answered me that in the end their dealings with the French would [not] bear fruit,† as he had told me on more than one occasion; and, with regard to the treatment of the ladies, that it was his master's intention to treat them most honorably the very moment that he saw a chance of the renewal of friendship between Your Majesty and his master.

Cromwell further assured me that the present Pope [Paul], at the time he was only a cardinal, had written to his master in his own hand to say that he was right in procuring his divorce, and that pope Clement did him great injury in not granting it. Though I did not attach more faith to these

* "Que pour lheure il ne me sçauroit faire ouverture que celle qil mavoit lautre foys faicte du mariaige de la princesse et la petite," meaning princess Mary and Elizabeth. See above, p.457.

† The text reads: "Il me repondit que les pratiques avec les françois fructiffieroient commil mavoit tousiours dit;" though most likely the negative was left out in the deciphering.

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words of his than to his other statement, that, had the cardinal of Bourges been at Rome when the sentence was issued, he would never have consented to it, I only replied "So much the better; for in that case you will have less occasion to refuse submitting to the Council."

I forgot to mention the answer *I made to Cromwell, when he accused Your Majesty of having treated with king Francis, contrary to the promise made to his master. I told him that, as far as I knew, Your Majesty had a greater cause of complaint against him, since it was notorious that during the siege of Pavia his master had been in treaty with the French, and that Jehan Jocquin first, and the Chancellor of Alençon afterwards, had come secretly to London for that purpose. Cromwell replied that he knew nothing about that, as he was not in the King's employment at the time.*

Just lately one of those whom this King sent to the parts of Denmark with the count Dhoy's brother returned, and in his company came also a German gentleman, followed by five or six servants; among whom, as I am told, is a secretary from Lubeck. I thought at first, from mere hearsay, and because he was supposed to be the brother-in-law of the king of Sweden, that the Lubeckian secretary might be no other than count Dhoy himself;* but I am told that this one is a native of Holst[ein], and a fugitive from that duchy; that his name, as far as I can gather, is Her Berne fron vand Mellent, and that he has married the sister of the king of Sweden, notwithstanding which he is not on friendly terms with him just now.† *I lately asked Cromwell who he was, and what he came to England for; whether he was in favour of the Lubeckians, or against them? His only answer was, that he was a German, who, hearing of his master's generosity, had come to London for the purpose of appealing to it. He himself knew nothing about the Lubeckians, except that they were trying for the restoration of king Christiern; the Doctor from Lubeck, who came on a former occasion, was on the eve of departure. Such was Cromwell's asseveration respecting the people of that town and their Doctor. But I know better; the Doctor is continually with the above-mentioned gentleman. Cromwell besides related to me that the French were rejoicing at the idea of Your Majesty's journey to Italy being broken off, as they said, in consequence of certain captains who had commissions to raise men in Germany having received orders not to go on recruiting.*

Four days ago the good old lord‡ about whom I once

* John count of Hoy; about whom, see above, p. 377.

† "Mais lon ma dit que cestuy est du pais du duc dolst et fugitif dilec et sappele comme ientend *her Berna fron vand Mellent*, et se dit quil a espouse la seur du dict roy de Suede et que ce non obstant luy est ennemi." Thus in the copy before me; but I should say that the agent's name is wrongly deciphered, and that it ought to be Herr Bernhard van Mellent, the same individual designated as D[ominus] Bernhardus in Jerome Wideman's letters to Cromwell. *See* Gairdner, vol. vii. p. 353.

‡ Hussey? If so, John lord of Husey or Usey.

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wrote to Your Majesty, sent me a kinsman of his—an old man, of a sounder virtue and zeal for the good cause than could be anticipated from his personal appearance—with the following message :—He wanted to have news of me, and to inform me at the same time that, not wishing to live any longer in a country so infested by heresy, and perceiving that all those of his class and rank would be sooner or later compelled, to the great damage of their souls, to take part in the said heresy, besides being sacked and devoured by the King's officers, he had made up his mind to cross the Channel and repair to Your Majesty's court, in order to impress upon you the necessity of applying a remedy to the evil, and stating his own views in the matter, or at least hearing from Your Majesty's lips how far you were disposed to enter into an understanding with the discontented of this country. Should Your Majesty refuse (he says), he will return, and inform his friends thereof, that they may not be deceived in their expectations, and may provide other means, as they are determined to do. And on my remarking to him that by going out of England he might put in jeopardy the said lord and his other relatives, he replied that he did not intend leaving England until after the said lord had retired to his estate in the country, as he would shortly do, after which he should not care a straw for all their suspicions, since, with the assistance of his friends, he feared no one. The gentleman is to return to me as soon as his kinsman the lord has left for his country seat, in order to consult with me what is next to be done. I will then write to Your Majesty what their plans are. In the meantime, I am sorry to say that our conference did not last long enough for me to unravel what their thoughts and plans may be.

Long ago the younger brother† of the gentleman about whom Your Majesty received a letter from Venice announced also to me that he wished to go to Spain. I dissuaded him from it, believing that the service he might render to Your Majesty would be next to nothing when compared with the damage that might result to him and his people in case of discovery, as the thing would not be kept secret like that of the other nobleman.—London, 23 March 1535.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed : "To the Emperor."

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* If the old lord is Sir John Hussey as may be presumed from Chapuys' letter of the 30th Sept. (*see App. at the end of this volume*), the old man here called his relative (*son parent*) might be lord Darcy. However, it is not clear from the deciphering of the clerks whether it was lord Darcy himself, or his messenger, who intended going to Spain. I rather think, however, that it was the latter, though the text is ambiguous : " que le dict sieur (Darcy) lavoit envoye tant pour luy faire sçauoir de mes nouvelles, que aussi pour me decouvrir son intencion questoit telle que nou pouvant, &c."

† " Que le frere mainsne de celluy dont lon escripuoit pieça a vostre maiesté." *Mainsne*, in old French, is the synonim of "*puisne*, or younger brother," and such was Jeffrey or Geoffrey Pole, the son of Sir Reginald.

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23 May. **166.** The Same to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. f. 9.

Has not written half the remonstrances he (Chapuys) addressed to Cromwell the other day. Thinks that words at this time will be of no avail, and that a stronger remedy is needed.

The deputies will leave for Calais before the festivities, and will take in their company the two doctors at law, who went once to Marseilles, and took with them all the writings and papers concerning the divorce.

The King was not present at the execution of the Carthusians. He was very angry with Norfolk and Wiltshire for their not answering one of them when he preached a remarkably fine sermon.*

Three other Carthusians have been arrested; others are kept prisoners in their own convents, their goods and chattels having been seized by the royal officers. *It is thought, after all, that the King will dissolve all the convents of that Order, for they (the friars) are rich, and will not yield.*—London, 23 May [1535].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. Partly in cipher. p. 1.

24 May. **167.** The Privy Council to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 863, f. 32. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 316.

There is nothing in the correspondence from Italy worthy deliberating upon, except perhaps the new creation of cardinals, to which His Holiness seems inclined, most of whom belong, as will be seen, to the French party. The principal are the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay) and the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci). There can be, however, no doubt that the creation is chiefly intended to counterbalance in College the votes on the Camarino business,—which seems not to turn out to His Holiness's advantage,—do king Francis' pleasure, encourage him to do worse than he is doing, and, under colour of showing good-will to the proposed Council, impede it altogether.

Considering the shortness of time, the Council is of opinion that His Imperial Majesty should summon the Papal Nuncio to his presence, and remonstrate against the rumoured creation of cardinals, telling him that he (the Emperor) cannot possibly imagine that, the College being so full, there can be a serious thought of creating more cardinals; and at the same time remind him of the excuse Clement himself made at Bologna for not electing those recommended by His Imperial Majesty, though all were sufficiently well qualified for that dignity. Since then, four more cardinals were created at Marseilles, at the request and in accordance with the taste of France, and some time after His Holiness' two nephews.†

* Prior Haughton, whose words on the scaffold are recorded by the author of *Historia Martyrum Anglorum.*

† The paper being much torn at this place the sense is obscure. At any rate, Ippolito, who was one of Clement's nephews, was already a cardinal since 1529, much before the conference of Marseilles.

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That, having regard to the excuse made at Bologna, Your Majesty had always refrained from asking similar favours for his own subjects. To say that the creation is being made that the new cardinals may help at the assembling of the Council is a very bad excuse; for, after all, the proper thing would be, first to convoke the Council, and then, if there was need, make a new creation of cardinals, learned and well-intentioned, leaning to no party whatsoever, and free from all suspicion in matters of Faith; which cannot certainly be said of the bishop of Paris, nor of his brother, Mr. de Langhes (Langeais), whose doings in Germany are well known, having impeded as much as was in his power the convocation of the Council. Moreover, it is now an ascertained fact that the two aforesaid brothers, with the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci), have been the most ardent and active agents of the king of England in the divorce question, whence the evils that everyone knows in matters of Faith have sprung, as well as the loss of authority (*desautoridad*) which the Apostolic See has necessarily incurred thereby. The creation of such people as cardinals cannot fail to be a most scandalous thing in Christendom, and that to presume that His Imperial Majesty can be satisfied with the appointment of the bishop of Capua (Schomberg) and of prothonotary Caracciolo is entirely out of the question. His Majesty cannot, and will not, consent to it on such conditions; nor will the two said individuals, though very deserving and learned, be much flattered by such a distinction, in company with the bishop of Paris and auditor Ghinucci. Your Majesty should oppose the nomination of the two last named, and perhaps, too, that of the bishop of Faenza (Pio de Carpi), who belongs decidedly to the French party.

In the opinion of the Council, Your Majesty ought to insist upon the appointment not being made at all, or, at least, being delayed until your arrival at Naples, for, according to information received from Rome, the creation was to take place soon.

Should the Papal Nuncio say anything about the Camarino affair, Your Majesty may answer him in conformity with the instructions sent to count de Cifuentes, without, however, letting him know that you have since heard from the Count, and that, whatever turn the affair may take, Your Majesty can promise nothing to the detriment of the duke of Urbino. —Barcelona, 29 May 1535.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

Indorsed: "Copy of a memorandum and consultation on the points to be treated with the Papal Nuncio, respecting the creation of cardinals."

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* "La qual creacion verisimilmente se pone delante para encender á V. M^{d} en el negocio de Camarino, y en todo caso complazer al rey de Francia y al papa de hacer peor y mayormente de so color de tener buena voluntad al concilio destruyrlo y estorbarlo."

1535.

29 May. **168.** The EMPEROR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien, *Rep.* P. C. *Fasc.* 229½, 11. fol. 43.

Has reeeived his letters of the 17th and 25th April.* Approves entirely of his doings with regard to the Queen and Princess, as likewise concerning the new negotiation on foot. Intends sailing from Barcelona as soon as possible, and will keep him well informed of his movements, as well as of what may happen hereafter.— Barcelona, 29 May 1535.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

31 May. **169.** DR. ORTIZ to the EMPRESS.

S. E. Roma, 863, f. 39. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 319.

Did opportunely advise the recovery of the Princess, and likewise that he (Ortiz) has been unable to obtain the executory letters on the principal cause, which they are being delayed on the plea that as the kings of France and England purpose holding an interview at Calais this very month of May, His Holiness is naturally very desirous of knowing what can be done there towards converting the English king. Of this, however, there seems to be no chance whatever ; His Holiness ought not to be lulled by such hopes, for only a few days ago king Henry tried to persuade king Francis to separate from the Apostolic See, and now, they say, he is thinking of marrying his daughter by his mistress to the third son of the king of France, the duke of Angoulesme. Indeed, Eustace Chapuys, the ambassador in London, writes in date of the 8th of May, announcing how on that very day three Carthusian friars, and another one from Monte Sion, of the Order of Santa Brigida, all very learned in letters, and one of them a priest in orders, had suffered martyrdom for refusing to acknowledge the King as Supreme Spiritual Head of the Church in England, instead of His Holiness the Pope. All of them, it is said, died with great courage and constancy ; owing to their holy life and virtues there was no previous degradation, but their judges allowed them to retain their clerical vestments when they were, to the great sorrow of the people, dragged through the streets of London ; after which they were hung. Before they had breathed their last their robes (togas) were ripped up in front, their entrails and hearts taken out and burnt, their heads cut off, and their bodies quartered, to be exposed in different parts of London. And there is a report that a fourth friar stood at the gate of the Carthusian convent to which they belonged, that he might instil fear into the heart of his brethren, of whom several more are now in prison for the same reason. It is also said that the most reverend cardinal Rophensis (Fisher) and Thomas Mauro (More), formerly High Chancellor of England, are in prison for the same cause, and for upholding the just rights of the Queen, and that both have been summoned to oppose within eight days the sentence, as otherwise they will suffer like the rest ;

* Neither is preserved in the Vienna Archives.

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but, animated by constancy in our Lord, both have answered that they do require no time for deliberation, insisting on their former opinion, and being ready to die for our holy Catholic Faith, as our Lord Jesus Christ died for us on the Cross. If so, they must have suffered martyrdom by this time; and if so the Queen, in the midst of her sufferings, is only sending martyrs to precede her. I must own that I feel more envious than pitiful of them, since our Lord in his mercy has done them the singular favour of calling them to his glory, and accepting them as the constant witnesses of our holy Catholic Faith. Their example seems to me intended as a warning to all the cardinals who reside here, most of whom pass their lives in vain cares and frivolity.*

This will show how needful it is that Your Imperial Majesty order prayers to be said for the Queen and the Princess in all your kingdoms.

On the 22nd inst. His Holiness created seven cardinals, and among them the bishop Rophensis (Fisher); but I fancy that, before he hears of his nomination, our Lord will have bestowed on him a more valuable red hat, namely, the crown of martyrdom. I am much pleased at his receiving at the present time such an approval of his services to God and to the queen of England, for whose cause he is now in prison. The other cardinals created are the archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), auditor Simonetta, and a Venetian named Gaspar Condarino (Contarini), who is said to be a man of letters and holy life; on the other hand, the auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci), the bishop of Paris, and one more whom His Holiness keeps in pettore, and whose name has not yet been published. As to the auditor (Ghinucci), he is the greatest enemy the queen of England ever had at this Court, and he who has worked most efficiently against her. As to the bishop of Paris (du Bellay), they say that there is great rumour in France of his having befriended the Lutherans,† and that for this reason the count of Cifuentes has resisted as much as it was in his power his appointment as well as that of the auditor of the Chamber; for certainly it would have been much better not to make a new creation of cardinals than have the last two included in their number, and especially the latter at the very pressing request of king Francis. To-day, the last day of May, His Holiness has created another one, a Milanese named Mercurio, who is a servant of Your Majesty.

Cardinal Ravenna is still a prisoner at the castle [of Sant Angelo]. Rome, 31 May MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

French. Original. pp. 7.

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* "Cuyo exemplo me parece que es gran confusion de todos quantos cardenales aqui estan, y de los vanos cuidados que en los eclesiasticos reinan."

† Que ha avido gran rumor en Francia que ha parcido a personas luteranas.

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5 June. **170.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½.

After the two first conferences held by the King's deputies, the sieur de Rochefort left Calais, and arrived here the 15th ult. *Before going to the King, he called on his sister (Anne), and had a long talk with her; yet the news he brought from Calais could not be very agreeable, for the Grand Esquire tells me that then and there, and ever since, the lady has not ceased inveighing against the king of France, and the French in general.* On the 15th, and on the 17th, which was the day of Corpus Christi, the King and his Council were closely engaged in consultation, as is generally believed, respecting the news brought by Rochefort; *both King and Council being so disappointed at it that they could not conceal their discontent. Nor has the French ambassador here escaped his share of the annoyance caused by Rochefort's sudden return from Calais, for the latter brought no news for him, and he himself was not summoned to Court; to which may be added that on Corpus Day, he remained at Cromwell's lodging from the afternoon till* 10 *o'clock at night, waiting for that Secretary's return from Court, who, as he himself told me, dispatched him with two words, the ambassador leaving the house sad and dejected."**

On the 28th, Master Cromwell came twice to my lodgings, not having found me at his first call; and *thoughtful and annoyed, as he seemed to be, he told me point-blank, among other things, that from the very day the French deputies entered Calais, they began to protest that their intention was not to promote war [against Your Majesty]. They had continued to hold the same language until the said Rochefort had left Calais; but the moment his back was turned, they had turned round, and, as the duke of Norfolk wrote, thought and spoke of nothing else but war. Cromwell at first would not tell me what country they intended to attack first, and yet after some time he declared to me that Milan was meant.*

As a further proof of confidence, Cromwell showed me a paper, which he said had come enclosed in a letter from the admiral of France to him,—though I must say that the paper was unsigned, and had not the appearance of having thus been enclosed—and volunteered to read it to me. The contents of which were, substantially, that the king of France, after most diligent examination and debate of this King's right and justice respecting the validity of his two marriages, had come to the conclusion that the first had been illegal, and against divine right, whilst the second was quite legitimate

* "Lambassadeur de France na este sans avoir sa part de la dicte facherie du retour du dict Rocheffort pour autant quil ne luy appourta nulles nouvelles et quil ne fut point appele en Court, ioinct que le dict iour du corps de dieu depuis lapres dine il actendit au logis de Cremuel jusques a x. heures de nuyct actendant que iceluy Cremuel revint de court, et luy dit des nouvelles, et a ce que me recita le dict cremuel il le despecha en deux parolles, et sen partit bien triste et desplesant."

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and rightful, and that he promised, in his own name and in that of his successors to the French crown, to maintain and uphold the latter marriage, and procure the revocation of the sentence pronounced against it by the Apostolic See.

The reading over, I could not help smiling and saying to Cromwell that the French knew very well what they were about, and that certainly they would not make such promises, unless they did know beforehand what bargain they were to get, and that after obtaining what they wanted, they would know well how to wash their hands out of the whole affair. That to do that they (the French) had several means and ways apparent enough, besides plenty of time before them, for the fulfilment of the said promises. But since the king of France had so carefully examined all the marriage deeds, the best thing for you to do was to forward them to Calais; for, having already the promise of so great a prince as the king of France, as he is closely allied to the Queen, the King, who alleges as an excuse the fear he has of Your Majesty's kinsmen and relatives, could have no possible objection to submit the whole affair to the deliberation of the Council.*

Hearing this, Cromwell knew not what to reply; but the truth is, that I doubt much that the paper in question really comes from France. On the contrary, I believe it to have been written and forged in this country to pass it over to king Francis; otherwise, how reconcile the contents of the paper with the fact of a very worthy personage in this country having sent word to the Princess that the French intended to have her married to their Dauphin, a report which is also current at the French embassy? Another reason for suspecting the authenticity of the paper is what the King himself has been heard to say with reference to the Admiral, namely, that on his arrival at Calais he had written to him to say that nothing was so true as that the first idea of this marriage had originated with Your Majesty, who had been the first to propose it.

Respecting the war in the Milanese, I told Cromwell that it was not likely that the king of France could wish at this time to disturb Your Majesty's very holy enterprise against the Turk; for, besides the great difficulty of an attack on Milan just now, the French kept saying that they wished to observe existing treaties. Even in the event of king Francis conquering that duchy, he would still require more than ever Your Majesty's friendship, and accept any conditions whatever to keep it. I said this much to Cromwell, lest he should think that such threats could influence Your Majesty to accede to their proposals.

I made every possible effort to ascertain from Cromwell what conditions the French asked for in return for their

* "Que les françois sçauoient bien ce quilz faisoient et quilz ne promectoient telles choses quilz ne sçussent certainement pour combien laulne."

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offers. Among other things, I inquired of him whether they had actually demanded hostages, owing to the Princess not being yet of age to marry, or whether they had solicited the stoppage of all pensions in the meantime. His answer was that, respecting the first point, there had been no question; of the second there had been some (said he, grumbling without further declaring himself). But the day after he added, "If "the French fancy that they can have our substance, they "are very much mistaken; instead of pension they shall have "passion, that is, war." The affair of the hostages I brought forward, because I have heard that one of the conditions asked by the French was that the Princess should be placed in their hands. In order to convince me that there would be no difficulty for the French to fulfil all and every one of the offers they had made, nay, grant anything that might be asked of them, Cromwell said that the Freneh would not dare do otherwise, considering they had lost the friendship and sympathy of almost all the European princes. On the side of Germany they had lost all hope; as to Switzerland, they did not know how badly their affairs were going on. Hearing this, I failed not to confirm everything he had said in that line, not forgetting to extol and praise his consummate political wisdom; and then I added, "Since God has endowed you with so much "good sense and perspicuity, it will be a shame for you "not to seize this opportunity." This I said to him, for the mystery which Your Majesty will better understand.*

After this Cromwell said to me, that, notwithstanding the French offers, should there be the least hope of arriving at the restoration of the former friendship and understanding with Your Majesty, the French would get a more sharp and short answer than the one they had received to their overtures, though they would still preserve the friendship of that nation. That, in expectation of news from Your Majesty, he (Cromwell) had kept Rochefort in England, to the Admiral's great annoyance and disappointment; and that, hoping the affairs we had discussed together would come to a favourable issue, he would take care that the said Rochefort should not return to Calais so soon, and, if he did, that nothing should be done at the conferences likely to turn to Your Majesty's prejudice, and prevent the restoration of the former friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master. To which he added that the King's ambassador in France had written to say that Mr. de Lickerke, hearing of the answer made to Your Majesty's overtures, had immediately dispatched a courier to Spain, and was daily waiting for a satisfactory

* "Et entre autres luy demanday sil estoit question que les dicts françois voulsissent hostagiers, actendu que la fille estoit encoires ieusne, et de ce pendant faire cesser le cours de leurs pension. Il me dit quant au premier, quil nen estoit nul propoz, ouy bien quant au second (ce disoit-il engrondissant sans dire plus oultre); mais le lendemain il y adiousta que si les françoys se iouyoint de vouloir avoir leur pension, ilz auroient quant a quant la passion, assauoir la guerre."

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answer to his missive, provided, however, you had not left Barcelona before the 26th of May. And, morever, that this King and his Privy Councillors (who in this matter seem to be at their wits' end) desired me to think in the meanwhile of the terms and means to ensure the success of so notable and necessary a work as that of bringing about the said restoration, giving me to understand that I myself could do it much better than all the rest, and hoping I would be the King's good and true adviser and counsellor on the occasion.*

In order to gain time, and amuse these people with words, I abstained, during the above conversation, from renewing my former declaration, and again telling Cromwell that I saw no other means of again cementing the said friendship and alliance than the one I had once proposed; I went on to say, after excusing my inability in the matter, that I would do my best to forward his views, though I really knew not how they intended working towards the accomplishment of our common object, since there had been no amendment that I knew of in the condition of the Queen and Princess, and the King his master showed in every respect more coldness than he had hitherto done. "I recollect very well," said I to him, "that when the earl of Vulchir (Wiltshire) was going on an "embassy to the Emperor, my master, the duke of Norfolk "affirmed that the King would willingly become, as it were, "His Majesty's slave, provided his divorce were granted; "nay, would, in atonement for his sins and for the relief "of his conscience, devote to God's service and the benefit of "Christendom part of his fortune and wealth; whereas now-"a-days, when the cause has been finally decided at Rome, "and when more brilliant offers may and ought to be made, "I can see no appearance of further and more advantageous "offers on his part." I added, that the last time I had spoken to the King, whilst alluding to some of his predecessors who had conquered Rhodes and achieved a thousand deeds of prowess in the conquest of the Holy Land, and telling him that he was as capable of doing that as any of his predecessors on the throne, he answered me, coldly enough, that it was no longer the time to accomplish such feats of arms, and that his predecessors had been better situated than he was through their holding Guyenne in France. Of which royal answer, however, I had not informed Your Majesty at the time, though I had, nevertheless, written home to say that the King had publicly assured the admiral of France and many others of that ambassador's suite that the money which he had taken and intended to take from the clergy of his dominions was exclusively destined to wage war on the Infidel, and for other pious purposes.

Cromwell's answer was, that as soon as there was a hope of arriving at the said restoration, the Queen and the Princess would be most favourably treated.

* Charles sailed from Barcelona in the beginning of May, and was at Menorca, one of the Balearic islands, on the 3rd of June.

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With regard to the King's statement that he was too far off to join in an expedition against the Infidel, that was perfectly true; the King recollected the circumstance well, so much so that, in conversation with him some time back, he had made a similar declaration; "but you ought not" (said Cromwell) "to take that as the King's final resolution, for, once his proposals accepted, he would be as ready to march personally and join in an undertaking against the Infidel as any other prince in the world, and would besides have the means of going thither at the head of a considerable force, for he has contrived to amass incalculable treasure already." Indeed, he (Cromwell) assured me that, in addition to the sums of money the King has already received for the grant of ecclesiastical benefices since January, he has in his possession obligations amounting to about five hundred thousand ducats, making more than the sum already received. He went further: he said that the King had lately become so fond of hoarding, that, exclusive of several other means he has in his power of increasing his treasure, and having nothing to spend his money upon, all the gold and silver of England will ultimately fall into his hands, to the great injury of private individuals. Not only England, but Flanders and France, would unavoidably feel the want of that treasure, which the King once spent during his wars with the latter country, and that is why I and other privy councillors are now looking out for the means of checking this King's avarice, and making him spend his money for the benefit of the nation."*

Cromwell tells me that the German, about whom I wrote lately to Your Majesty,† had been sent by the duke of Mechlenbourg, with a simple letter of credence, and a present to defray the expenses of his journey, but that he had not seen or spoken to the King. As to the Lubeckian secretary he had also been dispatched. The King would no longer trouble himself with the affairs of that country, which, he said, could not turn out well, considering that their town was divided into three opposite parties. The King himself has since told me that he ignored who the German was, nor where he came from, and when I mentioned it to him he immediately changed the conversation.‡

On Saturday, the 29th ultimo, Your Majesty's letters of the 10th were received, together with that addressed to this King. I immediately apprized Cromwell of it, who would have wished me to go myself to Court next morning to present them; but I made my excuses, saying that on that day I had to remain indoors and take medicine. *I said so because on Sundays everyone goes to Court here, and if most of those who will be there, saw me presenting letters from Your*

* "Que le dict roy son maistre oultre ce quil avoit reçus en content (*sic* au comptant?) des benefices quil a pourveu dois ianvier en ça, il avoit des obligacions pour plus du total payement, que montoient environ v^{c}m. ducats."

† The duke's name was Henry.

‡ "Ce roy ma depuis dit quil ne sçauoit proprement qui le dict allemand estoit ny de ou, et incontinent changea propoz que luy en parlay."

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Majesty, and heard from those about the King's person that you were negotiating, the rumour might well get about that Your Majesty was on the point of coming to some understanding with this King respecting the relative positions of the Queen and Princess.

On Monday, after dinner, I presented Your Majesty's letter to the King, by whom I was received with much benevolence. Having perused it, he asked me whether I had other news. I answered in the negative, saying that all I knew was that Your Majesty had placed a galley at the disposal of his and the French ambassador for their greater ease and comfort. The King showed much pleasure at this, but replied that he wondered why his ambassador, who had written on the 12th, did not mention anything about it. After this and other talk the King alluded to the late news of the defeat of the Turk by the Sophy of Persia, saying that what people said about it was all fable and invention, for he knew from authentic quarters, as well in Venice as in France and Spain, that the contrary was the case; besides which it was highly improbable that so powerful a prince as the Turk was should be vanquished by the Sophy, and that, even if Solyman had lost two or three hundred thousand men in battle, he would not feel it in the least, being so rich and powerful. *Not satisfied, however, with making the above affirmation, as if he were sure of the facts, the King, by way of giving vent to his excited feelings, proceeded to say, "Many think that the conquest of the territory the Turk holds in Europe will be an easy task owing to its being inhabited by Christians. But they are mistaken; those of my subjects who frequent that coast for mercantile purposes tell me that, had there been Christians in or about Coron, the defence of that town might have been easier, whereas the Emperor was obliged to abandon it altogether.*

My answer was, that the news of the Turk's signal defeat had come from so many quarters that there must have been some foundation for it; and since to affirm or deny that news was a matter of indifference, and did not alter the case, it was useless to dispute about it. Each party might construe the report according to his wishes; for my own part, I was sure that he (the King), whatever might be said to the contrary, would have been glad of the Turk's defeat, knowing how nearly the thing concerned not only Your Majesty, but likewise all princes and powers in Christendom; and that *whoever had falsely reported to him that there were no Christians in Greece or the neighbouring countries, ought to be severely punished for it.* As to the abandonment of Coron, *I answered him in the precise words Your Majesty pointed out to me at the time, adding of my own accord that, even if there had been no other cause for forsaking that enterprise than the* backwardness *of several princes, that would have been enough, since to provoke and goad the Turk without any visible advantage to accrue therefrom*

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would be great folly. To which argument the King knew not what to reply, but went on to speak of Your Majesty's galley, with its xxvii. tiers of oars, boasting that he himself would soon have one built with 100, *of a form and shape quite unknown to prince Messire Andrea Doria. Having interrogated him as to the number of oars each bench would carry, he answered "one in each," very obstinately affirming that in each galley there could only be one oar for each bench, so that, this time at least, the King's assertion was founded on a paradox.**

All the time the King laid stress on the legions that were being levied in France, and on the fortifications which the French had raised and were continually raising on their frontiers, saying that the legions were principally intended for the defence of the country during the time the King might be engaged in Italy or elsewhere, and that the levy had been planned during the Calais conference. He likewise spoke of the defences which he himself had ordered to be made at that town, and of those he has commenced at Dover, together with the construction of one of the most splendid harbours in the world. Which projects of fortification make me attach still greater faith to the report that this King calculates upon being left in peace during next summer, that no attack will be directed against him in the winter, and that in the forthcoming spring and summer he will be so far prepared and strengthened as to fear no one.

To the above threatening news the King added that Your Majesty had once, according to common report, thought of going to Naples, rather than to Tunis, but that you had considered the matter, and had decided for the latter, and that would have been too hazardous an enterprise for Your Majesty, from whom so great things were expected running such a personal risk.

At last, perceiving that the King seemed to avoid speaking of the negotiations that were on foot, I took upon myself to allude to them slightly, only remarking that Master Cromwell had, no doubt, informed him of our conversations on the subject. I would not (I said) trouble him on that account further than to say that he would always find Your Majesty inclined and ready to do him pleasure, and come to a good understanding with him, as far as your honour and conscience

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* Ains passa a parler de la quadrireme de vostre maieste, questoi a xxvii. bancqs, disant quil en feroit fere une de *cent* bancqs, et de forme incognue au prince messire andrea doria; et linterrogeant combien de remes il y auroit par bancq, il me repondit une, me affirmant tres obstineement que en une gallere ny avoit ne pouvoit auoir plus dune reme pour bancq, de sorte que pour ceste heure le dict roy fust du tout fonde en paradoxes." Sandoval *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, lib. xxii., p. 217, describes minutely the Imperial galley, on board of which the Emperor crossed the sea to Cagliari in Sardinia, and thence to the African shores. "It was (he says) a 'bastard galley,' of 26 benches or tiers "of oars, four in each tier, whence her name *la quadrireme Imperial*. It was "Andrea Doria who had her built at Genoa for the Emperor, and she was "rowed by 100 galley slaves." In later times Don Alvaro da Bazan had one constructed with five rowers in each bench, and was therefore called *la quinquereme de Baçan.*

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permitted. Upon which he said that he would very much like to be able to say as much, and that, trusting in Your Majesty's readiness to come to terms with him, he had until now retained Rocheford. He could not detain him any longer in England owing to the Admiral being in despair at his protracted delay, and because the French boasted of being on the point of invading the Milanese, and were soliciting him to join in the dance; to which proposal, however, he had refused to listen. He then gave me to understand that the Pope's hostile measures against the duke of Urbino were secretly promoted by the French. And upon my demonstrating to him, as I had formerly done to Cremuel, how unlikely it was that the French should now attack Milan, he replied, "That may well be, but still they talk about it, and have asked me to join the enterprise."

After this the King asked about the cardinal of Liege, and whether the duke of Gheldres† was on good terms with Your Majesty or not; and upon my replying that I had no news to the contrary, he remarked that the French boasted of the Duke having revoked all his treaties with Your Majesty, and intending to make the king of France heir to his estate; and that although he considered it a difficult task for the French to take possession of his duchy, yet the matter might give rise to quarrel and contention. My answer was that as Your Majesty held the country of Utrecht, and that of Ouvrissel, Mr. de Gheldres was not likely to stir, and that if he were only paid certain arrears which he claimed, he would remain quiet.‡ In my opinion, I said, there was no other cause of discontent between Your Majesty and him.*

The King after that having hinted that unless further news of Your Majesty's intentions towards him were received, he was afraid that he should be unable to evade the pressing solicitations of the French, and be compelled to treat with them, I answered that both he and the king of France being such honourable and virtuous princes, there was no fear of any of them undertaking anything against the letter of the treaties concluded and ratified. Hearing this, the King was much surprised, and kept silence for some time; imagining, as I presume, that I was about to beg him to put off or suspend his negociations with the French, and throw out some hope of his obtaining from Your Majesty the object of his wishes.

With regard to Your Majesty's instructions, commanding me *to gain time with these people, and dexterously continue to renew the overtures as long as the Calais conferences and Your Majesty's expedition [to Tunis] lasts, I will faithfully observe your orders, and carefully shape my*

* Everard de la Mark, bishop of Liege. † Charles.

‡ "Ie luy diz que puisque vostre maieste tenoit la pays dutrecht et de ouvrissel monseigneur de Gheldres nauroit garde regipper, et que pour estre paye de quelques arreraiges monseigneur de Gheldres aura avance les dictes practiques."

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answers in accordance with the instructions received. In the same manner, the revolution in Ireland became a subject of conversation; without my forgetting, however, to make inquiries as to the best means of getting the Princess out of the country, who, as well as the Queen, her mother, has been very much pleased and comforted to hear of your prosperous journey to those parts, as well as of the remembrance you have of their affairs, out of gratitude for which they do not cease praying God for your prosperity and happiness.*

I forgot to mention that, whilst talking of the Palatine Frederic and his marriage,† the King said to me that he wondered much what title that prince would assume in Denmark, for that kingdom being elective, the Princess his wife had no right whatever to it. And upon my answering him that if the Duke wished to fill the throne of that country, he would certainly have a better title to it than the people of Lubeck, especially if he took it in his own name or as delegate and administrator in that of his father-in-law, and that in elective kingdoms election never takes place when there are descendants in the right line, he said nothing, but kept silence.

Cremuel said lately to me that were the Lady to know the familiar terms on which he and I are, she would surely try to cause us both some annoyance, and that only three days ago she and he had had words together, the Lady telling him, among other things, that she would like to see his head off his shoulders. "But," added Cromwell, "I trust so much on my master, that I fancy she cannot do me any harm." I cannot tell whether this is an invention of Cromwell, in order to enhance his merchandise. All I can say is, that everyone here considers him Anne's right hand, as I myself told him some time ago. Indeed, I hear from a reliable source that day and night is the Lady working to bring about the duke of Norfolk's disgrace with the King; whether it be owing to his having spoken too freely about her, or because Cromwell, wishes to bring down the aristocracy of this kingdom, and is about to begin by him, I cannot say.‡

About twenty anabaptists from Holland have been arrested here, out of which number thirteen have already been sentenced to the stake, and will be burnt in different parts of the kingdom, as the King himself, and Cromwell also, have announced to me. The remainder, who have been reconciled to the Church, will be sent to Flanders, for the queen [of Hungary] to do as she pleases with them.—London, 5th June 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. Almost entirely in cipher. pp. 18.

* Charles must by this time have reached Cagliari in Sardinia.

† At Saragossa, on the 18th of May, the count palatine Frederick married Dorothea, princess of Denmark.

‡ "Ie ne sçay si le dict cremuel inuenta cela pour plus priser sa danree, car comme ie luy disoye tout le monde le repputoit la droicte main delle, bien me lon certiffie de bon lieu que la dicte dame ne cessoit nuyt ne iour pour mectre en disgrace du roy le duc de norphoc, ne sçay si cest pour ce quil parla tres liberalement delle ou que cremuel vuillant abbaisser les grans vuille commencer par luy."

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5 June. **171.** The Same to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. f. 10.

In my opinion the rumours that the French are inviting the English to declare war against the Emperor are only intended by the former to bring pressure to bear on our lord and master.

This King declares that he is expecting a gentleman from the king of *France, whose name is Saint Ambroz, the very same person who was arrested last year at Brussels, on his return from the court of the duke of Ghelders—to whom he had taken a sum of money sent him by king Francis.* I must add that the Lubeckian secretary has in his possession a letter for the said Saint Ambroz, sealed with arms resembling those of Geldres (Ghelders).

In Scotland the discovery has been made of certain treasonable intelligence which the people of that country had with the English during the last war; *and it is rumoured that two relatives of the earl of Angus (Douglas) have already been sentenced to death on that account.*

I fancy that you will get quicker news by way of France than through me about the negociations at Calais, and therefore will not allude to them here, but refer you to my despatches. I will only add, that Norfolk has been instructed to acquaint the English ambassador (Wallop) how matters stand between us and this King, that the former may shape his conduct accordingly in his negociations *with Mr. de Likerke. As Wallop is so friendly to us, Likerke will be able to hear from him what is going on. Upon the whole, I perceive that these people prefer negociating indirectly in Paris rather than with me, who knows them so thoroughly.*—London, 5 June 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. Partly in cipher. pp. 2.

5 June. **172.** Cardinal Contarino to the Same.

S. E., L. 1,311, f. 138. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 323.

God, by his Divine bounty, having been pleased to call me into his service, by making His Holiness the Pope promote me, "*motu proprio*," to the Cardinalate last Easter, without my ever having applied for it, I consider it my duty to kiss Your Majesty's hands by letter, unable as I am to do it personally, as befits an affectionate servant.

At the time that I was orator of the most Illustrious Signory of Venice, near Your Majesty, I had many opportunities to admire Your Majesty's most singular virtues, and your very sincere devotion to God and to his Church. Thus I am the more induced and bound to write to Your Majesty, now that an occasion offers itself of doing service to Christ and to his religion.

For many years past have I known by reputation, and more lately by continual and most familiar intercourse, an English youth, great by his illustrious birth and royal descent, but greater still by the very singular virtues with

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which he is endowed, whose name is Sir Reginald Pole. Passing over the learning and doctrine as well as other good qualities which adorn the nobleman in question, I will only speak now of his great faith and piety, for he thinks of nothing save doing some act by which God and the whole of Christendom may be benefited. Regardless of fatigue or of danger to his person, and taking example by the early Christians, he considers martyrdom the greatest boon that can be obtained in this world. This Christian and gentle lord, seeing his own country, England, in such a state of perdition, and that His Highness, the King, deceived by false persuasions, has fallen into great error, has separated himself from the mystical body of Christ and of his Church, and deviated beyond measure from Christian truth, besides leading altogether an unchristian life, entirely opposed to his kind, humane, and generous nature, has resolved, not indeed by force of arms, nor by promoting troubles in his own country, but merely by ways of peace and persuasion, to help the King and his kingdom, which he sees are in imminent danger of being ruined for ever.

The way in which the said Reginald intends carrying out the above resolution Your Majesty will hear from the bearer of this letter, one of his suite, who goes there for the purpose in pursuance of Your Majesty's orders.*

Signed: "Gaspar Card^{lis} Contarenus."

Addressed: "Alla S^{a} Ces^{a} Catholica M^{ta}."

Italian. Original. pp. 4.

— **173.** The Privy Council to the Emperor.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. P. de S., K. 1484, 123 *olim*, B. 3, No. 17.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 161.

Taking for granted what the Imperial ambassador in France writes respecting his conversation with the English one at that Court, respecting the differences existing between the Emperor and the king of England in consequence of the divorce, the following points ought to be considered.

1st. The great injury which the said king of England is doing to the Queen and the Princess, her daughter, without the least possible excuse, even after the sentence and irrevocable declaration of the Holy See; the very binding obligation under which the Emperor is of protecting the said Princesses, mother and daughter, as much for the dignity of the position he himself occupies in Christendom as for the state of oppression in which the two said Princesses are living; and, last not least, the degree of affinity and relationship that unites him with them, their many virtues, the Queen's good offices and behaviour towards the King, her husband, her singular friendship and love for His Imperial Majesty, and the unbounded confidence and trust which both mother and daughter have placed in him alone,—all these are matters of great im

* "Il modo di operare questo vostra maesta lo entendera particularmente da questo suo gentilhomo lator delle presente mie lettere, il quale li manda, si come Vostra Altezza li ha fatto entendere che il faccia."

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portance, and well deserving of mature deliberation. For should His Imperial Majesty respond to the overtures made by the English ambassador in France respecting his master's desire to bring the present dispute to a satisfactory end, whatever composition or arrangement His Imperial Majesty might feel inclined to make with the said king of England, might perhaps create an unfavourable impression throughout Christendom, and possibly drive the said princesses to despair, and principally the English people, who have hitherto been greatly in their favour. As the arrangement, if effected, might alienate the affections of those who have always been and are still desirous that the Princess [Mary] should succeed her father on the throne, and might also afford other princes occasion and encouragement to promote similar divorces—out of which much evil and confusion might arise—nothing should, in our opinion, be done before ascertaining whether really and truly the English ambassador has instructions to that effect, or whether he talks without foundation, or at least without his master's express mandate, for the purpose of sounding the Emperor's intentions on the subject, and then having his answer published, thus making it a weapon against the Emperor. On the other hand, the state in which the public affairs of Christendom are, must be weighed and considered, as well as the impediments which king Francis' malignity is continually throwing in the Emperor's path by his firm adhesion to the king Henry, whose obstinacy and wilful blindness have so increased of late through his new marriage that not only has His Majesty no means of reducing him by force, but, on the contrary, should he persevere in his present behaviour, he may be driven to despair on matters of Faith, impede the Council, and consequently the remedy expected from it. The King might, besides, join the king of France, assist him in doing his worst against the Empire, and throw all manner of impediments in His Majesty's path.* Indeed, both being as they are mighty and powerful princes, and carrying on most damnable practices without any regard to conscience or honesty, might, if united with the separatists, place His Majesty in great perplexity and need, cause him unbearable trouble and expense, to no profit whatever of the said princesses, who might be worse treated, if not altogether put out of the way, without His Majesty being able to help them now or at any future time.

Should there be any probability of entering into a negociation of this kind,† it could only be done under condition of the king of England suspending, or at least modifying his acts in matters concerning the Faith, ceasing to adhere, as he does at present, to the king of France, abstaining from any movements against Flanders, and, last not least, forsaking the intelligences he has in Denmark, Lubeck, and other Hanseatic

* Y para procurar todos inconvinientes y estorbar á su dicha magestad.
† "Si por aventura se venia á entrar en este medio."

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towns. Of course he should promise that the Princesses, both mother and daughter, shall be better treated in future, and their persons more secure. During this interval of time the marriage of the Princess might be effected to greater advantage; perhaps, too, God might inspire the King with the idea of quitting the state of blindness, hardness of heart, and confusion in which he now is, and again living in conjugal life with his Queen; for, were this to be attempted in any other way, by force and violence—which condition and state of things is not to be thought of for the present—queen Katharine would be in a worse state than before, and in much greater danger.

The least suspicion that could be engendered between France and England might serve to moderate the obstinate determination of the French king to make war, and thus lead to a convention or treaty being made with the one or the other of the two kings, or with both, as may be deemed fit and convenient, especially if His Imperial Majesty gains a victory against Barbarossa—which, with God's help, will surely be achieved, unless the kings of France and England impede it—bring about the convocation and meeting of the Council, which might after all bring order and rule and remedy in all things. The negociations, however, to be carried on in such wise, and with such dexterity and prudence, that the whole affair may not offend God or be ill-judged by men, and that the said Princesses, and those who bear them good will, may perceive that the aforesaid negociations are meant for the greater comfort and welfare of the two.*

Whether, in case of the king of England inclining, as his ambassador says, to a negociation of this kind, commission and mandate should be given to viscount Hannaërt to treat with him at once after sending him from hence proper instructions to that effect,—or whether it be more advisable that, after encouraging the English ambassador to believe that on the part of the Emperor's ministers there is perfect good will to conduct the negociation, he (Hannaërt) should tell the ambassador that the answer he has received from Spain is quite as satisfactory as that which the English ambassador in France says he has received from his master†—and that then the Viscount should try to ascertain, as far as he could, what security the king of England was ready to grant for the greater benefit and advantage of the two said ladies, the Queen and the Princess, and for the removal of difficulties in matters of Faith and others. In short, that being done, the Emperor's ambassadors and those

* "Usando en esto de tal y de tan buena y prudente dexteridad, que la cosa no pueda ser tenida á mal, ni quanto á Dios ny quanto al mundo, y que las dichas princessas y los que les tienen buena voluntad entendiessen que esto era por su mayor bien."

† "que dando él esperança al dicho ambaxador de Inglaterra de buena-voluntad por el medio de algunos ministros de Su Magestad, y de haver havido harto buena respuesta desta parte, como el dicho embaxador de Inglaterra ha dicho tenerla de la suya."

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of the king of England might respectively take up the negociation, and report its progress from time to time.

Or whether it would be preferable that the Imperial ambassador at the court of France, using, as aforesaid, language calculated to facilitate and forward the said negociation, and trying to ascertain the King's real intentions, should get the whole matter entrusted to the Imperial ambassador residing in London, and that the English one at the French court should write [home] that he is ready to listen to our overtures. Then Chapuys, who knows the manners of the English, and who seems to have some credit at Court, and is in good relations with them, may tell us whether the thing has any foundation; and, in case of his saying so, direct the negociation with discretion, in the first place, to secure the attachment of king Henry and prevent his adhering to king Francis, and helping him in war against Your Majesty. Considering also that should the negociation be transferred from France to England, the commission to the Imperial ambassador in France would no longer be wanted, for otherwise much time would be lost, which is the thing mostly to be avoided, if the bad designs of king Francis are to be counteracted.*

In case of the negociations actually commencing in France or in England, it is to be considered whether a suspension of the proceedings in the divorce suit should not to be granted; and, if it is, for what period of time: if during the life of the present king of England, or only till the meeting of the General Council (considering that both the one and the other are matters uncertain). Whether the suspension is to be only for a limited space of time, and under such conditions as may seem most fit, as, for instance, and principally, that pending the negociation the said princesses be well and honourably treated as befits their condition and quality, also the formal declaration that they are not to be compelled hereafter to make treaties or stipulations of any sort without the knowledge and consent of Your Imperial Majesty, and, above all, that the Princess (Mary) shall not be married without the permission of the Queen, her mother, and of Your Majesty, as well as of her other relatives, whatever may be the wishes and inclination of her father, the king of England, in that respect. The King not to promote or give assistance, directly or indirectly, to any measures against the Emperor, or the king of the Romans, his brother, nor against their kingdoms, dominions, or vassals in general, but to prevent, with all his power and might, other princes from waging war on him, as contained in former treaties between His Imperial Majesty and the King for the mutual defence of their respective dominions. To put aside all negociations

* "Considerando que trayendose la dicha pratica desde Francia, por aventura, como arriba está dicho, seria despues [excus]ada su comision, y tambien se perderia y dilataria el tiempo que es el mayor puncto para estorvar con presteza, como fuesse necessario, la mala intencion del dicho Rey de Francia."

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and practises in Germany, as well as in Denmark, Lubeck, and other Hanseatic towns; and in a like manner the said king of England not to ill-treat, or allow those to be ill-treated, or in any wise molested, who have hitherto aknowledged and supported the just claims of the said Queen and Princess.

Whether we ought or not to consent to the declaration of the divorce being referred to the future Council, to which the king of England has appealed from the sentence delivered at Rome, for though the King might very well wish it for the relief of his own conscience, and by way of an apology and excuse to his mistress (Anne) and her relatives, "yet, on the "other hand, should the King persist in his obstinacy, it "might prove an obstacle to the holding of the Council."*

Should the King insist upon the suspension of the sentence during his natural life, or at least ask that no force should be used, it is highly important to know whether, besides the conditions above specified, it would be advisable to grant him that one, and also induce the Queen to do the same, though reserving for herself, as aforesaid, her right to justice, and such remedy as the future Council might afford; also, on condition that in the meantime the Princess should not be married without the consent of her mother and of the Emperor and other relatives, but, on the contrary, accept with their consent any favourable match proposed, and keep the rights belonging to her for after her father's death, considering that, as above stated, it would be far preferable that the Queen should be well treated and away from the concubine, than living under the King's roof, and daily insisting on her daughter being restored to her until her marriage.

Whether any insistance should be made on the king of England returning to the obedience of Mother Church and the Apostolic See, and on his favouring and helping the meeting of the future Council, without, however, insisting, should there be no Council, upon his declaring that he was inclined to it,† because in reality such a declaration would be rather bad than good, considering that this particular business of the Queen and Princess, as well as the said suspension of force, do not precisely bear upon any of the above points, except, perhaps, as far as the execution of the sentence itself, which entirely depends upon the will of the parties concerned.

Whether the Imperial ambassador residing in England ought to be instructed that whilst he speaks of Your Majesty's desire to preserve the friendship and alliance of the English king, he should try to ascertain if there be any foundation for the overtures which this King's ambassador in France has made to viscount Hannaërt, proposing to him

* "Y por se escusar con su amiga y sus parientes lo querria, y de otra parte que sy el queda endurecido y obstinado seria ocasion de prolongar y empedir el dicho concilio."

† "Y que tuviese la mano quel dicho concilio se reuna, syn todavia persistir, syno le uviesse, en decir que estava bien inclinado."

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the means above specified, or others likely to be accepted by the King, since he (the Imperial ambassador) is known to be both wise and discreet, and not likely to exceed his instructions.

Whether some gracious words ought not to be said to the English ambassador residing at this court, under pretence of announcing to him Your Majesty's departure for Barcelona, and telling him that Your Majesty will not go to war with any one Christian prince, unless positively compelled to it; adding, if the said ambassador deemed it convenient and opportune, that Your Majesty wishes to be the King's friend. At the same time, showing what you yourself have done for him, without your ever having given him occasion to treat him otherwise than kindly and affectionately.*

Whether it would be advisable for the aforesaid ambassador to try and inquire, as though originating with himself, taking for an excuse the overtures of the English ambassador at this court, how far the Queen would approve of the said negociation being commenced; although, on the other hand, it might be objected that such a step might place the mother and daughter in still greater anguish than they are now, and make them believe that there is no other hope or chance of success than that which the negociation itself may afford.

In addition to the above considerations it is important to decide whether, in the state in which English affairs are at present,—when his Imperial Majesty is engaged in war against Barbarossa, and the French king's doings and intentions are what we all know them to be—it would not be advisable to throw as many impediments as possible in the way of the king of England, in his own kingdom and elsewhere, so as to oblige him by fear to become our friend and ally. If so, His Majesty might, in order to save his reputation, and at the same time redeem his word pledged to the Irish lords, dispatch to them a messenger with instructions; taking, however, into consideration that the person sent must be in Ireland by next March, that the season is now far advanced, and that if such a person is to be sent thither, that cannot be conveniently done except some time before His Majesty's departure from this town.†

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 7.‡

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* "Justificando lo que Su Magestad ha hecho y usado hasta agora con él syn le aver dado occasion nenguna de hazer de otra manera."

† Y por dar estorbo al rey de Inglaterra en su mismo Reyno, y aun por guardar la reputacion y satisfacer y seguir lo que Su Mag^{d} ha scripto en Yrlanda á los principales de aquella tierra despachar para ellos, considerando que aquel que havra sido nombrado deve ser alli por todo el mes de Março venidero, y que ya el hibierno esta bien adelante, y no se podra hazer conveniblemente, syno es antes de la partida de Su Mag^{d} desta villa.

‡ The document has no date, but is placed in Bergenroth's Collection (vol. xviii. p. 161) at the end of 1536. This is, however, a mistake, for Katharine having died in January of that year, the Privy Council could not refer to her and to her treatment as if still alive; besides which, the Emperor had not yet left Madrid for Barcelona,—at any rate not defeated Barbarossa, and taken Tunis. For those reasons I have calendared the paper here.

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16 June. Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½. No. 35.

174. EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

This very morning Your Majesty's letter of the 29th ult., announcing your embarcation, has come to hand; besides which the French ambassador residing at this Court *has also heard from the sieur de Vely* that you intended sailing straight for Constantinople, without going first to Tunis and attacking Barbarossa, for fear of losing such a seasonable and favourable opportunity as the present to conquer that city and the rest of Greece; which undertaking the Venetian ambassador† residing at your Imperial Court recommended very strongly, soliciting and persuading you to do so, and assuring you that his Signory would take care that Barbarossa did not move or do harm to Christendom in the meantime. This news the French ambassador has imparted to many people here, authorising them to have it published. He has likewise communicated them to the Venetian Secretary,‡ who now-a-days fills the functions of ambassador, requesting him, as he himself tells me, to call at the French embassy that they may have together some conversation on the subject. I cannot help thinking, however, that the aforesaid news is merely an invention [of the French], and that the publicity given to it is not without some mysterious reason, as Your Majesty, with your incomparable wisdom and perspicacity in such matters will no doubt guess.*

As soon as this King heard that the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) had been created cardinal, he was so angry and indignant at it that he said to many who were present at the time, that he would soon give him another and better hat, for he would send the Bishop's head to Rome for that purpose; immediately after which he sent to the Tower for the members of his Privy Council to summon again the Bishop to their presence, as well as Master Mur (More), and make them acknowledge him as head of the Church, threatening, unless they did so, to have them executed as traitors before St. John's Day. But no threats or promises have as yet had any effect on them, and it is generally believed that both will be shortly executed. As, however, they happen to be men of great reputation and credit throughout this kingdom, the King has already ordered that sermons should be preached against them in almost all the churches of this city. That work commenced on Sunday last, and is to continue through the next in order to silence the murmurs of the people. Yet as there seems to be no sufficient cause to sentence them to death, the King is looking out for some misprision of treason to convict them thereof, and an investigation is now being carried on to ascertain whether the Bishop really applied to Rome for the cardinal's hat, to which end several relatives of his, and even gaolers and guards, have been arrested. It is impossible to

* French ambassador with Charles; his full name was Claude Dodieu.

† At this time Richard Pate, archdeacon of Lincoln, was ambassador in Spain.

‡ His name was Hironimo Zuccaro. On the recall of Carlo Capello in January 1535, he remained in charge of the Venetian embassy in London.

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describe the sorrow and affliction of the Queen and Princess at hearing of such doings, they themselves being afraid that after the execution of those personages, the King may proceed to further violence, as I have already informed Your Majesty.

Out of spite for the said nomination, and to vent more openly his hatred of the Roman Church, the King has sent orders and letters patent to all the bishops, curates, and other preachers in his dominions to propound certain articles against the Apostolic Church. He has likewise commanded every schoolmaster to teach his scholars to speak ill of Papal authority, and likewise that in all missals, breviaries, and books of hours, whether it be in the almanacks or elsewhere, the Pope's name should be erased. It is also reported that an order exists that the reading of the Gospels should in all churches be in French;—the whole of this being, no doubt, done for the purpose of infecting his people with Lutheran doctrines, and rendering them more obstinate and prone to repulse foreign invasion, from whichever side it may come, as I have already had occasion to inform Your Majesty.

And not only is the King extremely indignant at the bishop of Rochester having been created cardinal, he is likewise sorry at the nomination of the bishop of Paris, in whom he particularly trusted once, considering him before his creation as a very bad Papist (maulvais Papiste); nor has he had much pleasure either at the nomination of the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci). To divert him from such like annoyances the Lady has lately feasted him at one of her residences, where she prepared beforehand an entertainment and a farce,† to which many people were invited, though she entirely forgot to ask the French ambassador, who has not been at all pleased at her neglect. She has, however, so well managed to banquet and amuse her guests that, as the Princess sends me word this very day, the King loves his concubine now more than ever he did,—a fact which has considerably increased the Princess' fears, especially seeing how long the remedy is in coming.‡ In this last sentiment almost all in this country concur, believing it as certain that, should Your Majesty only forbid English commerce with the Low Countries and with your other dominions, matters would soon mend both here and there, as I have often written to Your Majesty, and many friendly personages of this country are daily pointing out to me.*

* Jean du Bellay was appointed cardinal on the 21st of May, at the same time with Girolamo Ghinucci, auditor of the Papal Chamber, formerly bishop of Worcester.

† "Pour le desennuyer de ces fascheries la dame luy a ces iours fait ung festin en une sienne maison ou elle fit pluseurs braues mommeries."

‡ "La dite dame a si bien banquete et momme que a ce que ma auiorduy envoye dire la princesse le dict roy est plus raffole delle quil ne fut onques, quest chose que augmente grandement la craincte de la dicte princesse considerant la longueur du remede."

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The duke of Norfolk is expected here from hour to hour, together with the other deputies to the Calais assembly. *Two days ago the French ambassador was heard to say that the meeting would be prorogued for* 20 *days more. I cannot guess what the motive may be for lengthening the period of the said assembly, nor do I know for certain what affairs were discussed therein. I have, however, been told that the thing on which the French insist most is to have the Princess married to their Dauphin. Nevertheless, there is actually a rumour among the lower classes that the deputies have already parted dissatisfied with each other.** Should I hear more particulars of the meeting and its object, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.—London, 16 June 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

17 June. **175.** The EMPRESS to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 31, ff. 182–4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 325.

Received your letter of the 30th May by Ruy Gomez. Glad to hear that you have sailed for the coast of Tunis, and I hope that since your efforts are directed against the Infidel, and for the welfare of Christendom, God will grant victory to your arms.

(*Cipher:*) I highly approve of your answer to the Papal Nuncio respecting matters of Faith and the convocation of the Council. Will keep it in mind to reply, if necessary, to such points when urged.† Cannot help wondering at what His Holiness sent to say by his auditor about your going to Constantinople; the reasons and arguments contained in your reply sufficiently show that the expedition at present seems impracticable. I wonder still more at His Holiness insisting on having your help in the affair of Camarino and Urbino at this present moment, and of his threat that, should you fail him in that respect, he will seek the assistance of France, by which the suspicion you entertain that His Holiness is no longer to be relied upon becomes a certainty.‡

Respecting the kings of France and England, anything may be apprehended from them. They will be on the look-out, and see what becomes of the powerful armament you are now directing against the African Moors and the corsair Barbarossa. There is no probability, however, as you think, of their doing anything else this year; yet we ought to be prepared for all contingencies. I have written to the viceroys and captains on the frontiers of France and Navarre. Pedro

* "Il ny a point deux jeurs que lambassadeur de France disoit que la dicte assemblee dureroit encoires vingt jours; ie ne sçay la cause du racourcissement (?) de la dicte assemblee, ne autre particularite des affaires dont se traictoit, synon quil ma este confirme que la chose a quoy plus instoyent les françoys, estoit davoir la princesse pour leur dauphin, et se dit entre le commung quils sont partis mal contens les ungs des autres."

† "Y lo terné en memoria para responder conforme a ello quando el caso se ofreciere como V. M^{t} lo manda."

‡ "Está cierta la sospecha que V. M^{d} siente."

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del Peso is gone to inspect the fortifications of St. Sebastian, Fontarrabia, and Pamplona, and see what is wanted there. I have also ordered those of Logroño to be inspected, and a report of their state forwarded to me. The duke of Alburquerque (D. Beltran de la Cueva) has been written to, that he may immediately proceed to Aragon. I have no doubt that he will obey orders, and when he does that he will be paid according to his contract (*arriendo*) and Your Majesty's directions. The 1,000 men destined for Perpignan will start soon, and be there quite in time. The Constable of Castille (Don Pedro de Velasco), now at this court, has been spoken to. I have told him what Your Majesty expects of him, should his services be wanted. His answer has been as usual, that he is ready to obey your commands. In short, every precaution is being taken to meet any attempts of the king of France to invade this country.

Should the Irish, now in open rebellion against the king of England, send here for help and favor, Your Majesty will decide what answer is to be given, or what to be done with them.

Respecting the marriage of the French Dauphin to the infanta of Portugal, the daughter of the most Christian queen of France, our sister, I have no news, except what Luys Sarmiento, Your Majesty's ambassador at that court, wrote lately, namely, that Onorato had arrived from France on purpose to negotiate about it. Should they write to me from Lisbon, I will shape my answer according to Your Majesty's wishes and instructions.

The health of the queen of England has continued to improve. As I wrote to Your Majesty, Her Highness the Princess is doing well.

Care will be taken that the ordnance and field artillery be ready when wanted.

Count de Ureña has been summoned to deliver the castle of Peñafiel to Don Manrique de Lara. He has made no objection, and written to his lieutenant about it. The Council of Castille will proceed in the affair with justice, and obey your orders.

The marriage of the marquis de Cuellar and Doña Maria Enriquez is in suspense. Something has occurred to prevent it, of which the most reverend cardinal of Toledo will inform Your Majesty.

The 400 rebaptized (*rebautizados*), who were to have come from Flanders arrived on the coast of Guipuzcoa, less four of them, who died at sea. The Corregidor sent them in a vessel to Malaga, and I have sent orders to the proveditors (*proveedores*) to receive them and keep them, making them work, in order to diminish the expense of keeping before they are transferred to the galleys.

Gold and silver to be prepared at Seville for coinage at the Mota [de Medina]; the dies which Juan de Naso (from Nassau?) is to bring have not yet been received.

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By the enclosed letters from the governor and inspectors (*veedores*) of Melilla, as well as of the purveyors of Malaga, Your Majesty must have heard of the attempt lately made by the king of Fez to surprise that town. The opportune succour sent by the biscayan tenders (*pataches vizcaynas*) saved the place. I wrote immediately to the duke of Medina Sidonia and to his brother Don Juan Alonso [de Guzman] to strengthen the garrison and send provisions there, which was done; but as a regular expeditionary force might be required one of these days, as the Duke himself is in bad health and the marquis de Mondejar far off; and as the "Asistente" of Seville is not there either, I propose that Don Juan Alonso may be appointed Captain-General of Andalusia for this time alone, and that Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza be written to to have in readiness the forces of the kingdom of Granada.

The cardinal of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) is dead. His death has caused me much grief, not only on account of his having been a very good servant of Your Majesty, but because he was closely related to the count of Miranda and to Don Juan de Çuñiga. And since the former of those two has sons at the University, now reading for the Church, I beg Your Majesty to bear them in mind for any vacancies resulting from this promotion.

Gomez Xuarez de Figueroa, ambassador in Genoa, writes on the 22nd of May that he has drawn upon the Imperial treasurers for 2,500 cr,, payable in August of this year, or at the time of the fair of Rioseco, to the order of Gaspar Grimaldo. The ambassador, as he says, borrowed them from Agostino Grimaldo by your order. The 2,000 to remit to the officer of Besançon, to be employed in behalf of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland; the remaining 500 crs. on account of his salary. Madrid, 17 June, DXXXV.

P.S.—This courier I send purposely to have news of Your Majesty. I myself am in good health just now, so is the Prince [Philip] and the Infante, our sons; for although the former has been slightly indisposed, he is now quite well.

Spanish. Original draft. Partly in cipher. pp. 9.

20 June. **176.** DR. ORTIZ to the EMPRESS.

S. E., L. 863, f. 40.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 330.

On the last day of May I acquainted Your Majesty with the martyrdom of four holy Carthusian monks, whom the king of England caused to be sentenced to death by his judges. As by this time our Lord has had their names entered in the glorious book of life, it is well that Your Majesty know who they were:—Juan Howughton, general of all the Carthusians of England, and prior of the convent in London, Roverto Lorenço, prior of the convent Velle Vallis, Augustinus Unester, prior of Ahlome, all of them Carthusians; the fourth was Ricardo Rainaldo, of the convent of Sion, of the Order of St. Brigidis.

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Since then, on the 22nd, ambassador (Chapuys) wrote to say that four more Carthusians have been confined to prison for the same cause, and kept in a most ignominious dungeon, where whoever enters, rarely, if ever, gets out except for execution. That holy man Cardinal Rophensis (Fisher) and Thomas Mauro (More), though threatened with martyrdom on the 4th, unless they did change their opinion and retract within eight days, had not yet been executed on the 22nd, though they had been threatened with death unless they acknowledged what is called their error. May our Lord be pleased to put an end to the King's iniquitous doings!

Respecting the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) some Irish who came here lately say that in the city of Dubilinia (Dublin), which holds for the king of England, the archbishop of Canterbury has had an indulgence and a jubilee proclaimed for all those who should take up arms in the King's favour and against the count of Kildare.

The Queen and the Princess her daughter are in good health; God be praised for it.

Up to this moment nothing is known of what the ambassadors of France and England are doing at Calais, nor what they are negociating about; but certainly it would be a great boon if, whilst they are there, the executory letters on the principal cause were promulgated, which letters, though decreed in Consistory during the pontificate of Clement VII., have not yet been issued, no doubt owing to the malicious interference of king Henry, or because he himself is afraid of his own subjects.* Indeed, the silence observed by His Holiness on the prosecution of this cause is most unaccountable, for the King's obstinacy being so evident and manifest there was no need, in my opinion, of waiting so long for the resolution of the English and French ambassadors, inasmuch as, if we are to judge by past times, and by the little fruit the former interview of the two Kings bore at a time when England was not so perversely inclined as she is now, there is no hope of any good coming from the proposed conferences.

No official news of the Emperor since his embarkation [at Barcelona], though there is a rumour that Tunis is taken.†—Rome, 20 June MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

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* "Sin duda ansi por la malicia del Rey, como por la estimacion del pueblo da grande daño este silencio que hasta aqui[h]a tenido Su Santidad en la prosecucion desta causa por que," &c.

† The Emperor sailed from Barcelona on the last day of May, arrived at Mahon on the 3rd of June; at Cagliari in Sardinia on the 11th, at Porto Farina, on the African coast, three days after, and then before Tunis and La Goleta, which, after a short siege, was taken by storm. See Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xxii., chapters i. to xxv.

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21 June. **177.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. Roma, L. 861, ff. 87–8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 332.

(*Cipher:*) Wrote last on the 11th by Hernando Niño. Hears from persons, friends of the Signory, but not of the ambassador at this court, that His Holiness is now persuading the Venetians to make a league with him, pretending that the Emperor wishes to become master of Italy, and that in order to prevent that he (the Pope) wishes for a Council, as he will then be able to oppose any designs against them. Matera pretends that it is the Signory that has made the first overtures offering to take away from the duke of Urbino the command of their forces, and give it to Pier Luigi Farnese, with many protestations that even after the death of His Holiness they will keep him in office, &c. They will help the Pope to take possession of Camarino and Urbino, and ruin and destroy the Duke, in whom they place no trust, owing especially to the Emperor having lately conferred on him the duchy of Sora, and bargained for Mantua, without their knowledge. It is also said that the Venetians will grant His Holiness the presentation to the bishoprics and eclesiastical benefices of their Republic,—a thing which they have hitherto refused. Matera affirms all these things as if they were the Gospel. I myself am not so sure of that, and cannot believe that the Signory has really entered into such a negociation. However, as State affairs generally produce jealousy between the parties concerned (*gelosos*), I considered myself bound to inform you thereof. I will try to ascertain what truth there may be in the report which is current here as well as in Venice, without showing any mistrust, because, as I say, if the Signory is persuading the Pope to make a league, how is it that the Venetian ambassador, who resides here, and who professes to be attached to Your Majesty, has said nothing to me about it? This, notwithstanding, Matera affirms in the most positive manner that the Pope will not enter into the said league, or any other that may be proposed to him, and that if he ever does he is sure to know of it, and will let me know. Should I see that Pier Luigi's preparations to go to Your Majesty's court are really in earnest, I shall attach more credit to that Cardinal's words. Having urgently inquired some time ago, though in a somewhat indirect way, when Pier Luigi's departure would take place, I was told that two days after Your Majesty's fixed place of residence was known he would immediately quit Rome; and they tell me now that His Holiness has promised him money towards his travelling expenses.

No definite answer has yet come to His Holiness from Venerio, his nuncio in Germany. As this might be a stratagem to delay the convocation, I have written to the king of the Romans to try and get the Prince-Electors to send their consent as soon as possible, for fear these people should make that an excuse for their procrastination.

(*Common writing:*) Pedro Çapata must have informed Your Majesty how Pirro Strozi (Strozzi), the son of Philippo,

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whilst coming back from your Imperial court, as he says, was attacked close to Modena by a party of armed men paid by the duke Alessandro [de Medici], who attempted to kill him and likewise that the brother of cardinal Cibo, the bishop of Marseilles, had formed a conspiracy against the life of that Duke. I, therefore, need not enter into more particulars.

Recommends Tello de Guzman for the command which has become vacant by the death of Juan de Lanuça.

His Holiness has lately given orders for the enlistment of 500, others say 1,000, infantry, for the purpose of recovering certain castles which the Baglioni of Perugia seized shortly after his ascension to the pontificate. As any levies of troops under the present circumstances might give rise to suspicion, I have boldly signified to him that he cannot do it. His Holiness is sorry for that, for he says it is very hard that he cannot punish a rebellious vassal when he likes. He maintains that it is a very simple thing, and that it can be done without scandal; but yet I will try to prevent him.—Rome, 21 June MDXXXV.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Emperor and King our Lord."

Spanish. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 4.

30 June. **178.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 36.

After secretary Cromwell's return from Court, where he had been staying ever since the duke of Norfolk and others of his colleagues in the deputation came back from Calais, he called upon me, in *order to signify in his master's name that the promise once made that nothing* [*injurious to Your Majesty's interests*] *should be discussed or concluded thereat had been absolutely fulfilled. At which that Secretary was exceedingly glad and proud, inasmuch as he had shown himself to be faithful, and a man of his word, having prevented, as he said, any dealings likely to mar the progress of our negotiations, and likewise because the King was now as free as ever. He therefore came to advise me to dispatch a messenger in all haste to Your Majesty, to inform you that the conferences of Calais had been broken up without the parties coming to any conclusion whatever.*

My answer to Cromwell's application was that I was ready to comply with the King's wishes in the matter, and despatch one of my secretaries to Your Majesty, provided there was something substantial to announce; but that it would be a vain and indiscreet action on my part to send a messenger on purpose merely to announce the breaking up of the conferences, which was a notorious fact, of which I myself had informed Your Majesty a week ago; that most likely you had the same news from France, and if you had not you must at least have expected it for some time, since I had repeatedly written home on the faith of his own promises that nothing

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important would be achieved at the conferences. Besides (said I to him), if your master is now, as you assure me, free and disengaged, would it not be the time for his accepting His Majesty's overtures, or propounding others?

Cromwell answered that he had no commission to make overtures: he was not a man to say to me first one thing, and then another, or advance a proposition which he could not maintain. With regard to Your Majesty's proposal that his master should submit to the determination of the Council, that was out of the question: the King would never agree to it, nor was there any cause for his doing so, as he had once shown to me by the reasons he alleged. Besides which (added Cromwell), owing to the great hatred which all this English priesthood, as he called them, bore him, for his having attempted to put down the tyranny of the Church and reform the Clergy, joined to the circumstance that most of those who were to go, to the Council belonged to that set, there would be no means of getting justice thereat. It was not to be expected (he added) or thought of for one moment that the King, his master, or indeed, anyone of his subjects, would ever attend a Council convoked by the Pope, even if it were assembled under Your Majesty's authority.*

After this Cromwell began to speak about the reform of the Clergy, which had already commenced by the King's orders, adding that I should see before Christmas two statutes for the said reform, which would differ considerably from those of the Pope; and that he (Cromwell) had no doubt they would turn out to be a singular mirror for all Christendom. That evidently Your Majesty delayed working the same reform in your dominions for fear of the Pope revoking the sentence once obtained in favour of the Queen. My answer was, that he was very much mistaken; for even in the event of Your Majesty renouncing the Pope as universal head of the Church, that would in no wise invalidate the sentence, inasmuch as the King himself had been the first to apply to His Holiness for justice; and that, had the Pope been the smallest and most insignificant bishop in the world, the sentence he gave would stand good, and could not be revoked.

To these reasons and others, which I alleged on the occasion Cromwell knew not what to answer, but he went on to declare that, had God taken away the Queen and the Princess, all matters would soon be settled, and that there would be no disagreement, as nobody would then dispute the King's second marriage, or the right of succession to the Crown, unless it were, perhaps, the king of Scotland, of whom no account was taken in England. As to other princes (he said) not one could pick a quarrel with or establish a right against them.

To the first of Cromwell's assertions I answered that, according to Canon law, the only rule for Catholics to follow in

* "Et dauantaige que la grande hayne que toute ceste prestraille, comme il lappeloit, lui pourtoit," &c.

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spiritual matters, as well as in those relating to conscience, it would be found that the King's second marriage was necessarily null and void, even should the Queen die before the King. And this I proved to him by reciting various chapters and articles of the Canon law bearing on the subject; at which Cromwell was perfectly amazed and bewildered. With regard to the second point, I said to him that the English ought not to think too lightly of king James; for, after all, were he to bring forward his rightful claims, God, who was the true executor of justice in this world, might furnish him with friends and helpers in England and elsewhere. And upon Cromwell observing that at any rate there would be no other pretender, I replied to him that as the case was not likely to happen, I had never taken the trouble of thinking about it, but that since he pressed me so hard I would tell him what my ideas on the subject were. I thought, on the contrary, that several princes might be pretenders to the throne of England now or hereafter. Cromwell's answer was that perhaps I alluded to the common right of princes, which was founded on the sword, or to the Imperial title, which pretended to exercise certain supremacy over all kings. "No, I do not mean that," was my reply; "England may be at rest on that point; the Emperor is not "ambitious enough to bring forward such a right; yet should "the Pope fulminate censures against your master, and "invoke the aid of the secular arm, depriving him of his "kingdom and giving it away to the invader, would not that "be the most just and catholic title for any prince to have?" Not to embitter the question, or touch on sore points, I would not allude to the king of Denmark's or any other prince's title; and yet the little I said served my purpose, and will most likely induce them to take more care of the good ladies, and remove the very dangerous opinion they seem to entertain that, were they to get rid of them, they would be quiet and unmolested. Indeed, I almost think that my words had some effect upon Cromwell, for he seemed very much put out by them, and kept silence for some time, until, after a moment's thought, he said, "The truth is that the King, my master, has so many treaties "with the Emperor and with the French, that I cannot "imagine how anyone can contravene them."†*

Cromwell then related to me that the English ambassador in France had written to the King, his master, that as soon as the admiral [Chabot] returned to Court, he had declared to all foreign ambassadors that at the conferences of Calais affairs of the utmost importance had been discussed and

* That is the dethroned Christian II. of Denmark, whom the Imperialists still designated as king of that country, though the throne had been occupied since 1523 by Frederik and by Christiern III.

† "Et apres avoir pense une bonne espace, ne me sçeut que dire synon que le roy son maistre avoit tant de traictez avec sa maieste et avec les françois, que ne lui povait entrer au cerueaul que nul eust le cueur de y contravenir."

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settled, to the great contentment and satisfaction of the parties concerned; and that this King had immediately sent to contradict the Admiral's report, and answered the letter of his ambassador, telling him the plain truth, and requesting him to inform the Imperial agent in France thereof; most affectionately begging him to write to Your Majesty, and do his best to bring about the renewal of the said friendship. The same prayer and request did Cromwell address to me, with sundry flattering words and praises respecting my valuable assistance, adding that he cared not to die the most cruel death that could be imagined if only friendship between Your Majesty and his master could be established for ever. That once done, he thought that Your Majesty could very easily get half, perhaps a whole, million of gold from his master to aid in the enterprise against the Turk. He added, that the differences about the King's second marriage could only be settled between Your Majesty and the King at a personal interview. After which Cromwell began to inveigh most bitterly against the French, accusing them of ingratitude, cunning, and duplicity; for he knew (said he) that all the time they were negotiating with the King, his master, they had been doing the same with Your Majesty, and that the sieur de Morette had lately declared to him that unless this King agreed shortly to their proposals, they (the French) would be obliged to form an alliance with Your Majesty.

Having spoken to Cromwell of certain arrears still due to the Queen on the revenue of the landed estates in her possession, he with much good grace answered that not only should the sum owing be paid, but that if the Queen wanted more she had only to write me a letter, and any cash she needed for the expenses of her household would be immediately remitted to her. If, however, she preferred having a treasurer at her own residence to attend to these matters, he would be appointed. He likewise begged me to see to this, and ended by inviting me, in the King's name, to hunt in the royal parks whenever I pleased, adding that he would give proper orders that I should be well received there, and insisted upon my not refusing the invitation, "for (said he) it will please the King, and you will pass your time agreeably." *At last he could not help adding that it was fit and becoming for me to do so, in order that people might witness the favour I enjoyed with his master. There was no need for such declaration, for I knew very well what he was aiming at. He wanted people to believe that Your Majesty approved of everything they had done, and were doing. Indeed, they have not been ashamed of telling and persuading the French at Calais that, provided the Pope was prevented from disturbing Italy, you would undertake to reform the Church in your own dominions, as they (the English) had done. This information comes from a very reliable quarter, and when*

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*I happened to speak about it to Cromwell he had nothing to say in answer.**

On Cromwell's first arrival, and before we had actually begun our conversation on the above political matters, he made two charges in his master's name. The first was that Your Majesty not only tolerated but even allowed that a German doctor of the name of Cocleus† should from time to time compose and publish the most execrable and defamatory books that could be imagined against him, so much so (he said) that no greater injuries could be heaped upon him, were he Jew or Devil. The second was that the ambassador this King was sending to the Vayvod had been arrested by order of the king of the Romans (Ferdinand).

With regard to the first charge, my answer was that Your Majesty, I was sure, would be highly displeased at it, and would remedy the evil of which his master complained, as well as he could. That the King, however, ought to bear in mind that affairs in Germany being in the state they are, in such license and disorder, it would be a hard matter for you to moderate people's tongues,— at this moment so free and impudent that no respect was paid to God or man, much less to princes themselves; and that since the said Cocleus was now residing at the court of George of Saxony, the King, who once considered that Duke his friend, might very well write to him on the subject.

With regard to the second charge, I said to Cromwell that I really knew not what to answer, having not heard from the king of the Romans to that effect. Perhaps the ambassador had been detained without the King's knowledge; if with it, the King, your master, said I to Cromwell, would have greater cause to complain of the ambassador's temerity than of the king of the Romans' precaution, since after all the latter (as I had been told by certain merchants) had peremptorily refused him a passage through his territory,—and not without reason, for it was generally known that matters between the king of the Romans and the Vayvod were on the point of being adjusted, and therefore the mission of an ambassador at such a time might throw back the negotiations, or at least there was every reason to think they would, considering the recent French dealings in Germany. They had seen how the king of France, without such a reason, and, indeed, having none in

* "Et a la fin ne se peut tenir de dire quil convenoit que ainsi se feisse afin que le monde apperceut la faveur que le roy me faisoit. Il nestoit ia besoing quil se me declarat, car ientendoye assez quil ne tachoit que de donner entendre a ce peuple que vostre maieste aduouhoit (avoueait) tout ce quilz ont fait et font, et nont eu honte de a calais vouloir persuader aux françois que pourveu que sa maieste eust pourveu que le pape ne puist troubler les affaires ditalie que icelle entendoit reformer leglise de ses royaulmes et pays commilz avoient faict, et ce sçay ie de bon lieu, et quant ien parlay au dit Cremuel il ne me respondit parolle."

† John Cochlæus, a Roman Catholic, the author of several controversial tracts on religious matters. "Le premier de ce que vostre maieste tolleroit et permettoit que ung docteur allemant nomme Cocleus compousat et publiat livrez les plus execrables et diffamatoires contre le dict roy que lon sçauroit ymaginer et que lon nen pourroit plus dire dung juife ou dung diable."

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his favour, had detained for upwards of four months, under some pretence or other, the cardinal bishop of Burgos, coming to England as ambassador from Your Majesty.* Nay, if I were allowed to speak my mind, I would declare that in my opinion the mission to Hungary of an English ambassador, at such a time as this, was unnecessary on many accounts, and, above all, because the Vayvod himself had no accredited agent in this country, and neither France nor any other power kept one at his court. *Cromwell's answer was that he never had a great idea of that ambassador's wisdom, but that on the present occasion, if he really had attempted to pass through the dominions of the king of the Romans against his will, he was to be blamed for his folly. The King (said Cromwell) had sent him on that mission at the recommendation of his brother Gregoire de Cassel (da Casale), and merely to give him temporary employment. He could positively affirm that during the six or seven years that he had resided at Venice as this King's ambassador he had not received three letters from England, and that the king of the Romans would be very much mistaken and disappointed if he thought he could gain any information through his arrest. Nor will he be able to learn anything from the Vayvod's secretary,† who accompanies him, and has, they say, been arrested also, for he is a downright fool, and the King had set him down as such the very first time he spoke to him.*

I fully expected that in proffering the above charges Cromwell would also complain of Your Majesty's intelligences in Ireland, but he made no allusion whatever to that point. True is it, that for some time past no news has come from that country, though the rumour is afloat that the King intends sending thither some troops and ammunition.

The King, moreover, is still having field artillery cast, and since the return of the Calais deputies has sent to the island of Garnese (Guernsey) a few heavy guns for fear of the French. Besides which the Princess has heard from a very reliable quarter that the King had lately said that he was afraid he should soon be at war with the French.

On the 17th inst. the good and holy bishop of Rochester was sentenced to death for having refused to swear to the statutes lately made against the Pope, and the Queen's rights, and on the 22nd he was publicly beheaded at the same place where the duke of Buckingham was executed. *There is no describing the immeasurable regret and pity felt by all people. They tell me that on the scaffold he was often and often solicited to comply with the King's wishes, grace and pardon being offered to him in the King's name, but that he kept firm to the last and died most exemplarily. They gave him as a confessor a sworn enemy of his, and the staunchest Lutheran in the world, as well as the originator*

* That is Don Iñigo de Mendoza, about whose detention in France in 1526 the reader had better consult Part i. of vol. iii., pp. 1016–7.

† Andrea Corsini, the Florentine; about whom, see Vol. iv. Part. ii. pp. 839 and 982.

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of all the devillish acts practised here; who, however, was so much edified by the Bishop's countenance and noble behaviour on the scaffold that he ceases not to say that one of the best and holiest men in the world has been executed. Cromwell tells me that the Pope (Paul) was the real cause of the Bishop's death, for having foolishly made a cardinal of the King's bitterest enemy; and that the reason he alleged was still more foolish, for when he heard of the Bishop's execution he said to Sir Gregory da Casale, "I did "it in contemplation of the approaching Council, for as I "intended to summon cardinals from all provinces and "kingdoms in the world, I thought of him, and gave him "a hat that he might represent England therein."

The bishop of Tarbes,* the nephew of cardinal Grammont, arrived here three days ago as ambassador in the room of Mr. de Morette. He was at Calais at the time of the conferences, with the intention of crossing over immediately; but as things did not turn out exactly as some people imagined, he went back to France with the Admiral, *in order to proceed to a fresh deliberation on the matters under discussion. If I am to believe what a familiar [friend] of his said to a person who repeated it to me, this new ambassador's principal charge consists in asking for the hand of the Princess, and using all manner of threats in case of refusal, as, for instance, that the king of France, his master, would let the Pope, whom he has until now tried to amuse and restrain, proceed at once to fulminate censures, &c. He is, moreover, to describe him (Francis) as ready and willing to obey the commands of the Holy See. The said bishop of Tarbes and Morette sent yesterday morning to invite Cromwell to dinner; but he excused himself, and sent word that he knew very well what they wanted to tell him, and that they had better go and see the King about it; which answer to their invitation the two ambassadors did not at all relish.*

This King's master gunner† returned three days ago from Lubeck and Denmark, and it is said that he has brought back with him no less than one hundred experienced men, chiefly gunners and captains, although only two of them have been seen with him in this city, one of whom is the brother of the captain of Lubeck.‡—London, the last day of June 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 7.

* Antoine de Castelnau, who, upon the appointment of his uncle (Gabriel de Grammont) to the cardinalate, became bishop of Tarbes (1534–9).

† Candish (Cavendishe?). If so, Richard, officer of the Ordnance.

‡ The name of this captain must have been Mark Maier or Meger, as appears from papers in the Record Office, abstracted by Mr. Gairdner, vol. vii. pp. 41, 110, &c.

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30 June. **179.** The SAME to NICOLAS DE GRANVELLE.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 37.

I send you a bold and remarkable interpretation of a chapter of the Apocalypse,* acted at the pageant (*triomphe*) which it is the custom here to celebrate on the night of St. John's eve; and to attend which this King came the distance of 30 miles, about two o'clock in the morning, walking 10 of those miles on foot, with a double-handed sword in his hand, and traversing a good part of this city to enter a house from which he might see the whole pageant.† So much pleasure did he receive at seeing the heads of these ecclesiastics cut off, that in order to laugh more at his ease, also to encourage his people to persevere in such amusements, he sat bareheaded.‡ Indeed, the thing seemed so good to him that next day he sent his lady a message that she would do well to come and assist in the representation of the same mystery, which was to be acted again on the eve of St. Peter.

I also send you Papal bulls in conformity with the interpretation of the above-mentioned prophesy, the reading of which will convince you of the little hope there is of matters being amended in this country, and that unless a prompt remedy be applied everything here will go on to perdition. Indeed, it is a wonder to me that all the English have not yet become Lutherans after the way this King is going on. I hear from Rome that the Pope (Paul III.) is deliberating about issuing the executory letters, and that he will not be stopped by the death of that good bishop of Rochester; of which measure, as well as others, equally unjust and tyrannical, I have not failed to apprize you as soon as I could, not omitting to remind our Emperor that the advice of all sensible and worthy people in this country has been, and still is, that if, in virtue of the said executory letters, the intercourse of trade [with the Low Countries and Spain] should be put an end to, all classes of society here would at once rise in rebellion, and would of themselves apply a remedy to the evil, notwithstanding our present differences with Francis; for many begin already to show discontent, saying that ever since these executions it has never ceased raining in England, and that that is God's revenge.—London, last day of June 1535.

Signed: " Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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* " Une gallante et notable interpretation dung chappitre de lapocalipse."

† " Pour la quelle representation veoir ce roy vint de trente milles loing diçy environ les deux heures de nuyt, traversa dix mille a pied avec une espee de deux mains une bonne partie de la ville pour entrer en une maison," &c.

‡ " Et print si grand plesir veant que [lon] coppoit les testes de ces eclesiastiques que pour rire a son plesir, [et] aussi pour donner plus de cueur au peuple de continuer en telles choses, il se descouvrist (?) "

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1 July. **180.** NEWS FROM ENGLAND.

S. E. *Inglaterra*, L. 806, f. 47. B.M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 33 .

On the first day of July MDXXXV. Master Thomas Mauro (More), Lord Chancellor of England, appeared before the judges appointed by the King [to try him]. The indictment specifying the charges against him having been read in his presence, the new Chancellor [Sir Thomas Audeley] and the duke of Norfolk turned towards him, and addressed him in these words : " You see, Master More, that you have grievously " offended His Royal Majesty ; yet if you will repent, and " change that opinion, in which you have hitherto most " obstinately persevered, we trust so much in His Majesty's " clemency and kind heart, that pardon and mercy will, we " have no doubt, be obtained for you." More's answer was : " Milords, I thank you very much for your good will, but " yet I pray God Almighty to keep me firm in this opinion " of mine, that I may continue in it till the hour of my death. " Respecting the charges brought against me, I doubt whether " my understanding, my memory, or my tongue will be " sufficient to compass them all, grave and manifold as " they are. After the long and hard imprisonment, and the " grave illness under which I am now suffering, I apprehend " that I shall be unable to answer the many articles of " which the indictment consists." After which, at the command of the judges, a chair was brought, and the ex-chancellor began his defence as follows :

" With regard to the first article of the indictment, that in order to show my wickedness and malice against the King, I have opposed and resisted with all my power the King's second marriage, I have nothing to state in my defence save that what I have said against it has been said according to conscience. For this reason I would not, nor will I now, conceal my true sentiments, bound as I am to declare the truth. Had I done so, I should certainly have been unloyal and a traitor. For this error, if it can be so called, I was sentenced to perpetual confinement in a dungeon, where I have already passed 15 months, having, besides, had my property confiscated. I will, therefore, answer the principal charges you bring against me. You say that I have incurred the penalty established in the statute made in the last Parliament, and that I was committed to prison for having feloniously and falsely deprived His Majesty, the King, of his right names, titles, honor, and dignity of Supreme Chief and Head of the Anglican Church after God, which title, dignity, and pre-eminence have been conferred on him by Parliament. As a proof whereof you charge me with having, when asked by the King's principal secretary, and of his honourable Privy Council, what was my opinion of the said statute, answered nothing except that, being a dead man as to the world, I cared not for such things, and that all my attention was fixed on the passion and death of Jesus Christ. My answer to such an accusation is that your statute cannot condemn

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my silence, and sentence me to death; for no statute, no law in the world, can inflict punishment on a man for his silence, but only for having said or done something against it."

Here the King's attorney interrupted More by saying that silence in his case was a manifestation of his wicked thought and bad estimation of the said statute, inasmuch as all the good and loyal subjects of His Majesty, upon being asked what they thought of the said statute, were bound to answer categorically, without dissimulation or reserve of any kind, and to affirm that the statute was good and holy. "Certainly," replied Master More, "if it be true what common law says, that he who holds his tongue consents, my silence ought to be interpreted as an approval of your statute rather than as a contemptuous opinion of it. As to your assertion that all good subjects are obliged to answer, I can tell you that subjects and vassals must look first to their conscience and soul, and then to worldly considerations, provided by their doing so (and such is my care) they do not promote scandal or revolution in the state. I can, moreover, declare and affirm that whatever was the thought of my conscience in this particular affair, I never revealed it to any one whomsoever.

"Respecting the second article, in which it is said that I have spoken and acted against the said statute, and written to the bishop of Rochester eight letters in which I attack the statute, I only say that I should like to see those letters produced and read in public. But since you maintain that the Bishop himself committed them to the fire, and that they cannot be produced, I will tell you what the substance of them was. They were familiar letters, such as our old acquaintance and friendship demanded. One of them was an answer to another of his, in which he asked me how I had replied to the interrogatory about the statute read to me at the first examination at the Tower. I wrote to him that my answer had been as my conscience dictated, and that if interrogated on the subject he ought to do the same, and carry out his manly purpose. I swear on my conscience that such was the content of my said letters to the Bishop, in which there is nothing said against the statute that deserves death.

"Respecting the third charge, namely, that at my examination before the Privy Council I answered that your statute was like a two-edged sword, cutting both ways, so that the approvers of it would lose their souls, and the contradictors their bodies, and that the bishop of Rochester, as you say, made use of a similar argument in his declaration,—which is a further proof of our being confederated and allied to each other,—I will say that I made use of the expression conditionally, that is to say, that if there were a statute like a two-edged sword, cutting both ways, how could a man conduct himself so as to avoid one of the two dangers? How may the Bishop have answered that question of the interrogatory, I cannot say. If he did answer it in terms similar

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to mine, that may be caused by our sentiments and doctrine on this particular being the same, not because we were previously agreed about it. So far from it, that I firmly believe that I never said or did any thing maliciously against the statute, though it may be that my words have been misinterpreted and wrongly reported to the King's gracious Majesty."

Thereupon an usher was told to summon a jury composed of 12 men, according to the use of the country, to whom the said articles were given, that they might deliberate and decide whether the said Master Thomas More had, or had not maliciously contravened the said statute; who, after a quarter of an hour's retirement and secret consultation, came back before the ordinary judges and magistrates, and declared the said Master More to be guilty; upon which the Chancellor (Sir Thomas Audeley), in the form and tenour of the new law, pronounced sentence of death upon him.

Master More then addressed his judges in these words: "Since I am condemned to death (and God knows why) I will "now, for the discharge of my conscience, speak freely of your "statute. For the last seven years I have been studying the "matter. I know of no approved doctor of the Church saying "that a temporal lord could or ought to be head of the spiritual." Here, the Chancellor interrupting him, said "Master More, "you wish to be held as more conscientious and learned "than all the bishops of this realm, and all the peers and "nobles." Master More replied, "For each bishop following "your opinion I have on my side one hundred holy men. "For a Parliament (God knows how assembled) in your "favour, I have all the General Councils held for the last "thousand years. For one kingdom in your favour, I have "France and all the Christian powers." Hearing this, the duke of Norfolk said to him, "More, now your wickedness "becomes manifest." He replied, "Milord, what I say is "needed for the declaration and discharge of my conscience, "as well as for the repose of my soul. Of this I call God to "witness, He who is the only searcher of human hearts. I "further maintain that your ordinance is a bad one, for "you all made a vow not to act against the Church, which is "only one in Christendom, entire and indivisible. Not only "have you no authority without the common consent of "Christians all over the world to make laws and frame "statutes, Acts of Parliament, or Councils against the said "union in Christendom, but you and the others sin capitally "in so doing. I know very well that the reason of your "condemnation of me is no other than my constant refusal "to consent to this second marriage of the King; but I have "faith in the Divine bounty and mercy, that since St. Paul, as "written in his life, first persecuted St. Stephen, and both are "now united in Paradise, so shall every one of us, though we "may be at variance in this world, be in the conformity and "union of perfect charity hereafter. On this score I pray

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" Almighty God to permit by His clemency that the King may " be saved and preserved, and good counsel given to him."

Whilst on his way to the Tower, one of his daughters, named Margaret, mixed herself with the people, and notwithstanding the archers and sheriffs (*porquerones*) reached him. Overpowered by her father's extreme anguish and torment, fearless of the people collected around the spot, a very public one, she went up to her father and embraced him, weeping and silent.* The father wishing to console her, after asking leave of the guards, said to her, " Margaret, take " patience, and do not grieve; God has willed it so. For many " years didst thou know the secret of my heart." After that, having retired 10 or 12 paces, she again returned to her father, clung to and embraced him; and the father, greatly moved to pity, and with tears in his eyes, but an unflinching countenance, said, " Friends, pray for my soul." On the Wednesday following Thomas More was beheaded on Tower Hill. Some minutes before the execution he addressed the bystanders, and begged them to pray for him from this world, as he would pray for them in the other; after which he admonished and entreated them with great earnestness (*instancias*) to pray to God for the King, and that he should be well counselled, protesting all the while that he died as a good servant of God first, and of the King afterwards.

Spanish. Contemporary copy.† *pp.* 10.

11 July. **181.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

V. Imp. Arch., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229, No. 38.

Having three days ago received a letter from the king of the Romans (Ferdinand), in which no mention whatever is made of the arrest of prothonotary Casale,‡ once a subject of complaint on the part of Master Cromwell, I sent him word that his news on that score must be incorrect, or else that if the arrest had really taken place, it must have been without the knowledge of the king of the Romans, since there was no mention at all of it in his letter. Cromwell's answer was that after what I had lately told him on the subject it was indifferent to him whether the arrest had taken place or not. *Had the king of the Romans ordered Casale to be hung, he (Cromwell) would not have cared a fig for it; the King, his master, would have saved by the Prothonotary's death the yearly allowance that is paid to him.*

After this, Cromwell began warmly to represent to my man the immense advantages of a full and sincere friend-

* " Se mezcló por entre toda la gente, en medio de la compañia de los archeros y porquerones, la qual sojuzgada y vencida del extremo dolor y tormento paterno, sin tener respeto alguno ni á la muchedumbre de las gentes ni al lugar harto publico," &c.

† Two copies of this paper are in Bergenroth's volume (*Add.* 28,587), the 16th of the collection; one at fol. 336, the other at 340. Both seem to be imperfect; the first even more than the second.

‡ Prothonotary Giovanne [da] Casale, brother of Sir Gregory, once English ambassador in Venice.

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ship between Your Majesty and the King, his master. Nothing more was then said, and the conversation ended by my man assuring him that on our part no trouble should be spared to bring about that sincere friendship of which he (Cromwell) had spoken. I cannot say for certain, but it seems to me as if these people were only temporizing and trying to gain time until they know the result of Your Majesty's expedition [to Africa]; perhaps also they still have some hope of gaining over the French to their own views and fancies, though it must be said that they show no particular desire for it, if I am to judge by the cold reception given to the bishop of Thebes (Tarbes) when he went to Court the other day;† for whilst he imagined that he was to be lodged at Briduel, where the French ambassadors have resided for the last five years, he was told, in as polite terms as possible, that he could not lodge there, and must look out for lodgings elsewhere. On two different occasions, moreover, did Cromwell appoint a day and hour for the reception of the said Bishop, as well as of Mons^r^ de Morette, the French resident ambassador; but when the hour came, Cromwell was out;—which is a sign to me that the relations between this country and France are not just now on a good footing. I am the more inclined to think so that when the Grand Prior of St. John went to take leave of Morette, this latter told him to make haste, and considering how time was passing, go at once to the Bishop, but not to hold too long a conference with him.‡*

The King is about to dispatch in a few days to Calais the Treasurer and the Controller of his Household, for the purpose, as I am told, of inspecting and provisioning that town and that of Guisnes, for fear of the French. Yet it seems to me as if this King cared not much for them and the others at this present moment, for he is more occupied with dancing parties and ladies than ever he was, and I see no sign at all of warlike preparations. Some here will have it that the two persons [above alluded to] will cross over to France, yet I believe that their departure will be prevented somehow.§

A doctor and a gentleman‖ whom this King is sending to Lubeck will take their departure two days hence; and I am told that their mission is to calm the feuds and parties in that town. Perhaps also there is some plot and intrigue to prevent the Count Palatine from aspiring to the crown of Denmark, but of this I am not certain.

* "Apres les dits propoz icelluy Cremuel vint a faire plusieurs longues remonstrancos a mon homme du bien que ce seroit de lentiere syncere amyte entre votre majeste et le roy son maistre."

† "Vue le froid et maigre recueil (accueil) quilz ont fait a levesque de thebes quant il fut lautre jour a la court." Thebes here is no doubt for Tarbes in Gascony; the bishop then was Antoine de Castelnau. See p. 505 *note*.

‡ "De quoy nest moindre indice ce que le dict S^r^ de Morette dit au grand prieur de S^t^ Jehan venant a prendre conge de lui, assavoir quil se despechast, actendu le temps que couloit, daller visiter le dit evesque, ne davoir grande communication avec luy."

§ "Et dient aucuns que les dits deux personnes passeront en france, toutesfoys je crois que lung et lautre voiage seront rompus."

‖ Vaughan and Montaborinus. See vol. iv. part ii. pp. 754, 841, 995.

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The good old lord about whom I lately wrote to Your Majesty sent me, the other day, his cousin with a message to this effect. He was about to leave for his place in the country, and begged me, in his own name, and in that of many others, to apply to Your Majesty for the executory letters to be published and observed in Your Majesty's kingdoms and dominions. That being done (the messenger said) there was no immediate necessity of Your Majesty's help and assistance, for he imagined that the executory letters once made public, all the rest would go on smoothly. Great speed, however, ought to be used, as otherwise modern preachers and prelates might subvert everything in England, and corrupt the people. The messenger added that he believed the Clergy would gladly furnish the funds required for the undertaking in the first instance, and that in the meantime a way might be found of laying hands on the treasure the King has at his palace in this city.* London, 11 July 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England xvi. and last day of June, x. July. Received on the galley, Friday, the 20th of August 1535.

French. Original. Almost entirely in cipher. pp. 5.

16 July. **182.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 864, ff. 77-8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 345.

Wrote last on the 21st ult. by way of Genoa, advising that the Pope had sent some of his forces against the Baglioni and their country. Since then Pier Luigi [Farnese] has come and said that in consequence of the disobedience of the Perugians, who had almost revolted, and constituted a council composed of no less than 600 persons in the town, His Holiness had ordered him to collect troops, joining those under Giov. Battisti Savella, march on Perugia, and punish the inhabitants. Pier Luigi then said that although he disliked the job, he was determined to comply with His Holiness's orders; and asked him (Sylva) for his opinion and advice. Answered him that he had good reasons not to like the commission entrusted to him; the thing was too low and insignificant for a person of his quality; besides which the Emperor had particularly requested that no armed movement should take place in Italy, especially at this time, when His Imperial Majesty was engaged elsewhere. Told him to entreat His Holiness to bear in mind the many inconveniences that might arise therefrom, and not insist upon troops going to Perugia, much less under the command of his son. A similar message was next day sent to His Holiness through Archangel. The answer was a very courteous one, but promised nothing. He was obliged to act; could not do less, &c. He (Sylva)

* Compare Chapuys' despatch of the 8th May, No. 157, p. 457.

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went again, and spoke to him, reproducing the same arguments. At first His Holiness resisted, and grumbled, as if an attempt was being made to encourage the disobedience of his vassals, and prevent their being punished. But in the end he gave up, and said he would not send Pier Luigi [Farnese] thither; neither would he increase the force he had in and about Perugia; the 1,000 men of the condotta of Giov. Baltista Savelli being enough for all purposes. His Holiness then asked that a man should be sent from this embassy to try and induce the Perugians to return to obedience without having recourse to arms; which has already been done; for, as time pressed, and there was no space to wait for an answer, he (Sylva) has taken upon himself all the responsibility of the measure, and appointed Gio. Pietro Capharello, the Emperor's servant, who is closely related to the mother of Rodolfo Baglione, the chief of the Perugian rebellion, and the very same man who in the prince of Orange's time treated with Malatesta Baglione for the surrender of Perugia to Pope Clement VII.

Needs scarcely say how much the agents of the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] and those of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) here, at Rome, have approved of his (Sylva's) interference in this affair; for their respective masters are most jealous of Pier Luigi, and although the said Dukes still write that Savelli has under him more men than His Holiness says, and that the latter has ordered new levies at Ancona and at other places, yet they are not so much alarmed as at the beginning. This notwithstanding, he (Sylva) has again called on the Pope, and remonstrated against such unnecessary show of force; but though he gave all manner of satisfactory reasons, and promised to disband them, yet no great reliance is to be placed in his words, for, after all, this is a State business, and in such matters Popes are always exceedingly jealous. Will, however, do his utmost to avoid complications, &c.

His Majesty must have heard by this time what passed with the Florentine ambassadors on their return from Court; how, on their arrival here, the Strozzi spread the rumour that the Florentines wanted to assassinate them, that the bishop of Marseilles (Gio. B. Cibo), had formed a conspiracy to rid himself of the duke Alessandro, and that the cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici had taken himself off in consequence of the imprisonment of Count Rovorogenga (?), his secretary. All this he [Sylva] announced in one of his last despatches.

Cardinal Salviati called the other day to request that he (Sylva) would speak to His Holiness on behalf of the said Ippolito de' Medici, and ask permission for his coming to Rome to attend to his own private affairs, and starting a week after for the Emperor's court. Although rather doubtful of Medici's pretended engagements, or of his visiting the Imperial court as soon as he says, he (Sylva) went to the

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Pope and made the application. His Holiness's answer was, "Cardinal de' Medici may come when he likes, be safe at "Rome, and start for the Imperial Court whenever he "pleases." His [Sylva's] object in taking up so warmly the Cardinal's cause is no other than the fear of these "fuorusciti" taking him over to France. Hears that the secretary of the French embassy has gone to visit him for that purpose; and, indeed, the Cardinal is so restless and so ambitious that anything is to be feared in that quarter. His own secretary is now been examined, and there has been some talk of his being put to the rack in order to make him confess. He [Sylva] has objected to that, because, though fully persuaded that the Emperor wishes the Duke to be firmly established in Florence, yet, having no particular instructions on this business, he has taken upon himself to temporize, for fear of over-irritating the "fuorusciti," or exasperating the Cardinal, who, if ever he visits the Imperial Court, as he intends, can be more easily managed there than here.

Has heard, through Mr. de Sistan and other gentlemen lately arrived from Flanders and Burgundy, who, having passed by Leyva's residence [in Lombardy], had thence gone to Genoa to visit His Majesty, that the duke of Geldres (Ghelders) had raised three or four thousand infantry and some cavalry, and had a commission from king Francis to raise a still greater force, with which to invade the Emperor's dominions in those parts; that the King was on the frontier of Flanders, and had with him 600 lances. He was, moreover, to go to Lyons with 400. Happening to speak with His Holiness on the subject, he [Sylva] was told that the news was substantially true; king Francis was now in Picardy mustering the legions which he had ordered from that province. He was to go afterwards to Lyons, but "I "hear (said the Pope), both from my Nuncio at the Court of "Francis, as well as from the French ambassador here, that "these preparations are more intended for the purpose of "defence, should the Emperor cross over to Italy, than for "his making war, of which, they say, there is no probability "whatever for this year."

His Holiness said likewise that the pending negociations for a marriage between the illegitimate daughter of the king of England and the duke of Angoulême (Charles) had been just broken off, owing to the English having laid down two conditions which the French objected to. One was, that the Duke should go over to England, and reside there till his marriage; the other, that king Francis should join the English in certain things in disobedience to the Church. In addition to this, His Holiness said some days ago that the bishop of Paris (Du Bellay) was soon expected here with his master's answer about the Council, and what had been done at the late conferences between the French and English ministers. That the English ambassador residing at the

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Imperial Court had suddenly departed [from Barcelona ?] on board a vessel bound for England, and was to return with an answer wherever his Majesty might be.

The disagreement above alluded to between the kings of France and England seems to be a fact. The Imperial ambassador in London (Eustace Chapuys) writes in date of 16th ult. that the duke of Nofol (Norfolk) was going back to England, and the admiral of France (Brion) to his own country, both disappointed, without having achieved that for which they met, although it is generally believed that the need in which those Kings stand of each other will be the cause of their agreeing together at last.

It is for the Emperor to decide whether this be the time or not for an urgent application of the executory letters. He [Sylva] knows it as a fact that at this very moment new means for converting the king of England, though equally detrimental to the Queen, to the Church, and to Christian morality also, are being brought forward. He [Sylva] has no doubt that the bishop of Paris, when he comes, will be the bearer of such proposals, or the like of them. In order to push on the affair, and render it more difficult to undo, it would be advisable, if such be the Emperor's pleasure, to have the executory letters ready for any event; because the effect of the letters, it being the obligation of all Christian princes to have them executed, will require so many acts and deeds that upwards of one year will be wanted to have things in order, and therefore the offer now being made by the King's agents of his returning to the obedience of the Church, though on conditions highly injurious to the Queen, might be accepted in the meantime.

Letters from France of the 21st state that king Francis was about to restore the estate of Monbeliard to the duke of Würtemberg, because he found that it was in reality a fief of the Empire, and that as he wished to avoid all causes of quarrel, he had given it up. The real truth of the case is that the Monbeliard affair is not the only infraction which king Francis has committed; many others may be pointed out equally flagrant; and if he no longer insists on that one it is because his attention is forcibly drawn somewhere else. Hears that the Landgrave, and the brother of the bishop of Paris are about to return to Germany. Information of this should be sent to the king of the Romans, although most likely he has it already from other quarters.

Death of cardinal bishop of Burgos conveyed in a letter of the 17th ult. The Pope wishes that bishopric for his grandson cardinal Farnese.

The last news from the Levant is contained in a paper that has come from Venice, with the declaration by a Venetian of his having arrived on the 8th of April at the Turkish camp, and at Constantinople on the 24th of May. The man left that city on the 1st of June, and landed at Venice on the 24th in very bad health and much exhausted. Among

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other particulars he relates that the Turkish army was neither numerous nor well appointed. A friendly Turk had told him that there was scarcely 6,000 good horse in it, and that the Turks were in great fear of the Sophi's men (*Sophianos*), saying that 10,000 Persian cavalry were sufficient to put to rout 100,000 of the Turks. Though the Grand Turk himself was expected back at Constantinople in two or three months, his informer was sure that he could not return before seven. Abrain Bassa (Ibráhim Bashá) had left with a force to succour Olamanbey (Otsman-beg), whom the Sophi's people kept besieged, but having been attacked by the enemy whilst ascending a mountain had to turn back; the Sophi, however, leaving before the place 10,000 men, for Olambey had only 8,000 with him, had gone to Persia to collect a greater force, return and give battle to the Turk. On his way to Constantinople the Venetian merchant met on the road new levies going to the latter, but so disorderly and badly armed that they were good for nothing. Another division that had attempted to relieve Otsman bey, had been defeated by the Persians. Greece and Constantinople itself were awfully afraid of the Imperial fleet.

The Venetian ambassador residing here, at Rome, says that the merchant-bearer of the above news is a very honest and credible man, perfectly in his senses, and that his information may be relied upon entirely. Lope de Soria, however, maintains that it is untrue that the Signory has had the man examined, and that if he has made any declaration it is quite groundless, as the merchant, whoever he may be, was not in his right senses. The duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) intimates that he is but a spy of the Grand Turk, sent here for the purpose of making people believe in falsehoods.

Cardinal de' Medici has obtained permission from His Holiness to retire to one of his castles, and thence start for the Emperor's Court. Whether he will, or will not, retire, as he says, remains to be seen. His Holiness, on the other hand, wishes very much that Pier Luigi [Farnese] should go also to the Imperial Court. Most likely he will delay his departure until he has news and permission; he says that if the Pope does not grant it to him he will go without. Cannot believe this until he sees it.—Rome, xvi. July MDXXXV.

P.S.—Has received the Emperor's letter of the 29th ultimo; that written from Sardinia on the 12th has not come to hand. True is it that the Emperor's safe arrival in that island was already known here by the deposition of a friar and two Spaniards, who came with the fleet to Caller (Cagliari), and thence went to Naples.

The progress of the Imperial army since its landing on the African coast, the investment of the Goleta, and arrival of the king of Tunis at the Imperial camp, are the news that have lately come from Naples. There is nothing to be said, but wait for that of the victory, which cannot tarry long.

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All military men here say that success is certain. His Holiness has received a long account (*relacion*) from his Nuncio, who never left his galley, and has expressed a wish that the Emperor should not risk his person too much.

Bulls for the ecclesiastic subsidy.

Recommends again Tello de Meneses for the encomienda (command) vacant by the death of Lanuça.

Signed: " El conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 18.

25 July. **183.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 39.

Since the duke of Norfolk and his colleagues in the deputation came back from Calais, I have frequently written to Your Majesty of various things, and especially mentioned the fact that soon after the return of the deputies Cromwell had called on me to notify in the King's name that nothing whatever had been settled at the conferences; begging me at the same time immediately to inform Your Majesty thereof, and that I had agreed with him to dispatch a messenger to you, as the King, his master, seemed to wish, provided there was the least chance of their accepting our overtures, or proposing better conditions, which, in my opinion, was almost impossible. I did likewise write to Your Majesty that in addition to three more Carthusians, executed in the same barbarous and cruel way as the former, two holy and virtuous martyrs, such as the cardinal bishop of Rochester, and Messire Morus, once High Chancellor of this kingdom, had been beheaded, to the great sorrow and regret of all classes of society here. Also that the affairs of the earl of Childra (Kildare) in Ireland were going on prosperously, and that this King was about to send two personages to Lubeck and Denmark, &c. As, however, I suppose that Your Majesty has received all my despatches, I will make no further allusion to their contents.

At the Princess's pressing request, a few days ago, I again asked Cromwell whether it would not be possible to have her removed to her mother's quarters, that she might live in her company. He answered me plainly that the thing was impracticable; the King, his master, would never consent to that, even if there was occasion for it, owing to the Queen being too much of a Papist. He also told me that the true expedient for having the Princess removed from where she is, and radically curing her of her chronic disease, would be to procure a suitable marriage for her, the best and most honourable that could be had; excepting, however, that of the French Dauphin, to whom it was not the King's intention ever to marry her, whatever your Majesty's wishes might be in*

* " A linsistance de la princesse iay ces iours fait une rencharge au dict Cremuel syl y auroit ordre de faire transumer icelle princesse avec la royne; mais il me dit que le roy ny condescendroit iames (*sic*) ores que y eust occasion, sinon que la dicte royne est trop papiste."

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that line. Several petty German princes had applied to the King for her hand, but it would be lowering her state too much to accept the offer of any of them. I really believe that this King cares but little whether the Princess, his daughter, marries or not; at any rate, if the royal mistress's words are to be believed, the Princess's dower will not be a very rich one, for she is continually telling the King that he does not act rightly or prudently in allowing the Queen and the Princess to live, for they deserve death (she says) much more than those who have lately been executed, since, after all, they were and are still the cause of all the mischief. Every week since Lent I have sent one of my men to the Princess to inquire after her health, and hear whether she had any orders for me; but the last time I sent, her governess told my messenger that in future no one would get admittance to her. I have, therefore, requested Cromwell to ascertain what are the King's wishes in the matter. Respecting the two personages mentioned in a former despatch as about to be sent [to Lubeck] by this King, Cromwell, whom I interrogated on the subject, would at first say nothing, trying as much as possible to evade the question; but in the end, not to lose credit with me in other matters, he owned that they had not yet left, and are still waiting for fine weather to sail. As to their charge, Cromwell would not tell me what it is, and yet I apprehend that their mission is to prevent, if possible, the accession of the Palatine (Frederik) to the throne of Denmark, in case he should aspire to it. Apropos of this, Cromwell said to me that it was evident Your Majesty was aiming at universal monarchy, and indeed fast approaching it, having already made kings here and there; and that if Your Majesty ever became master of the waters and shores of the Levant, and wished to acquire the entire domination of the countries on this side, you had only to place the said count Palatine on the throne of Denmark, for then that kingdom and the neighbouring countries would, out of gratitude or by force of arms, become subjected to you.† After which words Cromwell added, "and yet I cannot guess on what title can the Palatine ever pretend to the crown of Denmark."*

Cromwell likewise said to me on that occasion that he would willingly have given one thousand pounds sterling for Your Majesty to have heard a sermon, which the bishop of London (Stokesley) had lately preached on the validity of the

* "Mais ie croy bien que ce nest le plus grand soucy de ce roy de marier la dicte princesse, et si la concubine est de croyre la dot ne coustera pas beaulcoup, car elle ne cesse de cryer apres le dict roy quil ne fait bien ne preudemment de souffrir vivre les dites royne et princesse que meritoient trop plus la mort que ceulx qui ont ete executez, et quelles estoint cause de tout."

† "Cognoissant bien que vostre maieste tendoit et approuchoit a la monarchie universelle, et que desia vostre maieste en avoit iecte les roys de tous coustez"; et que des marines de levant et des pays adiacens il ne convenoit pour seignorier le reste de par deça synon que vostre maieste face iouyr le dict conte palatin du dict royaulme de dennemark, au moyen de quoy tous les dicts pays circumvoisins seroient contrainctz par amour ou force donner obedience a vostre maieste."

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King's first marriage, and the usurpation of authority by the Pope. He would (he said) give me a copy of it in writing, that I might forward it to Your Majesty. After which he proceeded to repeat to me what he had said on former occasions, namely, that the King, his master, would never on any account consent to the convocation of a General Council by Papal authority or any other, save by your own, since you were the true and legitimate chief of princes and of all Christendom, whose province it was to convoke all Councils according to the most ancient custom. Your Majesty will, in your wisdom, consider what these words of Cromwell mean, and what these people are now aiming at.† In short, my conviction is that, whatever they may do or say, there is very little chance of their being brought to the right path. Indeed it seems as if their obstinacy and blindness increased every day; and yet they do not trust for help on the French, of whom they speak disparagingly, showing that they care not the least for them. About three days ago the bishop of Terbes (Tarbes), the French ambassador, having called on Cromwell, was told, "Not at home;" and yet it is known that he was within doors playing at bowls with friends, as the ambassador himself came to inform me soon after. However, if the news from France be true, the French are treating the English in a like manner, for they have lately embargoed at Rouen two merchant ships of this country in virtue of certain ordinances promulgated last year in France. If the French insist upon thus condemning and retaining the said ships, there will certainly be a row between the two nations.*

I hear from an authentic quarter that, in addition to the agents this King is now sending to Lubeck and to Denmark, it has been decided that his almoner, Dr. Fox, sail along with them, and proceed further into Germany.‡—London, 25 July 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, mostly in cipher.

— July. **184.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 224½, III. 20.

The English are daily becoming less tractable, especially in the treatment of the Princess. Hears from one who is frequently at the house where she is now residing that the

* "Quil vouldroit auoir paye m. exsterlinctz et que vostre maieste eust ouy ung sermon que leuesque de londres auoit fait ces iours sur le validite du premier marriage."

† "Que le roy son maistre ne consentiroit pour riens du monde concille general estre convocque par autorite papale ne autre fors que de celle de vostre maieste questoit le vray et legittime chief des princes et de tout la chretiente, et a la quelle de droit appertenoit la dicte convocacion suyvant les plus anciennes coustumes. Vostre maieste par sa grande prudence considerera bien ou cela va frapper."

‡ "Ientendz de bon lieu que ce roy a aduise denuoyer quant et les autres que vont en dennemarke et Lubeke, le docteur fox, son aulmosnier, le quel passera plus auant en Allemaigne." Concerning Dr. Edward Fox or Foxe, provost of King's College, Cambridge, and archdeacon of Leicester, see vol. iv. part ii. pp. 463–4, 669, 672. He was afterwards appointed bishop of Hereford.

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King is afraid of the French carrying her away; that is why strangers are forbidden to approach her, and an armed watch kept around the house and at the nearest sea-ports. I told Cromwell the other day that I should soon be obliged to go to Flanders on private business of my own; though in reality to prepare for the Princess's flight. When Cromwell heard it, he was taken aback, as if he feared that I might leave the country altogether, never to return to it. I shall certainly leave him in that suspicion, which will rather increase than diminish, owing to the fact that foreign merchants are quitting this city one by one. Of the German captains and soldiers who came from Lubeck not one remains here.

Dean Sampson has written a book in favour of the divorce. *Had he not done so, he would inevitably have lost all his credit at Court.*

The King, who was 50 miles from this city, is now going to Bristol to be nearer to Ireland, where affairs go on badly for him as it seems.—London, le jour de la St. Jacques 1535.

*P.S.—He the other day nearly murdered his own fool, a simple and innocent man, because he happened to speak well in his presence of the Queen and Princess, and called the concubine "ribaude" and her daughter "bastard." He has now been banished from Court, and has gone to the Grand Esquire, who has sheltered and hidden him.**

French. Original in cipher. Deciphering in the hand of Bave.

July. **185.** NEWS FROM GERMANY AND ENGLAND.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 637, f. 11. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 352.

Munster is taken; the Anabaptists are prisoners or slain. The war of Osterbank is likewise finished to the advantage of the Emperor's party.

In England Christians are suffering martyrdom for the Faith. Poor cardinal bishop of Rochester (Fisher) has been beheaded. The execution was public, and in front of the Tower. He was not allowed to address the people. His head was placed on the point of a lance, and there it remains.

A proclamation has been made stating that the Pope has no power whatever in England, only in Rome, that being the reason why he is called by the English the bishop of Rome. All those who dare call him otherwise have to pay with their lives, and no person in his senses will run that risk. Only bad men, almost all Lutherans, are at the head of affairs, the consequence of it all being that England will be completely ruined here long.

* This last paragraph, which seems to have been originally written in cipher, is detached from the letter, and undated; but as the deciphering is in the hand of Bave, one of Granvelle's deciphering clerks, and joined to Chapuys', dated *le jour de St. Jacques*, 1535, I have not hesitated to append it to this letter. However this may be, the paragraph stands thus: "Le roy d'Angleterre a cuyde tuer son fol, quest ung innocent, pour ce quil disoit et parloit bien de la Royne et Princesse et disoit Ribalde a la concubine et bastarde a sa fille et a este banny de court et la recelle le grand escuier."

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Englishmen are not now on good terms with France. The two kings, it is said, parted in bad humour at Calais. Since then the bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) is gone as ambassador to England, but has been coldly received by the King; the Imperial ambassador, on the contrary, is much made of and flattered by the English.

News has just been received that king Henry on Monday last ordered Thomas More, formerly High Chancellor of his kingdom, to be beheaded.

Indorsed: "Paragraph of a letter from Antwerp."

Italian. Original. Abstract by Bergenroth. pp. 1½.

29 July. **186.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella.

S. E., L. 863, f. 41. B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 354.

Has received Her Majesty's letter. Since then another has been received from Chapuys, relating how three more Carthusian friars have been martyred in London for the same cause, and with the same circumstances as the others. Already, on the preceding 17th of June, the most holy and most reverend cardinal Rophensis (Fisher) had been taken to Court to hear his condemnation and sentence. Having pronounced a few words in his own defence, he was told that he had not been brought there to dispute, but to hear his sentence, which was death, for having maliciously opposed and disobeyed the statutes of the kingdom, in virtue of which the King held himself to be the Supreme Head of the Anglican Church. The Cardinal replied that he had not opposed the said statutes with malice, but with truth and right intention, since they were framed against the sacred Gospels and our Holy Faith. He was, therefore, sentenced to the same death as the Carthusians; hearing which, he said he was ready and prepared to die, and that he only begged his Lord to give him constancy and fortitude to die. He was then taken back to the Tower, where he had been a prisoner, followed by great crowds of people, both men and women, who with great sadness and anguish asked his benediction as he was crossing the river. Three days after, on the 20th, which is the date of the ambassador's letter, cardinal Fisher had not been executed, but it was believed that in the ensuing week he would be beheaded. A proclamation had been made, forbidding, under pain of death, any one to contradict the statute declaring the King to be the Supreme Head and Chief of the Anglican Church.*—Rome, 20 (*sic.* 29?) July MDXXXV.

P.S.—The Imperial ambassador in London writes that the Cardinal has suffered martyrdom.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

* "Que se havia pregonado so pena de muerte que nenguno fuese osado de contradezir que el Rey fuese suprema cabeza de la Iglesia Anglicana, ni aun entre comer ó cenar, ni en las tabernas."

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July. **187.** MEMORANDUM ON THE AFFAIRS of ENGLAND.

S. E., L. 864, f. 86.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 334.

When the matrimonial cause was being tried at Rome Your Imperial Majesty was informed that England was a fief of the Church of Rome, and that inasmuch as the King had made certain laws and statutes against the Apostolic See, the King deserved to be deprived of his kingdom. Yet Your Majesty was told at the time that such a step, if taken, might in future damage the Princess's prospects, and so irritate the King that the Queen herself might personally suffer through it. The Council then deliberated, and Your Majesty resolved that nothing should be said or attempted in connection with the said article, and therefore lawyers at Rome gave their exclusive attention to the principal cause and to procuring the executory letters.

As Your Majesty knows, pope Paul made the bishop Rofaense (Fisher) a cardinal; and the king of England, when he heard of it, had him beheaded. When the news of this insolent and irreverent act against the Apostolic See came to Rome, pope Paul and the cardinals in Consistory moved that the King should at once be deprived of his kingdom; for which deprivation there were then, and are still, many just causes, for they maintain that he is a heretic, that he has denied Papal supremacy, and committed crimes *lesæ majestatis*, such as the execution of cardinal Fisher, besides many other crimes, for each of which he deserves to be deprived of his kingdom.

This affair might be viewed in various ways. The first would be to desist from the deprivation, and to proceed at once to the intimation of the executory letters by the Queen. Yet two doubts occur to us* on this point: one is, that the execution cannot prevent proceedings in cases of heresy and *lesæ majestatis;* the second, that, were the King to be deprived by means of the Queen's executory letters, the King might indignantly undertake something serious against her, as he has done against cardinal Rofaense (Fisher), and it must be said that the Pope and cardinals are terribly afraid of such a result.

His Holiness might also be requested to act with reference to the deprivation, but it is doubtful whether he will accede to it, although both he and his cardinals in Consistory seem determined to make some sort of demonstration against the enormous errors into which that King has fallen.

Should there be actual deprivation, the thing might be so managed that there should be no declaration to that effect, and no intimation that the kingdom devolves to the Apostolic See; which declaration and intimation, it is believed, the Pope and cardinals will not make, but simply deprive the King, as

* "Que se sobresea en esta privacion, y que se proceda sobre las executoriales de la Reyna; y sobre esto occurren dudas."

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it might otherwise injure the Princess were the deprivation made for heresy or crime of *lesæ majestatis.**

It might also be managed for the Pope to declare that the kingdom of England belonged by right to the Princess; but it is doubtful whether His Holiness will do that, and, if he does, that no danger to the person of the Princess will ensue.

An application might also be made to the Pope and Consistory to declare secretly that whatever be done in this matter is to be in favour of the Princess, or at least without prejudice to her. Should the Pope be willing to do that, he had better make the declaration in Consistory; and yet that would be still more dangerous for the Princess should it come to the ears of the King, which is not unlikely, since many are the cardinals in Consistory of different parties and nations.

Should, however, His Holiness decide upon the deprivation, and declare that the kingdom of England devolved in consequence upon the Apostolic See, and yet refuse to make any further declaration in favour of the Princess, it might still be advisable, out of regard for the Queen, to leave matters as they are, and not mix up her or her daughter with the affair.†

The affair being of such nature and importance, every one of the means (*partidos*) proposed has its danger, and therefore we will wait for Your Majesty's answer in order to decide how to act.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 4.

2 Aug. **188.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella.

S. E., L. 863, f. 42. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 1.

Congratulations for the taking of La Goleta. Quotes at length and translates a prophecy of Isaias (chap. xlv.) to show that the recent victory against the Infidel is a harbinger of many more.

Has had frequent occasion of writing to Her Majesty respecting the blind obstinacy of the English king, and the haste with which he is proceeding towards damnation by making martyrs of holy men. Now lately, on the 22nd of June, besides eight more who preceded them on the scaffold, the most reverend and most virtuous cardinal Rophensis (Fisher) and Thomas More, once High Chancellor of England, have been sentenced to death. Glory be to our God for his great mercy in thus granting them the palm of martyrdom! However, as most undoubtedly God has resolved to pour His ire and indignation on the king of England, it

* "Podriase tambien hazer diligencia, que si quieren privar al Rey no declaren ser devoluto [su reyno] á la Sede Apostolica; lo qual se cree no querran hazer, y dejando la devolucion, y privando simplemente al Rey, tambien podria dañar a la princesa fundandose la privacion en heregia ó crimen lesæ majestatis."

† "Y si por caso el Papa se resolviese a hacer la privacion y declarar el Reino ser devoluto á la Sede Apostolica, no quiriendo hazer alguna declaracion en favor de la princesa, se podria compadescer por interese de la Reina y princesa ó dexar de compadescer."

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has come to pass that after their last meeting [at Calais] he of France is displeased with Henry, owing to his having advised separation from the Church of Rome, to which Francis would not consent. At the same time the king of France had asked for the hand of the princess [Mary] for his son the Dauphin [Henri], and the English king had refused. The execution of the above holy men, and especially that of the cardinal (Fisher), has had another good effect. It has so incensed the Pope and all these cardinals against him that they are preparing everything for the punishment he so richly deserves and the deprivation of his kingdom. Letters are being written to the Emperor and to all Christian Princes exhorting them to take up the defence of the Roman Church; and, what is more, His Holiness consents now to the executory letters (*executorias*) being made out, which is the thing we could not obtain from him before. Rome, 2 Aug. 1535.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

3 Aug. **189.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 42.

Having lately written in full concerning events in this country, I shall not be over prolix in this my despatch. *Dr. Adam,* who resides here as ambassador from the Lubeckians, sent me word yesterday through one of my men—whom I had directed to his haunt that he may watch his movements, and ascertain what he is here for—that if I promised to procure him the favour of the king of the Romans, and likewise that of Your Majesty, so that he might freely live in Germany and other countries subject to the Empire, he would engage to find means for the kingdom of Denmark to fall into the hands of the duke of Holsten (Christiern III. of Holstein), or any other prince selected by Your Majesty. It was in his power (he said) to accomplish that without much difficulty, for he could easily persuade the Lubeckians to agree to it, and help the election of your candidate with all their might. Should he not succeed in his attempt, he was ready to renounce the liberty of action for which he bargained. The Doctor's message also was that this King's mission to Lubeck and Denmark was for the purpose of binding the duke of Holstein and the Lubeckians to certain articles of peace founded entirely upon English vanity,† and that the courier who arrived from Lubeck four days ago came for the sole purpose of requesting the King not to talk to them about peace, as they would not hear of it on any account.*

* His full name was Otho Adam Pacæus. He came to London in 1533, accompanied by another Dr., called Ælpinus or Hœpinus. He it was who, on St. John's day of June 1534, made a long Latin oration, which lasted nearly two hours, against the Pope, and in praise of king Henry. *See* Chapuys' despatch of the 11th July (No. 181).

† "Il dit dauantage que ceulx que ce roy envoyoit au dict Lubeck et en Dennemarke pourtoient certains articles de paix pour appoincter les dicts lubequoys et le duc dholsten fondees et playnes de gloire et vanite angloise."

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The Doctor is waiting to-day for some assurance on my part concerning his proposals; on the receipt of which, he says, he is quite prepared to make further disclosures. My intention is to tell him that if he declares or does anything worthy of consideration, I will do my best to obtain for him Your Majesty's favour and that of the king of the Romans, your brother, and that I neither could nor would promise him more. On these terms I will correspond with him, and make such offer as may seem to me convenient to unravel the intrigue.

The King, as I hear, has been singularly displeased at hearing of the reported interview of the two Queens, and has since despatched two couriers to France in great haste.*

On his recent departure for Court, Cromwell left here his own chief steward and another servant of his household, besides the King's treasurer (Fitzwilliam) and other gentlemen to take me to a hunt in one of the Royal parks, to which I have been often invited† with some importunity. Express orders have been issued forbidding any one to go and hunt in that forest before I myself had gone thither; bywhich mysterious means these people have gained momentarily their object, which is to publish everywhere that this King wishes to show me all favour. All this has been done in the French ambassador's teeth, and to make the English believe that Your Majesty is on good terms with this King, and satisfied at what is going on in this country. Yet I have only accepted the invitation conditionally. I have told them that I would not attend the hunting unless I first obtained permission for myself to visit the Princess, who is residing in the neighbourhood of the Royal park, or send my servants to her. The Princess and the Queen are of the same opinion. Cromwell, before parting, promised to let me know soon his master's will and intention concerning these two points; but the Princess being impatient, I have sent since to inquire from that secretary what the King's decision is. As soon as I hear it I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty thereof.—London, 3 August 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, entirely in cipher.

3 Aug. **190.** The Same to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. fol. 22.

Doctor Adam is certainly a clever intriguer. I will try to sound him, without, however, trusting him in the least. He says that he only wants permission to live quietly in Germany

* That of France (Eleanor), and the governess of Flanders and the Low Countries (Mary), widow of the king of Hungary.

† See, among others, his despatch of the 11th of July.

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or Flanders, and that the duke George of Saxony would not like such a permission to be granted to him.

Hears that this King is trying to make peace between the duke of Holstein and the Lubeckians for fear of the Count Palatine. Hears also that one of the ambassadors who are to go to Germany is instructed to complain of a certain book written by Cochleus against this King. The complaint is to be addressed to the duke George of Saxony and likewise to the Elector.

Has been informed that now-a-days the fashion at Court is to abuse the French, and that Cromwell is the very first in doing it.

The rumour about the meeting of the two Queens has greatly irritated these people.—London, 3 August 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. Cipher. pp. 2.

8 Aug. **191.** KATHARINE to the QUEEN MARY OF HUNGARY.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. fol. 44.

Has heard that she is going to meet the queen of France (Eleanor). Confidently places her affairs in her hands, and begs her to induce the queen of France to recommend her to her husband, the King.—Quimbolton (Kimbolton), 8 Aug. [1535].

Signed: "Your good aunt Katharine."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

9 Aug. **192.** LOPE DE SORIA to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 1311, f. 8. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 4.

The glorious news of the taking of La Goleta was duly received by letters dated the 13th ult.; that of the subsequent splendid victory at Tunis came later by way of Sicily. Lost no time to inform the Signory thereof. The people seem pleased; yet the pleasure is not so general as might be expected, for many here are afraid that, considering the Emperor's great power by land and sea, also that the Turk (Solyman) is absent from his dominions, and that his Christian subjects are everywhere ready to revolt, His Imperial Majesty may be tempted to undertake the conquest of Constantinople, of which there is now a better chance than ever. They think that, should the Emperor resolve on such an enterprise, the Signory would naturally be invited to join, whilst the Turk, owing to previous mutual engagements, would also call upon Venice to help him in his difficulties. In case of their refusal, the lives and property of their friends and relatives throughout the Turkish empire might be in danger.

The enterprise of Constantinople is considered here easier than that of Tunis, as, no doubt, the Emperor is aware by this time. Such at least is the general belief, and the Signory

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is so much afraid of the Emperor deciding upon it that I should not be surprised if they remitted thither plans and views of the principal towns and ports on the coast of Syria to engage the Emperor to attack them in preference to Constantinople.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

10 Aug. **193.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 46.

On the 3rd inst. I wrote by the secretary of the English ambassador returning to these parts,* informing Your Majesty of general occurrences until that day. On the 8th Your Majesty's letters of the 13th and 28th June, with the most welcome and joyous news of your prosperous voyage, good health, and successful disembarkation,† came to hand, for which all your faithful servants are very affectionately and heartily praising and thanking the Divine Providence, and praying that your undertaking be crowned with success.

Since my last of the 3rd, Dr. Adam, before taking his departure to return to Lubeck, again begged me to do my best for his reconciliation,‡ as I had promised him, adding that on his part nothing should be omitted. He also told my man that the gentleman named Bernard Melland,§ about whom I once wrote to Your Majesty, was a captain of the duke of Saxen (Saxony), and commanded the force which that Duke was sending you against the Turk; and that the said Mellant, coming to these parts (par deça) had been sent to Lubeck by the said Duke and by the Landgrave [of Hesse] to try and make some agreement between the duke of Holstein and the people of that town; but that having found the Lubeckians rather hard and obstinate on that point, he had, in hopes of being more successful here, in England, come, as instructed, to see this King. He could not do much, however, having obtained no answer to his mission, except

* In his despatch dated the 23rd of September 1534 (No. 190, p. 525), he tells the Emperor that the English ambassador at his court had sent his man (secretary) to England for the purpose of verbally relating what sort of reception the earl of Desmond's messenger had met with in Spain. The English ambassador was Richard Pate, archdeacon of Lincoln, and nephew of bishop Longland. He was already in Spain in February 1534, in succession to Dr. Nicholas Hawkins, archdeacon of Ely, who died in January.

† The Emperor's landing on the coast of Africa took place on the 6th of June.

‡ Dr. Otho Adam [Pacæus], as above, p. 524. He was, according to Chapuys (7 July 1534), a native of Upper Germany, though residing at Lubeck. That he came to this country together with one Gerhard Odinberg, and another, named Joannes ab Elpergo or Ælpinus from Lubeck, to treat of an offensive league against the Pope, and also to treat of the affairs of the German merchants, appears evident from their commission, as printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 539.

§ Bernard Melland or Mellant (for it is written both ways in the same letter) must be the same nobleman alluded to in Chapuys' despatch of the 30th of September 1534 as having arrived in London the day before, and having been seen accompanied by some servants of the two doctors from Lubeck, Otho-Adam Pacæus and Hamburgh. See also Chapuys' despatch of the 23rd May, where he is represented as a native of Holstein.

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that this King would shortly explain to the Duke and Landgrave, by means of his ambassador, what his will and intention were, and that for such a purpose he had determined to send Dr. Fox, recently made bishop, as his ambassador to the said princes. It appears, however, that, for some reason or another, the matter has cooled; perhaps the King is waiting for the answer of the ambassador he sent to Lubeck. Dr. Adam further told my man that Melland had charge of making certain overtures respecting the Evangelical sect, which he could not and would not reveal, inasmuch as Melland had confided them to him under great secrecy. The King had offered to make him Knight of the Rose, but Melland had declined that honour on the plea that he had already been knighted by Your Majesty's own hand, and that he could not possibly be knighted by a better and more virtuous prince than you. Then the King offered to give him his help and aid against the king of Suvvede (Sweden), with whom the said Mellant has at present a quarrel; but, thinking that the King's words were not said in earnest, or that he advanced them for some dishonest purpose, he answered that it would not be honourable for him to accept of such aid, and treat of his own personal affairs, without having been first able to achieve something in favour of his employers. Upon which he went away unsatisfied, without accepting the offers of these people, save* 200 *ducats given to him for his return journey, of which he was much in need; the moment he received which he took to his horse, and went away, leaving behind two of his pages.*

The bishop of Tarbes, French ambassador in this country, as he himself informed one of my men this morning, has only heard once from his master since his arrival in London, that was yesterday, when he had a letter, with no other news except the approaching meeting of the two queens, of which he is instructed to inform this King. To which end he (the bishop,)* this afternoon, left for Court. *These people,* as I have already written to Your Majesty, *knew already of the fact, but in order to render the French more and more jealous, have delayed making them any communication on the subject. The ambassador affirms that he went to court for no other motive than to announce the said interview; but I intend to have him followed and closely watched down there, in order to ascertain whether he has, or has not, some other object in view. At any rate, I expect to know soon the whole truth when Cromwell returns from Court, for he wrote lately to me, announcing his speedy arrival, and saying that he wished to take me to the royal park that we might hunt and have some sport together whilst we conversed on various matters; and that surely, before he left Court, he would ascertain the King's will respecting the permission I had applied for to see the Princess, or send messages to her. On his return, therefore,*

* Edward, bishop of Hereford.

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I dare say I shall learn the whole truth concerning the Frenchman's mission, and likewise how this King takes the interview of the two queens, of which I myself informed him four days ago by the command of the Queen of Hungary, though I must say that the messenger I sent for that purpose has not yet returned from Court.

The French ambassador, conversing with my secretary, told him some time ago that many in France found it strange that Your Majesty should have undertaken the expedition to Tunis without allowing their King (Francis) to accompany you; and although the contrary is the fact, they will, no doubt, try to persuade people here that Your Majesty never invited him to join. The said ambassador stated also to my man that he was sure that, had this King contented himself with preventing the money of the bulls and annats going to Rome, king Francis would have agreed to that. He further believed it quite impossible that the General Council should meet, even if most princes agreed to its being held; the Germans certainly would not; for, were the affairs of Germany, spiritual as well as temporal, to be thoroughly reformed, the Empire would become too powerful, and many of the privileges of the Clergy might be modified or abolished. I should not, therefore, be surprised if, in order to prevent altogether the meeting of the Council, the French were now spreading in Germany rumours of this sort.

This King is still on the borders of Wales, hunting and visiting that principality with a view to gain popularity with his subjects. This he attempts by all possible means and ways, and it is reported that a large number of peasants in the villages through which he has passed, after hearing the preachers who follow the Court, have been so deceived as to believe that God inspired the King to repudiate his legitimate Queen owing to her having once been married to his brother. But those who believe in such things are only idiots and ignorant people, who would be soon converted to the truth, were there only an appearance that the remedy was at hand.

The Queen and the Princess are in good health, and incessantly praying God for Your Majesty's prosperity.— London, 10 Aug. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original. pp. 3.

12 Aug. **194.** Mary Tudor to Queen Mary of Hungary.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 47.

Has had the greatest pleasure in receiving her letter. Hopes that an efficient remedy will be found for these troubles. Accredits the bearer. Written in haste and fear, the 12th of August [1535].

Signed: "Marye Princess."

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

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12 Aug. **195.** JAMES OF SCOTLAND to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 45.

Would certainly have liked to marry the princess of Denmark, the Emperor's niece; but as this is no longer possible, he now sues for the hand of the Princess of Portugal if the conditions of the marriage can be agreed upon. He must, however, come soon to a determination one way or other, as he is anxious to marry in order to secure progeny to succeed him on the throne, and also that he may give a definite answer to the French. Hopes that, whatever be the course of events, he (Charles) will remain his friend. Stirling [Castle], 12 Aug. 1535.

Latin. Holograph. p. 1.

21 Aug. **196.** DR. ORTIZ to the EMPRESS ISABELLA.

S. E., L. 863, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 6.

Congratulations for the taking of Tunis and liberation of 20,000 Christian slaves.

Wrote on the 2nd, advising that after the meeting at Calais the kings of France and England had separated in disgust and anger against each other. The latter had asked his brother of France to imitate him, and refuse obedience to the Holy Apostolic See. King Francis had declined, but at the same time had applied for the hand of the Princess for his son, the Dauphin.*

On the 24th Chapuys, the ambassador, wrote from London, advising that both the Queen and the Princess were enjoying good health (God be praised for it!), and that the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) had summoned to his presence a Carthusian monk, the greatest theologian remaining in London, in order to talk him over and pervert him. It appears, however, that the monk and nine more of the same order, and six capuchins (*barbados*) adhered firmly to the Roman Church, and were ready to die rather than consent to the innovationsab out to be introduced into England, such as the marriage of the Clergy, &c. The same letter mentions the fact of the dean of the Royal Chapel (Stephen Gardyner), —generally held as a man of letters and good morals, who had once absented himself from Court in order not to be compelled to meddle with such matters—having written a book† against Papal authority, deprecating it so much that even the decisions of Councils held in virtue of such authority are therein considered as invalid. In fact, he leaves no firm ground or rule whatever in the Church for the correction of the abuses and errors of that kingdom.

* See above, p. 477. The words, however, are not the same: "que diz que el Rey de Inglaterra demandaua al Rey de Francia que se apartase como él de la Sede Apostolica, y el Rey de Francia no consintiendo en ello, diz que demandaua para el Delphin por muger á la Serenissima princessa."

† De vera Obedientia. Oratio. Londini. In Ædibus Tho. Berthelet. 1534. 8°.

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The queens of France and of Hungary* were to meet at Cambray on the 10th inst. May their interview have a successful issue, and may their joint prayers bring about the departure from England of the Queen and Princess. Application for funds, &c.—Rome, 21 Aug. 1535.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

22 Aug. **197.** Lope de Soria to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 1311, f. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 8.

Answered on the 9th the Emperor's letter of the 14th ult. Since then he (Soria) has not heard from Court, though the news of the splendid victory at the Goleta and at Tunis had reached Italy. Tried to send to Constantinople a person of trust, who might report on the state of affairs in Turkey. Not finding such a man as he wished, he wrote to Cavalier Marino Magno, of Ragusa, begging him to procure one fit for that service, which he did. The man went to Constantinople, and his report is as His Majesty will see in the enclosed letter of Cavalier Marino, namely, that Turkey and the whole of Greece are very much afraid of the Imperial fleet.

To thank him for his information. As to the Imperial fleet, it is on many considerations, of which he (Soria) must have heard already, to be disarmed, &c.

Dionisio de la Vecha (*sic*), the same person who had audience of the Emperor at Bologna, has brought information that Albania and the surrounding provinces, chiefly inhabited by Christians, are only waiting for the news of the Emperor or his fleet going to Constantinople to rise in rebellion; and that he himself, with a very little help from His Majesty, would cut the throats of all the Turks in the country, and seize Scutari, which is an important fortress on that coast.

The same Dionisio has told him (Soria) that the Patriarch of Servia is about to send an embassy to the Emperor acquainting him with certain matters concerning that country, and that as soon as the

* Leonor and Mary, the Governess of the Low Countries.

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arrival of the Imperial fleet at Naples is announced, he (the Patriarch) will without fail send thither one of his bishops, if he cannot go himself. Dionisio, being a rich merchant, and a man of great credit among his countrymen, would hardly venture on such assertions if he had no foundation for them. Advises respecting the enterprise against the Turk. Fears that the Signory will not help, for the reasons stated in former despatches.

The ambassador must do his best to ascertain what foundation there be for such a report, and whether His Holiness really said such or similar words to the Venetian ambassador. To the Signory the ambassador will give repeated assurances of the Emperor's good intentions. If the disarmament of his fleet, after so many victories, is not a sufficient proof of his love of peace, as well as of his good will towards the Signory, we really know not how else the fears of Italians can be calmed down.

Hears from an authentic source, and believes it to be true, that the other day, whilst the Pope and the Venetian ambassador were congratulating each other upon the Emperor's victories and their probable results, His Holiness declared to the ambassador that he, as a Christian and the Head of the Church, was glad of the Emperor's victories over the Infidel; but that, as temporal lord of a state, he was terribly afraid of the Emperor, victorious as he was by land and sea, turning his arms in another direction. It was for them (he said), as the wise and prudent men that they were, to avert the danger. He was their friend, and would willingly communicate his misgivings to them: the Emperor's designs in Italy, if he really had any, should be thwarted in time. The Pope added that it was necessary to discuss the matter, and come to some agreement, and that he was sure the king of France would also stir himself in their favour.

A rumour is afloat that king Francis has just now great dealings with the Lutherans, and that he has sent to Rome to His Holiness a copy of certain articles he has stipulated with them. Also that he has sent for Melancthon, one of the chief Lutherans.*

* "Y que ha embiado á S. S^{t} los capitulos que con ellos tiene concertados y tambien ha embiado por Melanton, principal luterano, lo que cree al cabo

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Intelligence from the Austrian court has been received. The ambassadors sent to the Vayvod had not yet returned, but were expected back soon. The duke of Würtemberg had come to swear obedience to the king of the Romans, and receive from his hands the investiture of his estate as a fief of the house of Austria. The cardinal bishop of Trent [Clesi] was expected to leave on the 9th of August for his diocese.

The marquis Joachim de Brandenburg, Elector, was dead. His son and successor is supposed not to be so staunch a Catholic as his father was. The wife of this last, daughter of the Vayvod of Transylvania [Zapolski] by his first wife, had started to join her husband, the new Margrave.

The queens of France and Hungary were to meet at Cambray on the 10th. It was thought that king Francis would also attend the conference, from which some good was expected.—Venice, 22 Aug. 1535.

Spanish. Holograph, with answer. pp. 7.

25 Aug. **198.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 47.

On the 14th inst., and by a letter from Mr. de Likerke, I was apprized of the most glorious and important taking of the Gouletta† of Tunis; to announce which in due form, and at the same time to press the affairs of the Queen and Princess, of which I have lately written to Your Majesty, I immediately dispatched one of my men to Court. Not only did the King show great joy at the news, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed duplicate of the letter which Cromwell wrote to me on the occasion, but, though he knew of it two days before from his ambassador residing with Your Majesty, he caused 10 angels to be given to my man, besides two deer that he himself had slain that very day. Cromwell also sent me word that immediately upon the King's return to town the money claimed by the Queen as part of her arrears would be supplied, and that my petition to visit or send messages to the Princess would also

labrará en vano, y que sea su pensamiento de mostrar que como V. Md. entiende en la persecucion de los infieles, assi el trabaja en extinguir la secta lutherana y heregias que andan por la Christiandad."

† The Goleta was taken by assault on the 14th of July.

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be looked into. For the last fortnight the latter has been suffering from a bad cold, *which has not been improved by seeing that the permission to communicate with her by word or writing, for which she has continually been urging, is not forthcoming.*

The French ambassador, who, as I again wrote to Your Majesty on the 10th inst., *was going to Court to inform the King of the interview of the two queens, has only approached it by six miles or thereabout, owing to a French merchant, who rode along with him, having died on the road, not without some suspicion that it was the plague that caused his death. I am further told that this King, wishing the ambassador to put down in writing what his mission was, the latter had answered that his instructions were to speak to him personally, and that the affair was not so pressing that it could not be delayed for some days. At last the ambassador received a message to go to a certain place in the fields, where the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as Cromwell himself, were then hunting, the latter of whom actually declined listening to the ambassador until he knew what the ambassador came about. Cromwell at first did not seem much pleased with his visit, and made a dry answer, but upon second thoughts he graciously told him two or three times, by way of compliment, that the King, his master, was grateful for his good offices in announcing to him the interview of the two queens, but that he already knew of it through me. "In fact (said Cromwell) the King owned that he was most "grateful for my good offices, adding that there was more "honesty on my part in informing them of it than of the "Frenchman in keeping it secret until now." All this Cromwell said to me very passionately, and as if he were exceedingly angry at my man's departure.**

The Venetian secretary,† who resides here, and is on familiar terms with the French ambassador, tried the other day to make me believe that the latter had not gone to Court for the sole purpose of announcing the aforesaid interview: his object (he said) was also to give him news of the Turk's return to Constantinople; which news the French have long ago fabricated for their own profit, and because they wish it to be true.

Yesterday, at Windsor, several knights of the Garter met the Scotch ambassadors for the purpose of celebrating and solemnizing the reception and installation into that Order of the king of Scotland. This done, they will proceed to

* "Et deffera le dit Cremuel vouloir despecher mon homme iuques a ce quil eust entendu que vouloit dire le dict ambassadeur, duquel a ce quil monstroit ne retourner fort content, et soubdainement apres il parla plus gracieusement que parauant, et luy replica par deux ou trois fois que le roy son maistre se tenoit merveuillesement satisfait du bon office que faysoye a ladvertir des nouvelles, et que avoys use trop plus dhonnestete de laduertir de la susdicte entrevue que ce françois que leur avoit occultee une telle chose iusques a cette heure."

† After the departure of Carlo Capello in 1534 his secretary took charge of the embassy.

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France for the purpose of escorting, in union with those already in that country, the King's betrothed; who, it is said, is to go direct to Scotland by sea, though there was once a rumour that permission would be asked for her coming by land. The principal man in the embassy is one named Erschin,* who has with him about 30 mounted followers.

There is a report that the earl of Childra (Kildare) is daily doing harm to the English in Ireland. This King did some time ago send thither reinforcements of men and ammunition. Should I hear more particulars about it, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof.—London, 25 Aug. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 3.

3 Sept. **199.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 863, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 18.

His Holiness tells me that the king of France has answered with much goodwill that he is ready and willing to help the Holy Apostolic See in the execution of the sentence against the king of England, but that Your Majesty ought to begin first, since the affair concerned you principally. After that, he (the King) would do anything His Holiness asked him to do. There can be no doubt, and the Pope himself believes it, that king Francis, while he affects to please His Holiness in this affair, is trying to throw all the responsibility of the act on Your Majesty. Indeed, I hear from a confidential and trusty correspondent that the King said the other day to one of his favourites, "Let the Emperor begin to execute the "sentence against the king of England; I will come next, "and act as is best for my interests." I dare say this is no news to Your Majesty, and that you know king Francis too well to be deceived. In the meantime, acting on my instructions, I will not press too hard for the executory letters, or so relax in the affair as to make these people think that we do not want them any longer.

The Pope repeated, the other day, the very same words which his predecessor, Clement VII., said once to me: "I think that if the Emperor and king of France unite against the king of England, this matter of the sentence may easily be arranged.† My answer was, that I had no commission from Your Majesty to enter into the question.

The Venetians are much hurt in consequence of one Laforesta (La Forest), who resides at Constantinople, for the king of France having said to the ministers of the Grand

* Sir Thomas Erskine, Secretary of State in Scotland.

† "Que juntandose V. Md y el Rey de Francia para contra Anglaterra, piensa los ha de concertar."

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Turk that it was their fault if Your Majesty had attacked Barbaroja, and invaded the coast of Greece. The Signory having complained of this to king Francis, his answer was that if La Foresta had said as much, it was on his own account, not because he had orders to do so: he would write to him to be more guarded in future. The truth is that the King has often complained of the Signory, because, he says, they are Your Majesty's allies and confederates. Indeed, on one occasion he is known to have said to the Venetian ambassador in France that the Grand Turk would next year fit out a powerful fleet, which, joined to that of Barbaroja, would cause Your Majesty much trouble and anxiety, and that though he himself would not make war, he was glad to see Your Majesty spend your money, &c.

His Holiness left this morning for (Perosa) Perugia. He still asserts that on the 8th or 10th of next month he will be back in Rome. As to me, I intend leaving the day after to-morrow.

Pier Luigi [Farnese], as I am told, will depart on Monday next to go to Your Majesty. Indeed, he would have left much sooner had he not been indisposed. He takes with him a number of briefs and commissions from His Holiness for Your Majesty, and among them one requesting your presence here at Rome. I beg leave to recommend the said Pier Luigi, whom I have known long, and is one of Your Majesty's most devoted servants in these parts.*—Romæ, tertia Septembris, MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

3 Sept. **200.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER (COBOS).

S. E., L. 863, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 16.

It has been reported here as a fact that when king Francis was lately in Champagne, he wished to take up his quarters at a place belonging to Mr. de Bussy. Having sent thither certain officers of his household (*aposentadores*) to prepare him quarters, the lord of the manor replied that he would rather not have so many people on his estate: if the King chose to come with a small retinue, he would receive him. The King, hearing the message, got into a passion, sent for troops and artillery. However, when Mr. de Bussy saw that, he placed at the King's disposal both the village and the castle, delivered up the keys, and asked for pardon. The King took the castle, and returned it to him some time after, to be held in fief with an annual pension.

* A summary or (*relacion*) of the same despatch, made by the clerks, to be submitted to Covos (H. 15–17), has marginal notes explanatory of the answers to be made to each paragraph. So, for instance, the one relating to Pier Luigi Farnese has the following in Covos' hand: "His Majesty might have wished "that Pier Luigi had come to him in May. He wishes to see him, and will "receive him with pleasure. After hearing what he has to say in His Holiness' "name, the Emperor will answer him," &c.

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Cardinal Ravena had not yet been released, but it was expected that he would be so within four or five days.*

The duke of Ferrara (Hercole II.) has not yet come to terms with His Holiness, as he would not give the sum that was asked of him. They say, however, that he is going to Perosa (Perugia), and that there some sort of settlement will be made.

Spanish. Original.

6 Sept. **201.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, i. 48.

On the 28th ult. Your Majesty's letter of the 14th July, containing the very joyous news of your glorious success at La Goulette (Goleta de Tunez), came to hand. Which news I had already received by a letter from Mr. de Likerke,† also dated the 14th; but as by mine of the 25th Your Majesty must have heard of the great pleasure and joy which this King, as well as all his subjects, experienced at its arrival, I will no further allude to the event than by saying that we all are praying and beseeching God perpetually to favour Your Majesty, and render you victorious over your enemies for the exaltation of our holy Faith, the repose and welfare of Christendom, and your own glory.

Having lately sent one of my men to Court for the purpose of soliciting the King to send one of his physicians to the Princess, who has been for some time past suffering from rheumatism, and likewise to guard against the recurrence of that disease on the approach of winter, of which she is afraid, I availed myself of the opportunity to enclose copies of several letters received from Tunis, at the same time giving an account of the taking of that city. These I forwarded to Cromwell for inspection, at the same time begging for an answer to the two points still pending; and Cromwell wrote me a letter, of which the enclosed is a faithful transcript.‡

While my man was § at Court, a servant of the English ambassador residing in France arrived with the news of the taking of Tunis; but, as the King himself remarked to my man, the intelligence coming only from Rome, some sort of official confirmation was required, and therefore it was better to wait for letters from Your Majesty before attaching implicit faith to the report. He, therefore, begged me to let him know as soon as possible whether it was true or not. After this, Cromwell, having gone to the King's room, and told him that the news was perfectly correct, and that he ought to have no scruple in believing it, advised me to ask for an audience, explain my news, and show the letters I had received thereupon, at which, he said, the King, his master, would be singularly pleased, and he himself much obliged.

* See above, No. 88, pp. 257–8, where the cause of his imprisonment is related.
† Jean Hannaërt, viscount of Lombecke, and lord (seigneur) of Likerke.
‡ Not in the bundle. § Sir John Wallop.

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This King has lately ordered three of his best ships to be equipped and manned to sail for the ports of Lubeck and Denmark, under the command of the same master gunner who last year visited those countries. The better to conceal the object of the expedition, it is here reported that the said ships are bound for Holland, and so has the gunner told one of my men; but I hope shortly to be able to learn what their real destination is, and also ascertain other particulars, for the gunner in command of them has many a time assured people of my own household that ere he departs from these shores he will certainly come to dine with me once, and take leave. The ships take a number of pieces of ordnance, powder, spears, and arquebuses, and, as I have heard from authentic quarters, upwards of* 60,000 *ducats in ready money; besides which, I have been told that the last embassy that went to Lubeck took also* 30,000.

The King has also just countermanded certain English vessels which had been ordered to sail for France, owing, as I presume, to the fear there is of their being captured at sea and sequestered, in consequence of the decree His Holiness the Pope has lately promulgated against this King and his subjects. And surely there is nothing this King, and those who take part with his mistress, fear so much as Your Majesty's subjects obeying and executing the Papal injunctions in that respect; for that would be the cause of great revolution and confusion in this kingdom as Cromwell himself has many a time owned to me,—now more than ever, for the harvest has been very scanty indeed this year, and there is every appearance of a famine; owing to which Your Majesty cannot form an idea of the continuous importunities with which I am daily assailed on every side, soliciting the execution of the Apostolic censures, all people here believing that such a resolution on Your Majesty's part would be a sufficient remedy, considering the great discontent prevailing among all classes of society here at this King's disorderly life and government. London, 6 Sept. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 2.

6 Sept. **202.** Viscount Hannaërt to the Empress Isabella.

P. Arc. Nat., *Neg. et Pap. de S.* 1484, 131 *olim* B. 3. 11. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 20.

Her letter of the 26th July, by Mr. de Laynixa (?), gentleman in waiting to Her Most Christian Majesty, the queen of France, was duly received, &c.

The Most Christian queen of France (Leonor) and the dowager queen of Hungary (Maria) met at Cambray on the 16th ult. The former was accompanied by the King's daughters, by his daughter-in-law, and by Mme de Vendôme, and several other ladies and gentlemen of the highest

* Cavendish. See above, p. 326.

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nobility, among whom were cardinals Borvon (Bourbon) and Tournon, the admiral [of France], the duke of Albany, and the marchioness of Zenete, who arrived in time to compliment both queens.

The news of the Emperor's glorious victory at Tunis has been received with the utmost joy. When he (Hannaërt) reported it to the king of France, he could not help observing that of all the conquering and victorious princes, both over Infidels and Christians, His Imperial Majesty was certainly the greatest; and that if he wished to persevere in that line he had only to make closer alliance with him, to which he is always disposed on certain conditions proposed by him. Your Majesty must already have been informed that the king of England has formally separated from the Roman Church, and insists upon calling himself the Head of the English Church after God, and that he has inflicted most cruel death upon several persons, who refused to approve of and obey the statutes made by him. Indeed, since the execution of cardinal Rufensis (Fisher) and chancellor More, no less than 27 persons more have died on the scaffold; among them nine Carthusian monks, whose house in London the King has given to his new wife, that she may turn it into a palace, besides those he has given to his own daughter Elizabeth, and to his father-in-law (the earl of Wiltshire).

The king of Scotland has sent here ambassadors to ask for the hand of the daughter of M^me^ de Vendôme,* and take her to Edinburgh. The offer has been accepted, and the marriage is to take place soon.

Intelligence from Italy has been received that the Emperor on the 10th ult. embarked for Sicily and Naples.

The King is shortly going to Burgundy. Thence he will go to Lyons.—6 Sept. 1535.

His own private affairs. Begs for a reminder to treasurer Alonso de Baeza, who has not paid him his salary for some time.

Signed: "Jo. Hannart Visconde."

Addressed: "To the Sacred and Catholic Majesty of the Empress, and most powerful Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Original. pp .

13 Sept. **203.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. 22.

Immediately after closing my despatch of the 6th inst., Your Majesty's letter of the 23rd ult., with the news of your miraculous and immortal victory over Barbarossa, and triumphant entry into Tunis, came to hand; of which I failed not to apprize this King, who, as appears by the inclosed

* James married, in 1537, Magdalen, daughter of Francis, who died in the same year. 2. Marie de Lorraine, daughter of Claude duke of Guise, and widow of the duke of Longueville (Louis XI.), who became regent of Scotland in 1554, and died in 1560.

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copy of Cromwell's letter to me, was particularly joyful, and ordered eight ducats to be given to my man by way of reward.* *God knows how many more ducats the King would have given him if the news had been the reverse; for whatever the King's satisfaction may have been apparently, certain it is that neither of those good ladies, the Queen and the Princess, has hitherto experienced the least change in what concerns them, their treatment being exactly the same as it was, without any sign of improvement.*

As to the ships which this King was about to send to the ports of Denmark, it appears now that they are to sail for a castle on the coast, on the frontiers of Sweden and Norway, which the Lubeckian captain who was knighted is to deliver into his hands, having already taken possession of it in this King's name. The said captain, as Your Majesty must already have heard, being a prisoner of the king of Sweden (Gustavus) in the aforesaid castle, managed to slay the guard and make himself master of it; but, not thinking himself powerful enough to keep possession of it, has asked the King to help him. The said ships, besides considerable war ammunition and stores, are taking a quantity of bows, although the number of English soldiers is not to exceed one hundred. They passed muster some days ago, and a more miserable set of men could not be imagined. They have no gunners here to be sent along with the ships, and, I hear, they are trying to press a Flemish carpenter and a farrier into that service; but I shall do my best that they are not ruined in their respective avocations, and that their families do not die of hunger. The ships, after all, are only two; one of about 200 tons burden, the other of 60; but it is generally believed that they take a good deal of money.

The bailiff (bailli) of Troyes has not yet arrived, though he has been expected from day to day for the last fortnight. *The French ambassador cannot tell me what the cause may be of his tarrying so long.*

The Princess has been visited by the King's physician as well as by that of the Queen, and, thank God, she is now in good health; yet they think that most likely this next winter she will be worse than she has ever been. Detesting, as she does, all sorts of medicine, they know of no other remedy to her complaint but her removal from where she is and her being sent to some place where she may get recrea-

* The Emperor's entry into Tunis took place on the 21st of July. On the 25th he wrote to the marquis de Cañete (D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza), his viceroy of Navarre, the letter published by Sandoval (*Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.* lib. xxii. p. 281). One of the Spanish MSS. in the British Museum (*Add.* 21,526) contains letters from the Emperor to the above Don Diego, dat. *Barcelona*, 9 May; *Sobre lo Goleta de Tunez*, 30 June and 14 July; *Alcaçaba de Tunez*, 25 July; and *en nuestra galera cerca de la Goleta de Tunez*, 16 Aug. On the 17th August, after nearly a month's stay in that capital, the Emperor returned to his ship, when the official news of the conquest was communicated to Chapuys on the 23rd.

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tion and pleasure,—as, for instance, with the Queen, her mother, or elsewhere,—and not live under the servitude and captivity in which they both are.* *I have already, as Your Majesty knows, worked for that removal, but hitherto without much chance of success.*—London, 13th Sept. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp.

23 Sept. **204.** The SAME to NICOLAS DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. 23.

The English have greatly rejoiced at the news of the Emperor's victory over Barbarossa, all except the King, the concubine, Cromwell, and a few of their adherents, who, as my secretary reports, were as astonished and displeased as dogs falling out of a window. Cromwell himself could scarcely breathe when he first heard of it.

There is a report that the earl of Kildare has been taken prisoner by a brother of his step-mother, after a proper safe-conduct to come and go.

It is likewise reported that this King intends to allow all friars and monks to quit their respective convents, and marry, if they choose, and that those who chose to remain may do so, living in Apostolic simplicity, and the King taking possession of the rest of their property.—London, 13 Sept. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. pp. 2.

25 Sept. **205.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, I. 51.

The [two] ships this King was sending to the ports of Denmark, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty by my despatch of the 13th inst., and other preceding ones, were about to set sail, when the news arrived that the affairs of the Lubeckians were going on badly; that the fleet of the king of Sweden (Gustavus), and of his confederates, had actually captured 12 or 14 English merchant ships, very richly laden, returning from Dantzig, and that there was some fear of the one on board of which were the King's master gunner (Candic) and Dr. Bonard sharing the same fate. Also that the castle to which the King was actually sending the other two ships, laden with powder and ammunition, had been taken. So, what with one thing and another, this King has countermanded the said ships, and they are actually unloading the ordnance, ammunition, victuals, and whatever else they had on board. *I also hear that this King and his Privy Councillors have been greatly disappointed at the news, and made use of high words against the captain who was to go in command of the ships, accusing him*

* "Sans estre en la seruitude et captivite ou elles sont, ie ay desia longuement travaille pour cest effect mais ie ny vois ordre."

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of misrepresentation. But all the scolding of the captain will not indemnify merchants for their losses: they will get no compensation whatever, except, perhaps, the satisfaction of inveighing against the King and his bad government, as well as against his ill-conceived enterprises.

The bailiff of Troyes arrived about six days ago. It was not his intention at first, as the French resident ambassador had been heard to say, to make a long sojourn in this city; nevertheless, I imagine that he will wait at least until the return of the messenger he despatched to France the day after he had audience from this King. *I must say, however, that, according to the French ambassador's statement, the bailiff's tardiness in coming has considerably annoyed these people, and long kept them in suspense, knowing, as they knew by letter of their ambassador Valoux (Wallop), that the king of France had particularly charged him to make all possible haste, and made him start in the middle of the night.**

Before the arrival of the bailiff, the French ambassador did not know what he came for, or what his mission could be, unless it were to give the English some sort of satisfaction respecting this last interview of the two queens at Cambray; at least, up to the present no other conjecture has been formed. Yet I hear it reported that the bailiff has been the bearer of rather unpleasant news to this King; for no sooner had he perused the letters brought by him, than he became thoughtful and sad.

On his arrival at Winchester, where he is now holding his court, this King had an inventory taken of the treasure in its cathedral church, and appropriated to himself certain very fine and rich "licornes," besides a large gold cross set with precious stones.† He also took from the Bishop certain mills to give them away to the community, and thereby gain the people's favour. Wherever the King goes, Cromwell, who accompanies him, goes about visiting the abbeys [and convents] in the neighbourhood, taking inventories of their lands and revenues, amply instructing the people in this new sect, and dismissing from the said abbeys, convents, or nunneries all those men or women who had professed before reaching the age of 25,‡ the rest being at liberty to quit or remain, as they please. Though not positively ordered to quit,

* "La tardance de la venue du dict ballifz fachoit merveilleusement ceulx-cy, selon qua dit lambassadeur de France, et mesmes ayant de pieça escript monsieur lambassadeur valoux que le roy de france auoit depesche le dict baillifz a la plus grande haste du monde, et le feit desloger a la mynuict lenchargeant de toute extreme diligence."

† "Ce roy estant arrive a vinchestre, ou il se treuve a present, il feit inventariser (*sic*, inventoriser?) le tresor de leglise du quel il print certaines licornes fort belles et riches et une grande croix dor enrichie dexcellente pierrerie."

‡ "Cremuel par tout la autour ou va le roy, son maistre, va visitant les abbayes, inventorisant meubles et reuesnuz, les instruisant bien amplement en ceste nouvelle secte, mectant hors des dictes abbayes moynes et nonains ayant fait profession auant quilz eussent vingt et cinq ans."

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certain it is that both friars and nuns are given to understand that it is to their interest to leave their houses, inasmuch as a reformation of all religious congregations is shortly intended, so very rigorous and strange that most likely all will have to go; which is what this King is trying to bring about in every possible way, that he may have better occasion to seize the whole of the Church property without provoking the discontent and murmurs of his subjects.

Monsieur de Childara (Kildare) arrived here five or six days ago, conducted by Monsieur Leonard,* the brother of the late Marquis and of the Earl's mother-in-law. It is generally believed that although on Kildare's first arrival Master Cromwell gave him no great hope of the King's pardon, or fulfilment of the promises once made to him by the said Leonard, yet it is thought that the King will pardon him; for an audience has already been granted, and he has seen the King, and has been allowed to circulate freely about Court. Most likely the disheartening words in which Cromwell addressed him on the first occasion were intended to intimidate the Earl, and enhance the obligation under which he will stand to the King's generosity and clemency, should he graciously grant him his pardon without reference either to Leonard's promise or on any other political consideration. On the other hand, *it is to be feared that the moment the King's authority is fairly re-established in Ireland, that the Earl's castles and towns are in the hands of the English, and the country itself completely pacified and its allegiance to this King restored, some new quarrel will be picked up, and a fresh action instituted against the said Kildare, through which he may be put out of the way, as was once the case with Blanche Rose, and others. It has been stated that Leonard actually left hostages in Ireland for Kildare's security; but the wife of one of the King's Privy Councillors sent me word, not later than yesterday, that her husband contradicted the above statement, saying that Kildare had voluntarily left his own retainers, and gone to meet Leonard on the road, without the latter making any promise or taking any engagements.*† *I will do my best to unravel this mystery, and ascertain if any one of Kildare's uncles is prepared to hold out, as many here affirm, and, as is likely enough, considering that none of the Earl's castles have yet been taken possession of.*

Whilst writing this dispatch I hear from an authentic quarter that a servant of the French ambassador (La Morette) has said and affirmed as a positive fact that the bailli (bailiff) de Troyes' mission was for the exclusive object of asking this King to consent to the marriage of the Princess and the dauphin of France, according to the promises and

* Leonard Skeffington.

† "Mais ung du priue conseil du roy a dit a sa femme, selon quelle me feit hier adviser, que le dict Childara se desroba de ses gens, et vint tout en chemin trouver le dict monsieur Leonard."

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agreement made thereupon, and likewise to protest energetically against any bad treatment or coercion likely to impair her health. It cannot be long ere we know the whole truth one way or other, and for my part I will spare no trouble in ascertaining what has been the bailliff's mission to this King.* —London, 25th Sept. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 2½.

25 Sept. **206.** The Same to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. 25.

All honest people here are in despair, seeing that the Pope does not act with more energy, and that trade with England is not prohibited. Things have now gone so far that the Emperor would really do a good deed by interfering, which would be inexpensive, and at the same time prove a bridle to France.

Recommends his own private affairs.

A courier lately sent to France in order to ascertain whether English ships could or not go safely to French ports, has just returned with an answer; in consequence of which the English ships, which had been stopped, are now allowed to sail for their destination in that country.—London, 25 Sept. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher. p. 1.

26 Sept. **207.** Nicolas de Granvelle to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien., *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 50.

The Emperor will delay answering the despatches of Chapuys and Hannart (*sic*) until he knows the result of the meeting of the two queens, which he expects to hear took place on the 16th of August last. However, his (Chapuys') letters of the 5th and 8th May, 5th, 16th, and last of June, 11th and 25th July, and 3rd of August, have been duly received, and carefully read by the Emperor. All here are dreadfully shocked at the horrible cruelties perpetrated in England, and especially at the death of bishop Fisher and chancellor More. Wonders much at the behaviour of the archbishop of Canterbury towards the Queen and Princess, for when he was at this Imperial Court he greatly blamed that King's and his ministers' proceedings in the matter of the divorce.

The Emperor will shortly leave this place to proceed to Naples by land.—Palermo, 26 Sept. 1535

French. Original draft. pp. 2.

* "Que le susdict baillif de troye nestoit yci venu que pour sommer ce roy de vouloir bailler au daulphin madame la princesse suyvant les promesses et convencions sur ce faictes, et ioinctement pour advertir comme demy proteste de son traictement et sante."

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6 Oct. **208.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E., L. 863, f. 44. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 23.

Has received her letter dated the 26th of August.

Eustace Chapuys writes from England that the King of that country is conferring the bishoprics on heretical persons willing to conform with his wishes. About the Queen's pretended liberation there is not a word in that ambassador's letter; which makes him (Ortiz) suspect that what Tomas Petiplett, the King's chamberlain, who passed through Rome to go to the Emperor, said on that score, and he (Ortiz) wrote home, was a pure fiction, as well as the rumour lately so much in circulation here, at Rome, that a son of Tomas Mauro had stabbed and killed the King in revenge for the martyrdom his father had suffered.*

Enclosed is a copy of the passion and martyrdom of the said More, and another of His Holiness's breve in answer to the letters of the earl of Kildare in Ireland, who has so courageously resisted the king of England, shaken off his allegiance, gained many victories over him, and subdued the greater part of that island, over which the King formerly ruled. The Earl, as it would appear, had written to His Holiness complaining of his negligence and forgetfulness in the case of the king of England, and in not proceeding against him as a schismatic and spreader of heresies.

By way of France news has been received that England is now visited by the plague, in consequence of which the King has been obliged to absent himself.

Has just this moment received a letter from the ambassador in London, dated 25 Aug. in which he says that the Queen and Princess continue in good health, and that in the archbishopric of York a friar had suffered martyrdom for the same cause as the Carthusians of London.—Rome, 6 Oct. 1535.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

8 Oct. **209.** Count de Cifuentes to the Same.

S. E., L. 864, f. 56. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 25.

On the Pope's departure from Perugia I failed not to advise news up to that day. Will now write about his arrival at Rome in good health, and his wish, as he says, of holding an interview with Your Majesty.

The route which His Holiness took in returning from Perugia not being sufficiently well provided with accommodation for travellers, he took a very small suite with him; almost all his cardinals, with the exception of his own

* "Y no haze mencion ninguna de la libertad de la S^ma^ Reyna de Anglaterra, que Tomas Petiplett, camarero del Rey del Anglaterra dixo pasando por aqui para yr al Emperador, mi señor, como á V. M. escribí y por esto es de creer que lo que dixo Tomas Petiplett fue fiction, como tambien lo fue el rumor grande que aqui en Rome ha havido los dias pasados de que un hijo de Tomas Mauro avia muerto al Rey de Inglaterra á puñaladas por indignacion del martirio que á su padre havian dado."

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grandsons and Matera,* travelling by another route. I myself took another. Three days after my arrival in Rome I sent my secretary to visit the Pope, and communicate the substance of Your Majesty's letter of the 19th ult. He seemed glad to hear that the affairs of that kingdom (Naples) were in a fair way of being settled, that you might thus be able to come and meet him somewhere. My secretary having asked him what news he had from France, and other countries, his answer was that the Cardinal of Paris (Jean du Bellay) had been with him the day before (in fact he had travelled† after him for that express purpose), and that he had showed him letters of his master, the king of France, of the same date (the 19th September), mentioning the duke of Orleans' (Henri) dangerous illness, that being the reason why he had not gone to Dijon; the Duke, however, had entered on his convalescence, and would soon set out for that town, and thence go to Lyons, where the king of France then held his Court. The latter had sent to the king of England a copy of the breve which His Holiness had addressed to him, asking his help towards carrying out the sentence and depriving king Henry of his kingdom. He had forwarded it to England by express (*con hombre propio*) that he might the better make that king understand His Holiness's wishes in that respect, and persuade him to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See. The man sent to England by king Francis had not yet returned. He had not found the King in London; for, owing to the plague that was raging there, he had gone far into the country. My secretary having inquired from the Pope whether it was at his own request, or with his knowledge that the king of France had forwarded the breve to England, His Holiness replied in the negative; king Francis had done so of his own accord; he (the Pope) knew nothing of it, only the King thought, as he was informed, that the measure would be profitable for all parties. My secretary's answer was, "Would God that it were so; but, considering the conduct of "king Francis in that affair, it is to be apprehended that the "contrary will happen, and that he is only seeking the "advancement of his own designs through the medium of the "breve." The Pope then remarked that he had also been told that Your Majesty had forwarded to England a copy of the breve he had addressed to you on the subject. We know nothing of such a breve, nor is it credible that Your Majesty has done any such thing. But, granting the thing to be true, and that Your Majesty has communicated with king Henry on that particular, certain it was (observed my secretary) that the intention and object of the parties was very different as His Holiness knew by experience in this affair as well as in others. His reply was that he had not the least doubt as

* Giovan Michael Saraceni, bishop of Matera and Acerenza (1531–7), and cardinal.

† que para aquel efecto le alcançó [en el camino].

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to that. He then sang Your Majesty's praises effusively, and concluded by showing satisfaction at the manner in which you had answered, through his Nuncio, his various communications respecting the three points—Council, duchy of Camarino, and Your Majesty's visit to Rome.

His Holiness further said to my secretary at the above-mentioned audience that he knew for certain that the king of England was working very assiduously with some of the Prince-Electors and free towns of Germany to prevent the meeting of the Council, and that he had there agents for the purpose, and was sending fresh ones.

In the matter of the executory letters (*executoriales*) I have strictly followed Your Majesty's instructions. They have been detained and impeded for upwards of one year and a half, without the least appearance that the delay really proceeded from us, but, on the contrary, of our disappointment and sorrow at their not having been drawn out when asked for. Besides His Holiness's wish to wait for the result of the offers and promises made by France—which naturally delayed the publication of the said executory letters—there was another circumstance which has admirably served Your Majesty's purpose. I (Sylva) could in no wise consent to the insertion of certain clauses and words in the draft shown to me, which in my opinion were equally detrimental to the right of the Queen and Princess, as to Your Majesty's pre-eminence, as in the memorandum here enclosed.*

Now that all hopes of the English king returning to the obedience of the Holy Apostolic See have entirely vanished, owing principally to the disagreement between the two kings [of England and France], Dr. Ortiz was the other day interviewed by some of the cardinals, who said they wondered much at our not applying for the executory letters, now that the words and clauses we objected to had been carefully removed or altered. Being ignorant of Your Majesty's desire in this respect—for I had, for many reasons, not told him that you wished the execution to be delayed—the Doctor (Ortiz) assisted by Anguiano,† took out the executory letters, and almost dispatched them whilst I myself was at Perugia. True, had I been in Rome at the time, I do not think that I could have succeeded in detaining them any longer, or preventing Ortiz and Anguiano from applying for them, unless I had publicly made Your Majesty's wish known, which would have been highly impolitic.

The executory letters, therefore, are quite ready; nothing is wanting, save the Pope's seal of office. On my arrival here I asked for them on the plea that I wanted to make an inspection of that document, but in reality as a means of detaining them a few days longer until I hear from Your

* See the document following under No. 219.

† "El y el doctor Anguiano las sacaron y medio despacharon estando yo en Perosa, que á la verdad, aunque estoviera presente honestamente no lo pudiera impedir sin parescer que V. Mᵈ lo havia mandado."

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Majesty. Such is the state of the matter; the letters are and will remain in my possession until Your Majesty be pleased to tell me what is to be done with them. I consider it my duty, however, to inform Your Majesty that the English affair is so far advanced that it will be impossible to detain them much longer without telling these people plainly that Your Majesty does not choose to take them out, and that the lawyers and proctors of this city agree in saying that one whole year must pass before the letters, if now issued, can be fairly executed.

A courier lately come from France has brought news that 150 of Your Majesty's subjects, serving by force in the galleys of France at Marseilles, have lately been set free.

Your Majesty's letter of the 28th ult. has been duly received. The speedy departure of this courier prevents my answering the question about the duel. I will do it my next. —Rome, 8 Oct. 1535.

Signed: "El conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

10 Oct. **210.** KATHERINE to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 53.

The Emperor may imagine how much she has thanked God for the great victory He has been pleased to grant his arms. Is glad to hear that he is already in Italy, and therefore prays him to urge the Pope to look to the remedy of her affairs. Finds a great consolation in the idea that she may perhaps have to follow so many blessed martyrs in the manner of their death. She is only sorry that she could not imitate them in life.

Hears that her daughter, the Princess, is in greater danger than she herself is. Asks the Emperor once more to guard against it, and provide a remedy. —Kimbolton, 10 Oct. [1535].

Signed: "Katherina."

Spanish. Holograph, with seal attached. pp. 1½.

10 Oct. **211.** The SAME to POPE PAUL III.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 54.

Complains of her treatment and of the measures adopted in England, through which many souls are being irretrievably doomed to perdition. Knows not whose fault is the greater, whether that of the King who, with unparalleled cruelty, sends these holy people to martyrdom, or of him (the Pope) who applies no remedy to the evil the Devil is sowing in this kingdom. Expects for herself and for her daughter, the Princess, the very same death that these saintly men (Fisher and More) have had, and finds consolation in that thought.—Kimbolton,* 10 Oct. 1535.

Signed: "Katherina."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

* The original has *Kinualton*, for "Kymbalton" or "Kimbolton," whither Katherine had been removed since 1533. She was formerly at Bugden.

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13 Oct. **212.** Eustace Chapuys to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. 26.

These people have tried to make the French ambassador believe that the Emperor had written several most friendly letters to this King, and that before leaving for the Tunisian expedition our master had actually begged him most earnestly to look to the safety of the Low Countries, adding that he would not sail for the coast of Africa before he had received a favourable answer to his application! Has taken care to enlighten the French ambassadors as to the purport of such rumours, and the object for which they have been spread.

The bailiff of Troyes is leaving this Court rather unsatisfied. I hear that his principal errand was to ask formally for the Princess's hand, and that, although he is remarkably close and reserved, he has been heard to say that the question lately submitted to the Paris University as to whether a King might be deprived of his kingdom on account of heresy referred entirely to king Henry. If so, it would appear that the bailiff believes him to be a heretic.

Urges again the commencement of hostilities against England. The enterprise, if the circumstances and state of this country be taken into account, cannot be difficult or expensive. King Henry ought to be chastised for his impious folly.

Recommends his own affairs, as well as those of Montesa, his secretary, whose services deserve good reward.*—London, 13 Oct. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, mostly in cipher. pp. 3.

13 Oct. **213.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½. II. 56.

This King's answer to the news contained in Your Majesty's letter of the 16th August, which I immediately communicated to him, has been in substance, "that he has heard with great pleasure of the triumph of your arms." *Cromwell's letter to me, here enclosed, bears full testimony as to that. But I must also say that, notwithstanding his promise of obtaining the King's permission for me to visit the Princess, there is not a word in the letter about it. On the contrary, he has since told my man that I ought not to trust too implicitly in the promise he once made to me; he himself had done in that respect as much as could possibly be done; he feared, however, that the King, his master, was not disposed to grant my application, much less allow the Princess to go and live with her mother, who, he said, was too much of a papist, and would inevitably render her daughter more obstinate, encouraging her to disobey the statutes and laws of this kingdom, which she was bound to observe, or she would*

* Clearly written *Montesa*, instead of Montoya, as might have been presumed, since it is evident that Chapuys had also a servant or secretary of the latter name. In July 1531, one Montoya, described as Chapuys' secretary, was sent by Katherine on a mission to the Emperor, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 214 and 967.

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rue it. Such a threat in Cromwell's mouth, and at this moment, makes me fear that, unless God and Your Majesty interfere soon, as the secretary, bearer of this despatch, will verbally explain, some great and imminent danger is hanging over the heads of both Queen and Princess. It is, indeed, at the pressing request of those ladies, as well as of many worthy gentlemen of this country, that I have decided to send my secretary to Your Majesty. Hitherto, all here have been fed with fair words and hopes, grounded on the excuse of Your Majesty's most mighty and important occupations, and have patiently waited for a remedy to their sufferings; but now that, thanks to God, those occupations and engagements have ceased, and the urgency of remedying things in England waxes stronger, all will fall into despair unless they see signs of that remedy which is expected at your hands. Hereafter it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to cure the evil. This would, in my opinion, be the proper season and opportunity for it; all expect the remedy from Your Majesty's hands, being, as they are, very much irritated just now, owing to the great cruelties daily practised all over the country, the abominable and most tyrannical spoliation of the clergy, the expulsion of friars and nuns from their convents, and especially the approaching famine, which is likely to desolate this kingdom, in consequence of a scanty and bad harvest. That dreadful scourge the English in general attribute to the bad administration and tyranny of their King, to whom they likewise impute the loss of their ships lately captured by the Swedes; which loss is likely to be the cause of many evils, for, in consequence of that seizure, the King, within the last six days, has ordered all vessels and goods belonging to the Easterlings to be sequestered, although it is a known fact that they had nothing to do with the capture of the King's ships by the Swedes. The Privy Council, however, will soon repent the measure, were it for no other reason than their having thus voluntarily deprived themselves of the supplies of corn, which they, in their present need, expected to receive from those north-eastern countries.

The bailiff of Troyes left four days ago to return home leisurely and without haste;* neither is the bishop of Vuynchestre (Winchester), whom this King is sending to France, in any great hurry; *so that, in point of fact, there does not seem to be much warmth or intimacy in their mutual relations and dealings just now. Of what these are, or may have been, I know nothing positively, except what I lately wrote† to Your Majesty, though I have frequently held long conversations both with the bailiff himself and with the resident ambassador. The only pertinent question I have*

* "Le ballifz de troye est party dicy, yl y a environ quatre iours, et sen etourne tout bellement a sez iourneez."

† See his despatch of the 25 of September, p. 542.

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heard them make individually, is, whether Your Majesty was thinking, or not, before all things, of having a General Council assembled, which (said they) was by far a more praiseworthy act than the conquest of Tunis, and more wanted than the recovery of the countries which the Turk holds in Christendom; and whether it was not far preferable to try and attempt that the pure Faith, uncontaminated by heresy, should reign over Christian princes without danger to their conscience and souls, even if they should experience some little harm in their persons and fortunes. What Your Majesty had already achieved or might achieve hereafter (continued the French ambassador) in that line would be of very little use without the meeting of a General Council. Which argument, and others of a similar nature and tendency, both Frenchmen repeated several times to me. In addition to which, I must say that baron Grammont, the ambassador's brother, has many a time asked one of my men, by way of a joke, whether it was true that the Council had already assembled, and was about to begin its deliberations; which insidious question makes me think that king Francis is after no good, plotting to prevent the assembling of the Council, and that the English will do their utmost to help in the same direction, that being the thing they fear most.*

Both the ambassador and the bailiff have lately visited the little bastard (Elizabeth), yielding, as they tell me, to the frequent importunities of her mother, the royal mistress. The former, as both have since assured me, had, under some pretence or other, delayed his visit until the bailiff's arrival; whose opinion, after all, was that both ought to go to the bastard's residence, were it for no other object than the chance of meeting there the Princess, whom they wanted very much to see. Without that hope (they say) they would never have accepted the mother's invitation. Unluckily for them, they did not see the Princess; for not only was she shut up in her room, as they themselves told me, but all the windows through which she might be seen were closed. This part of their statement I do not believe; I rather think that the Princess, following my instructions, and the advice I gave her in writing at her request, in order also to disguise the annoyance likely to be caused by the Frenchman's visit, show her filial obedience, and avoid, at the same time, all occasion of provoking her father's anger, kept aloof and remained indoors, playing on the spinet.† Even if she had been inclined to act otherwise, I presume that her modesty would have prevented her from placing herself behind a glass window, where she could be seen.

* Probably a brother of Charles, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, and of Gabriel the bishop of Tarbes; about whom, see vol. iv. part ii. p. 458.

† "Et ce a cause quelle avoit este non seullement comm'ilz disoient sarree (*sic*) dans sa chambre mais aussi furent closes les fenestres par ou elle pouvoit estre veue, ce que ne croys ains que, suivant ce que luy avoye escript veuillant sur ce avoir mon aduis, elle se tint tout voluntairement en sa chambre iouant de lespinalte (espinette?)."

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Some ten or twelve days ago *a German of rather low stature, quality, and condition, who calls himself an agent of the duke of Saxony, sent by his Council to this King, arrived here. He is only waiting for Dr. Fox,* lately made bishop, and who, though appointed long ago to go to Saxony, is still here, making preparations for his journey to return home with him. What the Bishop's mission may be I have as yet been unable to learn; but I will make inquiries, and, if I hear anything, will not fail to apprise Your Majesty thereof.*

The earl of Kildare, after several days passed at Court in perfect freedom, has at last been arrested and confined to the Tower. Many fear for his life, although Monsieur Leonard,† who assured him of the King's grace and pardon at his surrender, still persists in saying that he will not be executed. *I hear that the said Monsieur Leonard has long pleaded the Earl's cause, and urged the observance of the promises he once made to him; but they have shut his mouth by conferring on him a considerable pension; besides which he has been presented by the Royal mistress with a handsome gold chain and a considerable sum of money in compensation.‡ It is quite true, however, as I last wrote to Your Majesty, that the earl of Kildare, without being besieged by the Royal troops, or in any danger whatever from his enemies, but merely out of despair, or from some instinctive movement, separated and hid himself from his men, and surrendered to Monsieur Leonard.*

One worthy and noble personage has just this moment called and told me, among other news, that the bailiff of Troyes was certainly the bearer of a Papal brief addressed to king Francis, concerning and against this one, and that the bailiff's mission was to hear from this King's lips how his master's answer to that brief was to be shaped. Upon which this King's Privy Council had been ever since in great trouble and confusion, not knowing exactly where and how to begin, until at last the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) himself offered to write an answer, which he did. The same personage tells me that this King and Council are dreadfully afraid of some intrigue (garboille) of the French, and that not later than yesterday he had heard Master Cromwell say that his only object in coming to London from the King's Court was to have a Lord Mayor elected to his taste, or to persuade the Londoners to accept one of his own nomination; for (said he) the state of affairs was such that it required a man of authority, credit, and experience to fill that post.

As master Cromwell has often written to me that immediately on his return from Court we should treat of the

* Dr. Edward Foxe or Fox was made bishop of Hereford in this year.

† See above, p. 543. By *Monsieur Leonard*, the son of Sir William Skeffyngton, the King's lord-lieutenant in Ireland, is meant. Leonard Skeffington or Skevington was his real name.

‡ "Mais lon lui a sarre (*sic*) la bouche lui donnant le roy une fort grande rente, et la concubine une bonne chayne et force escuz."

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business concerning the Queen and Princess, and others, I have waited two full days since his return in order to see what sort of mien he would put on at my reminding him of the preconcerted interview. Perceiving, however, that there was no move at all in that direction, I sent to ask him when and at what hour I could call on him. His answer was that he could not possibly receive me for two days to come, owing to his many engagements. Yesterday, which was the third day after his return, Cromwell made the very same excuse to my secretary, but added that this morning early he would come to me. This time he did fulfil his word, and actually called at this embassy. After the usual congratulations on Your Majesty's victorious campaign against Barbarossa and happy arrival at Cecile (Sicily), and after thanking me in his master's name and his own for the news I had from time to time communicated to him, he began to speak of the affairs of the Princess in terms quite similar to those he had formerly used in writing, namely, that the King, his master, was a kind-hearted and wise Prince, and would more effectually than any other attend to the comfort and preservation of the Princess, his daughter; there was, therefore, no need, for reminding or advising him as to the line of conduct he was to observe towards her, whether in changing her governess, giving her a fitter suite of servants, or sending her to the Queen's quarters. With regard to the payment of arrears to the Queen, it was true that he (Cromwell) had on more than one occasion promised that she should be paid in full. *Indeed, were it only a case of presenting her with the money due as arrears, he (Cromwell) would willingly have had the sum calculated and remitted forthwith; but he knew so well the nature and condition of the King, his master, that were he to precipitate that affair in the least, and be suspected of partiality to the Queen, it might cost him his head;** adding that the King, his master, would willingly send the Queen the sum of money she might demand, provided she undertook to keep house on her own account, in doing which she might appoint and keep any servant she pleased. Such conditions, however, the Queen will never accept, as far as I can judge, under the impression that, were she to acquiesce in them, it would be tantamount to renouncing the right of which she is in possession,† *and therefore I am inclined to believe that the presentation money alluded to by Cromwell is a mere complimentary phrase.*

* "Et sil ne tenoit que a faire present de la somme deue a la dicte royne il le feroit incontinent et de tres bon cueur, mais quil cognoissoit bien tant de la nature et condition du roy son maistre, [que] sil se iouyt a ce faire il tumberoit en suspicion destre parcial pour la dicte royne, que lui pourroit couster la tete."

† "Me disant que le dict roy, son maistre, vouldroit bien donner a la royne la somme dargent quelle sçauroit demander, et quelle print en soy la charge dentretenir sa mayson, et ce faysant luy donnoit playne faculte de tenir les serviteurs telz quil luy plairoit, le quel party nacceptera oncques la dicte royne, a ce que croys, luy semblant que ce seroit desrouguer aucunement a son possessoire en ce endroit."

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After this Master Cromwell went on to say that the King, his master, had received letters from France, Italy, and other countries, purporting that Your Majesty was now thinking of preparing an army against him and his kingdom, and in favour of the Pope (Paul), whom he at times designated as the "Bishop," and at other times as the "Idol" of Rome,—not, however, without begging my pardon for calling him such names. He then added that, in order to kindle the fire and provoke a war against him, one bishop and papal legate had already arrived in Flanders.* "Notwithstanding those rumours,—which might, after all, have been spread by malicious and badly-intentioned parties,—(Cromwell observed) the King, my master, cannot bring his mind to believe that the Emperor, in spite of the great friendship existing between him and this country, of the confederations so often made, solemnly ratified, and sworn to, would now undertake such things without the least provocation or cause on our part; for, as regards the disobedience to the Pope's injunctions, the King, my master, has not said or done anything which a true Christian and Catholic Prince could not say or do according to Divine Law. I believe that nowhere in the world is Christian religion so well regulated and reformed as in this kingdom of England, where God is served, venerated, and worshipped as much as anywhere else." Cromwell ended by begging and requesting me, in the King's name, to supplement my many good offices for the preservation of the abovesaid friendship and confederations, by quickly informing Your Majesty of his master's sentiments as above expressed; adding, by way of encouragement, that his master, the King, might possibly send soon a very great and most honourable embassy to Your Majesty (provided he thought it would be agreeable), not only to represent his own sentiments as above, and bring forth other matters, but likewise to treat of the renewal of that same friendship and confederacy to which he had been invited by us, and that the King, his master, would like to know what I thought of it.

My answer was that I was not presumptuous enough to tender advice on such matters, and that I especially declined doing so on the present occasion, for fear the King should reproach me, as he did on the occasion of the earl of Wiltshire's embassy to Bologna, with having ill-advised him. What I then said was, that, should the King send Your Majesty the ambassador he then named, not only would he be well received and listened to at the Imperial court, but that Your Majesty was sure to grant the King's request, provided it related to matters not against God, reason, honour, and Your Majesty's conscience; otherwise (said I) I had no advice to offer for or against the embassy. Such were my words at the time, and I could but repeat them on the present occasion. *Cromwell*

* "Et que pour allumer le feu debuvit estre desia arrive un evesque et legat."

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made no reply; and I do really believe, from the way he mentioned this to me, that there has been no talk yet of any such embassy, and that the secretary introduced it merely for the sake of feeling his ground.

Immediately after this Cromwell said to me, "I suppose "you know that the bishop of Winchester (*Gardiner*) is again "going to France as the King's ambassador, and that another "bishop, that of Arfort (Hereford),* formerly King's almoner, "is named for Germany." He said no more on this subject, but on my inquiring whether the latter was likely to go beyond Saxony, he answered that he could not tell exactly to what part of Germany he was going. *The same answer he is reported to have made the other day to a merchant of this city, to whom he applied for a letter of credit in favour of the said bishop to the amount of* 1,000 *crs. in case he should want ready money, "which, he added, is not likely to happen, for he takes a considerable sum with him;" the letters applied for, as I am informed, being for the chief cities of Germany.*

Cromwell owned a few days ago to one of my informers that the bailiff of Troyes had really and truly applied for the hand of the Princess for the Dauphin of France, and had also been the bearer of the Papal breve above alluded to.

I have likewise heard from a gentleman, who listened the other day to the reading of a letter in the royal chamber, that the duke of Holsatia (Holst) and his confederates had said that the capture of the English ships only meant the first draught of the wine they intended drinking [*at his expense*?], *and that in order to spare the English the trouble of sending it to them, they purposed coming next spring, and drinking it here on the spot. Which threat might very well be the cause of the King levying the embargo he has put on the ships and goods of the Easterlings for fear of making the people of those north-eastern regions his enemies.*† *I hear, however, that the King, when he was lately at Pourcemout (Portsmouth), ordered his own great ship and some others to be caulked and repaired.*

A Genoese, of the name of Cosmo Palabisin, once a servant of the cardinal of York (Wolsey), has been here. He spent three days at Court, and on his departure, which was rather hasty, was presented with 100 *crs. The report is that he has brought to the King a book against the Pope, which a brother of his, a friar, has written, and that at the King's request he is going back to fetch the author and introduce him.*

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* Edward Fox. See above, p. 552.

† "Iay sçau ce iourduy dhome que ouyt lire la lectre en la chambre de ce roy que le duc de Holsatie et ses confederez avoient dit que les navieres angloises, quilz ont prins, nestoient que lessay du vin, quilz vouloient auoir, et que pour garder ceulx-cy de pene au printemps, ils en viendroient boire sur ce lieu. La craincte des quelles menasses ouseroit (pourroit?) bien estre cause de desarrester les marchandises susdictes desauterlins pour non se faire taut dennemys." Holsatie (Holstatia?) is meant for "Holst" or "Holstein,"—the duke being at the time Christian II.

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I will end this despatch by stating that Your Majesty's letter of the last day of August, announcing your prosperous arrival in Sicily (*au royaulme de Cicile*), at which all the good people of this country rejoice immensely, has come to hand, &c.—London, 13 Oct. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original, partly in cipher. pp. 5.

13 Oct. **214.** ——— to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E., L. 864, f. 55.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 29.

Wrote on the 8th inst., acknowledging receipt of the Imperial letter of the 27th of September. Could not speak to the Pope before; has seen him since, and spoken according to the tenour of his late instructions. After a good deal of conversation on various topics, and coming to the two principal points, namely, the General Council and the deprivation of king Henry, he said that he approved entirely of the Emperor's sentiments, but as your visit to Naples is to take place soon the matter will be amply discussed then between you two; as also the war on the Infidel, for he had heard that the Turk was soon expected at Constantinople, and would most likely invade Europe next spring.

With regard to England, the Pope said he considered it advisable to have the intercourse of trade between the dominions of Your Majesty and those of king Henry entirely stopped. That measure, he said, would be the ruin of England, and the negotiations now pending would thereby be greatly improved. The French would gladly co-operate, said the Pope, who shows the utmost goodwill in this affair. But as Your Majesty's coming to Naples would shortly take place, he thought it better to leave until then the discussion of the three points.

In the course of conversation the Pope observed that although the General Council, the war against the Turk, and the English cause, were all of them questions of great importance, and which demanded a prompt resolution, there were other minor affairs which, in his opinion, ought to be settled at once. He pointed, among others, to that of Camarino, which, he said, was of great importance, as well as profit for him and the Apostolic See, &c.

Yesterday the duke of Ferrara (Hercole d'Este) made his public entry into this city. His affair with the Pope is not yet terminated; all the difference is about 25,000 crs. I believe they will ultimately come to terms.

After the departure of the Venetian resident ambassador I was told that he said he was the bearer of important papers for the Signory, besides a message from the Pope, bidding them attend to the advice he gave them on other occasions. When I know the particulars, will not fail to apprise Your Majesty.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

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13 Oct. **215.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 864, f. 55. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 29.

Has been unable to see His Holiness before to-day. Waited on him, and delivered the various messages from His Majesty contained in the letter of the 27th ult. On the two principal points, namely, the Council and the deprivation of the king of England, the Pope declared, after much talk and reasoning, that Your Majesty's advice on both matters seemed to him good, but as Your Majesty would soon be in Naples he would then resolve. There was still, he said, a third and most important point to be decided upon, which was the undertaking against the Turk, who, he knew, would soon return to Constantinople, and from thence inflict all possible harm upon Christendom. It was imperative, for that reason, to think of defence, as well as of offence, &c.

Respecting England he advised as most expedient the cessation of commerce between the Emperor's dominions and that country. That would, he said, powerfully contribute to facilitate the negotiations, and work the ruin of England and the utter destruction of its King;—both things towards which the Pope showed much inclination. He added that the French were ready to co-operate, as they assured him; but as Your Majesty was expected so soon in Naples, the resolution on this point might be left until then. In the meantime he would proceed according to justice in all matters touching the Holy Apostolic See and his own dignity and office. He commended much, and in general terms, His Majesty's conduct in the affair, without entering into particulars, and concluded by saying that the three most important points for him were the Council, England, and the Turk; as to Camarino he did not consider it in that light, though some might think it of importance for the authority and profit of the Holy See, as well as for the kingdom of Naples.

The duke of Ferrara (Hercole) made yesterday his public entrance in this city. His affair is not yet terminated, owing to which he has not been received in public consistory. He (Sylva) has spoken of it to His Holiness, and given other external signs of His Majesty's wish to favour him. Believes that all the difference now lies in 25,000 ducats, and that in the end his offer will be accepted.

After the departure of the Venetian ambassador residing at this court, he (Sylva) was told that he was taking to the Signory some important messages from His Holiness; but as it is not uncommon nowadays for him to send and receive them from the Signory, and the nature of those messages is pretty well known, there is no particular cause for alarm.*—Rome, 13 Oct. MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

* "Que el Papa le havia dicho que segun los avisos pasados no es nuevo decirselos, ni el escucharlos y referirlos á la Señoria."

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22 Oct. **216.** The Emperor to Eustace Chapuys.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 56.

News of the Turk, his fleet and his army.

If Dr. Adam really intends behaving well he will have his pardon, and be allowed to return to Germany; but he (Chapuys) must be cautious.

As to the new negociation proposed by the English ambassador (Wallop), the answer must be postponed until he (the Emperor) has seen the Pope, at Rome, and ascertained what Francis' real intentions are. Time, therefore, must be gained till then. If the king of England persists in his obstinacy, and will not even submit the question of his divorce, as well as the validity of his second marriage, to the decision of the future Council, then he (the Emperor) cannot honourably enter into an alliance with him.—Messina, 22 Oct. 1535.

French. Original draft. pp. 4.

24 Oct. **217.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 863, f. 43. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 31.

His last letter was dated the 8th of September. Since then one has been received from the Imperial Ambassador in London (Eustace Chapuys), in date of the 25th, in which he says that both the Queen and Princess were in good health. God be praised for it! As the ambassador's letter of the 14th of the same month stated that the Princess had been unwell, but was then getting slowly better, and that he (Chapuys) had been unable to provide physicians and the required medicines for more than 10 days, owing to the Princess's illness being concealed by her governess, an aunt of the lady Anne, the King's mistress (*manceba*), and as neither the ambassador nor his servants were during that time allowed to see her, the news from England are so far gratifying.

From the above Your Imperial Majesty will gather how urgently the queen of England and the Princess stand in need of God's protection, especially now that the King's conduct is getting so disorderly in all matters, and waxing worse every day; for mass (in England) is publicly said to be an abuse, Our Lord Jesus Christ not to be present in the Sacrament of the Eucharistie, but only at the time of consecration; that it is a jest to say the Ave Maria, and that Our Lady cannot in any way aid those who pray, and who invoke her help, inasmuch as she is only a woman like the rest. They also joke respecting the sacred images, and utter many blasphemous words about them. In addition to which they are seizing the property and revenues of many churches, as a preparatory measure to doing away entirely with images and temples, and getting hold of the temporalities of the Church.

He (Ortiz) cannot well disguise his fears that one of these days both the Queen and the Princess, whose lives are

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in jeopardy, may be sacrificed,* and therefore humbly requests her [the Empress] to order that prayers may be continually addressed to God for their safety; for, certainly in the state in which matters are, he (Ortiz) sees no other remedy unless God be pleased to take them out of England.

Has also been disappointed and sad to hear that the good earl of Kildaria (Kildare), who in Ireland had so stoutly defended the cause of the Church against the king of England, finding himself alone and deserted by his confederates, and perceiving that he could not carry out his purpose, has been treacherously induced by an uncle of his, who went from England purposely to visit him, to leave Ireland, and go to London, there to be pardoned by the King, as the uncle said. After retaining some of the King's men in Ireland as hostages, though of no great importance, the good Earl set out on his journey, and had scarcely arrived in London when he was lodged in the Tower, there to die a martyr, or else to be entirely perverted. May God permit that the former of the two extremes may be his lot! Letters from England say that in the Charter House of London various revelations have been made by a defunct monk, who has appeared to many of the brotherhood; which revelations had reference to the glorious crown of martyrdom which cardinal Rophensis (Fisher) and the other saints lately executed have obtained, thus opening for them the gate of Paradise; and that Master Cromwell, he who is bringing about all that Anne, the King's mistress, desires, has strictly forbidden the publication of the said revelations. Good Christians, however, have no need of such revelations; martyrdom for Faith, they know, opens the gates of Paradise.—Rome, 24 Oct. MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

— Oct. **218.** MARY TUDOR to EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 58.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur. Although I am sure that, prompted by His innate virtue, goodness, and magnanimity, His Majesty has had due regard for the many and singular services which you, Chapuys, have, and are continually rendering him, yet I should feel it as one of the greatest mishaps of my sad fortune, were I not allowed time and opportunity to acknowledge those which for a considerable length of time you have rendered to the Queen, my mother, and to myself. Now more than ever those services on your part are urgently required, considering the miserable plight and wretched condition of affairs in this country, which is such that unless His Majesty, the Emperor, for the service of God, the welfare and repose of Christendom, as well as the honor of the King,

* "Yo tengo muy grande tristeza viendo el grande peligro en que estan las vidas de la Serenissima Reina de Anglaterra y de la Serenissima Princesa," &c.

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my father, takes pity on these poor afflicted creatures, all and everything will go to total ruin, and be irretrievably lost. For the Emperor to apply a prompt remedy, as I hope and trust he will, it is necessary that he should be well and minutely informed of the state of affairs in this country. And although I suppose, nay believe as certain, that you have hitherto done good offices in that respect, yet, considering that His Majesty has for a long time back been occupied in that very glorious and no less holy and necessary undertaking of Tunis, and may not perhaps have acquired the information needful respecting the nature, weight, importance, and dangerous position of affairs in this country; as moreover it is not easy to convey by ciphered letters an exact and minute account of the whole, I would dare ask this favour of you,—that you dispatch forthwith one of your men, an able one and possessing such information, to the Emperor, and inform him of the whole, and beg him, in the name of the Queen, my mother, and mine, for the honour of God, and the considerations above mentioned, to take this matter in hand, and provide a remedy for the affairs of this country. The work itself will be highly acceptable in the eyes of God, and no less glory will be gained by it than by the conquest of Tunis, or even that of Africa; begging you in the meantime not to forget to solicit permission for me to live with my mother, or else obtain leave for her to come, or send her people to visit me. I should very much wish to write to His Majesty in my own hand, but not knowing how to thank him in due measure for what he has already done for the Queen, my mother, or for myself, and, on the other hand, fearing lest those who are constantly watching me should get hold of the letter, I have hitherto been unable to accomplish my wish, though I find some consolation and comfort in the idea that you yourself will supply the want, and do and say in my name what is proper and fit.

Signed: "Marye, princesse."

Addressed: "A Monsieur l'Ambassadeur."

French. Holograph. pp. 1¼.

— Oct. ? **219.** DIVORCE.

S.E. 864, f. 57.
B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 22.

The things objected to in the wording of the executory letters were as follows: The disinclination there seems to be to pronounce censures against kings, that they might assist and give help to the execution of the letters.

An objection was raised against its being declared therein, that after the intimation of the executory letters, and after the lapse of the eight days generally granted in such cases, the king [of England], if still disobedient, should be excommunicated, and publicly declared as such in the churches on feast days, as is customary in all executory letters granted

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against private persons. Instead of that, it was proposed that the Pope should be applied to for the declaratory.*

In the bull, which is already drawn out, censures are specified against kings, dukes, marquises, counts, &c., in general the Emperor only excepted. Faculty for declaring is likewise inserted, as customary in other executory letters.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

31 Oct. **220.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S.E., L. 864, f. 66. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 34.

Wrote last on the 28th, advising what Gabriel Sanchez, the agent of His most Serene Highness the king of the Romans, had said respecting Vergerio, the nuncio, and his coming shortly to Rome. The German princes, it is said, will be glad that the Council be held out of Germany and at Mantua. Having spoken to His Holiness on the subject, he (Sylva) heard from his own lips the confirmation of the above statement. He had (he said) written to his Nuncio to come back to him, and explain what he himself had said in Germany respecting the Council. It was perfectly true that the Germans had agreed that it should not be held in Germany, but they had not fixed, as reported, on Mantua or any other town.

After this conversation His Holiness went on to say that he had ordered the deputies of the English suit to put in order and prepare all the papers relating to it, for he had determined to proceed at once against the king of England, and decree the deprivation. That his Nuncio, who resides at the Imperial Court, had written to say that, such being the case, the Emperor would not fail to help: king Francis had also promised his assistance, provided the Emperor himself took the affair in hand. His Holiness further said that the king of France had again sent one of his courtiers to the English king, and this latter one of his to France. Though the motive of such missions is clear enough, he (Sylva) failed not to inquire from His Holiness if he knew anything respecting their object. He answered that he did not, but would endeavour to learn all about it, and let him (Sylva) know. Could not help telling him that these fresh messages from the king of France to him of England could not well be reconciled with what he himself had just told me of the readiness of king Francis to assist in king Henry's deprivation.

The duke of Orleans (said His Holiness) has again had a relapse.

Cardinal Ravenna has been liberated from prison this very day, though on the conditions specified in his (Sylva's) despatch of the 3rd of September. He is exceedingly

* "Como es estillo en las executoriales que se dan entre otras personas, sino que viniessen al Papa por la declaratoria."

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grateful for the Emperor's interference, and remains for ever bound to the Imperial service.—Rome, 31 October, MDXXXV.

Signed: "Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3

1 Nov. **221.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 299½, 60.

The French ambassador having very lately called on me, I did my utmost to ascertain from him what sort of a mission that was which the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) has taken to France; but I could learn nothing, he having assured me on his faith and honour that these people had never spoken to him on the subject; *of which, as well as of the little regard they have shown him on several occasions, the ambassador complained most bitterly to me, especially of Master Cromwell, who, he said, had refused him audience five or six times running, owning to me that at the last refusal he had been so disappointed and hurt that fever had seized him, and he had sent an indignant message to Cromwell, telling him that in future he would not honour him with his visits, nor would he address him a letter on business, unless at the express command of the Most Christian King, his master.** The ambassador then began to complain of the innumerable wrongs and unjust acts to which his countrymen were daily subjected; as, for instance, that when the admiral of France was here last he had several times been promised that a quantity of goods belonging to French merchants, and which this King's officers had seized under pretence of the owners not having paid the custom-house dues (*gabelle*), should be restored forthwith; and yet no sooner had the Calais conference come to an end, than, notwithstanding the formal promise made to the Admiral of France (Chabot), the said goods had been denounced and confiscated, without hearing what the interested parties had to say in their defence; the ambassador himself thinking, as he told me, that, should this King's officers refuse to reconsider and recall the said sentence, the King, his master, would find plenty of means to indemnify the said merchants for their losses. Wishing then to call my attention to what he called Cromwell's want of consideration and regard, the ambassador added, "I am very much surprised to hear that he "(Cromwell) has lately stated in the presence of several "courtiers that he wondered that the Most Christian and "the King, his master, did not consider that, were they to "die now, they would leave their respective kingdoms in "trouble and confusion. My reply to the man who brought "me the news (continued the French ambassador) was that

* "Me confessant que a la derniere il en avoit prins tel regret et desdain, quil en estoit tumbé en ung excez de fieuvre (*sic*), et que sur çe il auoit envoye dire de grosses parolles au dict cremuel, mesmes que desormais il ne luy feroit ceste honneur de le vouloir aller trouver ne sadresser a luy pour les affaires, sil nen avoit exprez command du roy tres chrestien, son maistre."

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" Cromwell's observation is very just as regards this kingdom " of England, but cannot apply to France, where every one " knows who is the right and legitimate heir to the Crown,— " that is, the Dauphin, whom his brothers would in nowise " molest, nor will they have occasion to do so, for they " have but a small estate of their own, the rest of their " revenue consisting of pensions, easily to be cancelled or " increased, as the case may be."

The ambassador told me further: he said he had received intelligence that Cromwell, besides his frequent and open calls at this embassy, had often visited me in secret, and that the result of our mutual communications had been my despatching one of my secretaries to Your Majesty. This Cromwell had publicly declared in the presence of several courtiers, giving them to understand that Your Majesty and the King, his master, were upon the best possible terms, and in a fair way of again becoming friends. And although I assured him that Cromwell had not called secretly, and that for a long time back our conversations had only turned on the permission to go and see the Princess, and on soliciting the payment of certain arrears due to the Queen, yet I could not convince him, and he still suspects that there is something more between us, as he himself declared to me, not later than the day before yesterday, at the Lord Mayor's feast, which we both attended.

I hear from an authentic quarter that the Bishop* this King sent the other day to Germany is the bearer of credentials for almost all the princes and free towns of that country, besides general and ample powers to negotiate and conclude any convention he may deem necessary to foster and spread Lutheranism, as I think, and to prevent the meeting of the Council. The Bishop, I am told, left this city greatly annoyed, and in terrible fear at the idea of meeting with some misadventure on the road to Germany; which makes me believe that his mission is really and truly what I have said.

That the abbots of this kingdom may not complain of the innovations introduced in their convents, and that they may not parry the blow that is in store for them, the King has made an edict forbidding their interference in parliamentary affairs for the future.

Four or five hundred hackbutiers have quite lately been dispatched to Ireland under the command of the same captain who lately brought here the earl of Childare (Kildare), which is a proof to me that all is not over in that quarter. The goods of the Easterlings are still under sequestration, and the King has promised the English merchants not to levy the embargo until the ships lately captured are released, though, on the other hand, good words and hopes are given to them. The Estates, which ought to have been assembled this

* The bishop was that of Hereford. See above, No. 213, pp. 552, 555.

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day, have been prorogued, and . . . to the Purification of Our Lady; and some think that this delay is for the purpose of waiting until they hear of what their ambassadors in France and Germany may have achieved in the meanwhile, and not proceeding further to the declaration and execution of their accursed and execrable intentions.

The term for the first payment of the tax granted by Parliament at its last sitting has already expired, but there is no talk yet of its being levied on the people. Some believe that the King will not press the matter further for the present, as he is afraid of some popular commotion among his subjects, already very poor and distressed, and in great fear of the threatening famine.—London, 1 Nov. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, almost entirely in cipher.

1 Nov. **222.** The Same to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, III. 25.

According to the statement of the French ambassador, courtiers here go about saying that Barbarossa has already regained the Goleta of Tunis, and Bona also; at which astounding and false piece of intelligence the King, his lady, and her adherents, have shown great pleasure and joy. The same intelligence, I hear, has been sent from Court to the Princess.

The said ambassador expressed his astonishment to me at the English being still allowed to import corn from Flanders. This, he said, would not be tolerated in France under the circumstances. My own opinion is that the affair ought to be looked into, inasmuch as the harvest here has been very poor, and people begin to murmur. The King and his concubine, who formerly had it preached from the pulpit that God favoured particularly the English by sending them fine weather, have it said now that, "whom God loves, He chastises."

I hear that the French have not paid down the last instalment of their debt to this country.

The German who came here from the duke of Saxony was the bearer of a book dedicated by Melancthon to this King. He got 50 ducats for himself and 200 for the author; but I hear that the King does not entirely approve of it, and calls it a common-place book (loci communes). It appears, however, that the ambassador who is to go to Germany has charge of seeing Melancthon and his accomplices, and do all he can to make them sing to the tune this King wishes.—London, 1 Nov. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, cipher. pp. 2.

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4 Nov. **223.** Dr. Ortiz.

S.E., L. 863, f. 48. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 40.

Since the news of England must have reached Your Majesty, I need not dwell on the subject further than say that I am amazed at the high and secret designs (*juicios*) of God, who, whilst He sells His glory so cheap to many persons, to others like the queen of England and her daughter, the Princess, He sells it so dear. Indeed, it would seem as if, in exchange for the grave cares and tribulations by which those ladies are surrounded, He is preparing for them everlasting glory.

The "executory letters" of the principal cause, as I once wrote to Your Majesty, were granted long ago, with all their requisites, in due form, &c. They were, however, not issued in the days of the late Pope, nor have they yet been issued during the present pontificate. When they are, it will require nearly a year for them to have effect; nevertheless, as the King's sins are so enormous and so notoriously public, there is plenty of cause for depriving him at once of his kingdom, nor any further declaration on the part of His Holiness required, since he has virtually been so deprived, and I have seen with my own eyes the draft of the Papal bull which His Holiness has caused to be drawn out to that effect, and shown to several of his cardinals. Thus, it would appear as if matters had been so disposed by God that the act is one emanating from the Apostolic See *motu proprio*, not at the request and solicitation of the Queen, as might be supposed. If so, the King will have no occasion to vent his rage on her or the Princess.—Rome, 4 Nov. MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

5 Nov. **224.** Count Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E., L. 864, f. 52. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 42.

Wrote last on the 2nd, and again on the 3rd and 4th, to Idiaquez, by a servant of Antonio de Leyva, and a courier, both going to Spain. The bearer of this present despatch will be a servant of Eustace Chapuys, who has brought letters from the Queen to His Holiness, begging him to apply a remedy as soon as possible to what is passing in England. The messenger had charge of putting the Queen's letter into the Pope's hands, should he (Sylva) consider it opportune; but, considering that although His Holiness has ordered, with great fury, that the deprivation of the kingdom be immediately carried into effect, yet as he is unwilling that the measure appear a spontaneous act, but wishes to convey the impression that it has come at the Queen's own request, and entirely on her behalf, he (Sylva) has kept Chapuys' man concealed at the Embassy, and forbidden him to present the Queen's letter. Has, therefore, told the messenger to go first to the Emperor, and report on his mission, and explain to him the contents of the Queen's letter to the Pope. Should it be ultimately necessary to deliver the letter, the delay of the messenger to

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Naples and back seems of no consequence at all, and therefore he leaves this very day. His Majesty will give him his orders, and as the messenger himself will report, as eye-witness, on the late events in England, he (Sylva) will abstain from further comment on that business, save to say that they have promised him a copy of the bull of deprivation, which he will forward as soon as he gets it. The Ferrara affair is still *in statu quo*. The Duke refuses to accept any of the means of settlement proposed. Almost every day some cardinals appointed by His Holiness meet with the Duke's agents to find out some means of coming to an agreement, and as the question is one of money it is almost certain that they will find it.

Wrote that Soriano, the Venetian ambassador here, who lately left Rome, had written to the Signory that he had a verbal message for them from the Pope, and that on his arrival at Venice he would deliver it. Soriano has departed, and he now hears from a confidential person that soon after his arrival he went to the Senate, and made the motion, of which a copy is enclosed. Has this from a most authentic source; must, however, confess that, as far as His Holiness is concerned, he does not attach much faith to what is said with regard to him, because there is certainly some angry feeling in that quarter.* The better to understand what the motion (*proposicion*) means, and what the news from the Turk are, he has been anxiously expecting Lope de Soria's letters; but has not heard from him for three days.—Rome, quinto Novembris, MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

5 Nov. **225.** DR. ORTIZ to the SAME.

S. E., L. 863, f. 47, B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 44.

I consider it my duty to inform Your Majesty that a Parisian doctor, who has lately arrived here, tells me that an Englishman, named Master Hains,† doctor in Theology, had gone to Paris for the purpose of secretly consulting the Parisian doctors as to whether it could be established and set down that regal power was superior to Papal power. The Parisian doctor above-mentioned, having been made aware of this, went and warned their colleagues of the Englishman's intentions, and advised them not to give any private opinion on the subject, but wait until the matter was amply discussed and decided by the assembled Faculty; and the Englishman having heard of this, desisted from his question and went away. It is a wonder to me that he came on such an errand, and that the king of France, knowing of it, did not insist upon his putting the question to the Parisian Faculty, which was not a safe thing to do considering the risk he and they ran.‡

* "aunque en lo que toca á Su Santidad no doy tanto credito porque [h]ay alguna passion."

† The original at Simancas has Hayns, which might be for James Hay, bishop of Ross, 1525–38, unless Simon Haynes, canon of Windsor, be meant.

‡ lo qual no era cosa segura atenta la pena que en ellos habia.

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The same Parisian doctor informs me that at first king Francis had written a letter to the Faculty of Theology, ordering them to discuss certain propositions sent in by Philip Melancthon, and that the Faculty answered the King that His Royal Highness knew very well that any controversy or dispute on matters of Faith, in public and with the heretics, was strictly prohibited; and the King replied that he was under the impression that the matters to be disputed related to Church ceremonial, not to Faith. Upon which the Faculty retorted, showing the many heresies contained in the propositions; and that if Philip Melancthon, in obedience to the King's commands, came to Paris, it should be not to dispute on matters of Faith, but to be convinced of his error, and shown the causes and origin of it. For that purpose he was to be interrogated as to whether he believed, or not, in that article of the Christian Faith which says that there is one holy Church, and that the Œcumenical Council cannot err. That he should declare which Councils he held as catholic, and which not, and who are the catholic doctors to whose words or writings he attaches credit, and so forth, &c. My informant adds that the King sent this answer of the Sorbonne to Germany, and that was the reason why Melancthon's journey to Paris is postponed till next summer.—Rome, 5 Nov. MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Nov. **226.** Viscount Hannaërt to the Empress.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. Pap. de Sim. 1484. B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 46.

Has not written since the 3rd of September. The most Christian has been unwell lately, so weak that for the last ten days he has not left his bedroom. His physicians, however, say that there is no danger for his life. The duke of Orleans and his wife the Duchess have also been laid up with fever, but are now better.

The marriage of the king of Scotland (James) to the daughter of Mons. de Vandoma (Vendosme) has not yet been concluded, owing to some difficulty between the parties, which that King's ambassadors have sent home for consultation. The King's answer is expected.—Dijon, 10 Nov. 1535.

Signed: "Jo. Hannart visconde."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

15 Nov. **227.** Pier Luigi Farnese's Negociation with Charles V.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 60.

Pier Luigi [Farnese] has alluded to the proceedings and sentence against king Henry, in the execution of which Francis has offered to help, provided Charles promises to do the same. Francis is king Henry's ally; his sole object is to compromise Charles.* His Holiness ought to exact from Francis a full

* "Il ne veut que compromettre Charles V."

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and authentic promise in writing, so that he may not retract hereafter. Henry ought to be proceeded against rigorously.

The Pope ought to take care that Francis has no pretext whatever for entering Italy, for that would be tantamount to preparing a fresh war. Charles has offered 50,000 crs. annually to one of Francis' sons, provided his father, the King, leaves Italy in peace; also the marriage of Angoulesme (the duke Charles) to Mary of England, which was at first declined by Francis.

Charles has since heard that at the interview of the two queens (Eleanor and Mary) the admiral of France (Philippe Chabot) had introduced the question of peace between the Emperor and his master, the King,* and consequently both the French ambassador in Spain and the Imperial one in France have been reminded of the two means proposed to bring about that peace.

With regard to the proposed marriages, the Emperor consents to that of Pier Luigi to the daughter of the duke of Savoy, not to that of the prince of Piedmont with the daughter of Pier Luigi.

French. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

Endorsed: "Copy of the negociation, &c. sent by Cyfuentes to queen Mary of Hungary."

15 Nov. **228.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to NICOLAS DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 30.

Has considered it his duty to act in favour of the Queen and Princess; yet this King is so blinded that he will certainly fall lower and lower into the labyrinth of the Devil, and proceed to his total perdition. He will not be saved from ruin by the hackbuts he has lately ordered from Flanders. The order, however, looks suspicious, and I cannot help calling the Emperor's attention to it.

As you desire me to give you a detailed account of secretary Cromwell and his origin, I will tell you that he is the son of a poor blacksmith, who lived and is buried at a small village distant one league and a half from this city (London). His uncle, the father of a cousin of his, whom he has since considerably enriched, was cook to the last archbishop of Canterbury (Warham). In his youth Cromwell was rather ill-conditioned (*mal conditionné*) and wild. After being some time in prison he went to Flanders, Rome, and other places in Italy, where he made some stay. On his return to England he married the daughter of a fuller (*tondeur de draps*), and for a time kept servants in his house who worked for him at that handicraft. Later on he became a solicitor (*solliciteur de causes*), and thereby became

* Paper torn at this place. The text stands thus: "Ensuite Charles V. a entendu qua lentrevue des deux Roynes ladmiral de France avoit remis en termes le dict etablisement de paix . . . . . avons de rechief fait rememorer les deux moyens susdicts a lambassadeur de France et a celui [de l'Empereur] en France."

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known to the late cardinal of York (Wolsey), who took him into his service. At his master's fall he behaved very well towards him; and on the Cardinal's death, Master Wallop, now ambassador at the Court of France, somehow threatened and insulted him; whereupon, to save himself, he (Cromwell) asked and obtained an audience from king Henry, whom he addressed in such flattering terms and eloquent language —promising to make him the richest King in the world— that the King at once took him into his service, and made him councillor, though his appointment was kept secret for more than four months. Since then he has been constantly rising in power, so much so that he has now more influence with his master than the Cardinal ever had; for in the latter's time there were Compton, the duke of Suffolk, and others, to whose advice the King occasionally listened, whereas now-a-days everything is done at his bidding. The Chancellor (Audley) is but a tool in his hands.

Cromwell is eloquent in his own language, and, besides, speaks Latin, French, and Italian tolerably well. He lives splendidly; is very liberal both of money and fair words, and remarkably fond of pomp and ostentation in his household and in building.

Brian Tuke retains still the charge of treasurer, but has lately retired to a country seat of his, the duties of his office being filled by a deputy during his absence. I fancy, however, that he would not dislike to be relieved from his charge just now. London, 21 Nov. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

21 Nov. **229.** The Same to the Emperor.

Wien. *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, I. 137.

Ever since I last wrote to Your Majesty, stating that Master Cromwell had spoken to me about this King's proposal of sending to Your Majesty a notable embassy, and had besides asked my advice about it, there has been no sign or indication whatever of the plan being carried into execution, from which I conclude, and, indeed, Your Majesty cannot fail to perceive, that the intention of these people is only to lull us with words and hopes, and thus gain time for their own political purposes and plans.

On Friday, the 12th inst., there was, by the King's command, the most solemn procession that ever took place in this kingdom, at least in the memory of man. It was composed of three bishops and four mitred abbots, dressed in pontifical robes, besides innumerable friars, priests, and other ecclesiastics most richly accoutred. As to people of all classes attending it, their number was incalculable, and in addition to that there were several bands of musicians playing on all manner of harmonious instruments. The very precious and most Holy Sacrament of the Altar was taken by the bishop of

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*London through the streets of this capital, almost the whole length of it; all this being intended as a thanksgiving and praise to God for king Francis' convalescence. Many thought that the French ambassador himself and some of the lords of this court should have attended the ceremony; but there was nothing of the sort, and, I hear that, even before the procession was ordered and after, this King has shown disgust enough at king Francis' late doings; though upon the whole he has perhaps gladly seized the opportunity of gratifying the French nation on that score with so edifying and charitable a work, and at the same time making his subjects believe in the existence of a great friendship and brotherhood between the king of France and himself,—a belief which, under the circumstances, it is necessary for him to inculcate if he is to raise, without scruple or difficulty, the heavy taxes he has imposed on his people. The better to accomplish this end, and at the same time disseminate their perverse and damnable errors, a rumour has been secretly, though adroitly, circulated that the object of the procession is to praise and thank God for his Divine goodness in inspiring king Francis to follow the right path, and make him the chief of the Gallican Church.**

The same personage who, as I had occasion to write on the 6th inst., sent me a message to the effect that the King had decided to rid himself of the Queen and Princess at this next session of Parliament, came yesterday to town in disguise, and called at this embassy for the purpose not only of confirming his former statement, but also to beg and entreat me, with the greatest possible speed, to write to Your Majesty, applying for a prompt and efficacious remedy to these many evils, adding that as the King noticed that some of those to whom he had resolutely told his determination respecting the Queen and Princess, shed tears, he began to say that the case was not one for crying and grimacing, for, though he should lose his crown through it, he would insist upon the said measures being carried at once into effect.† The above is too strange and execrable a report for me to attach implicit faith to it, and yet, considering what has passed and is daily passing

* "A ce que entendz ce roy du temps quil se parloit de faire la dite procession et depuis aussi monstroit assez de mescontantement du dit roy de France, et quant a icelle procession il vint bien a propoz de pouvoir gratiffier aux françois dune si cheritable œuvre, et dailleurs donner a entendre a ce peuple quil y a grande fraternite et amytie entre les roy de France et luy, ce que luy est de besoing pour pouvoir sans tant scrupule et difficulte exiger limport que ce roy a mis sus, et pour cest effect, et aussi afin quilz facent incliner le reste du dit peuple en leurs perverses et damnables erreurs ilz ont fait subtillement et occultement semer que la dite procession a este faicte pour rendre louange et mercis a Dieu de ce quil auoit pleu a sa divine bonte inspirer le dit roy de France de prendre le vray chemin, et le faire chief de leglise galicane."

† "Me faisant dire davantaige icellui personnaige que voyant ce roy aucuns de ceulz aux quelz il tenoit les susditz propoz larmoyer, il se print a dire quil ny convenoit ne larmes ne grymasses car ores quil deust perdre sa coronne yl ne laisseroit de mectre en effect et execution ce que dessus."

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*in this country, the persistence of the threats, and above all the wickedness of the concubine,—who for some time past has been attempting their lives,—I am afraid there must be some truth in it. For certainly the lady in question has for some time back thought of nothing short of putting the Queen and Princess to death. It is she who now rules over, and governs the nation; the King dares not contradict her. In short, the danger is imminent, and I very much doubt whether the King is not—as I have already written to Your Majesty—attempting to make the members of this Parliament take part in his mischievous designs, that they may thereby lose all call upon Your Majesty's clemency and commiseration, and thus be readier and more determined to defend themselves in the event of an invasion.**

Tomorrow Master Briant will start post haste to visit king Francis in the name of this King; but I firmly believe that under the plea of a courteous visit, the ambassador has charge also to solicit the release of several English merchant vessels detained at Bourdeaux in virtue of certain ordinances promulgated about one year and a half ago, the copy of which I then forwarded to Your Majesty, and which not only concern the English, but also all other nations trading with France.

Out of the 12 *English ships captured in Denmark by the king of Sweden, eight have been allowed to return here without any serious injury to their hulks or loss to their cargoes, except that the said King has thought proper to keep in, by way of a loan, some of their artillery and ammunition, as well as other necessary apparel. The rest of the ships being larger, strongly built, and more useful for warlike purposes, have been retained, not so much to make use of them in warfare, as to prevent the Lubeckers from employing them for hostile purposes. The merchandise that was on board of the Dantzig ships is still here under embargo. Some of the owners have told me that they were not in a hurry to apply for the release of the sequestered goods, inasmuch as they were quite sure of being by-and-by compensated in full, and obtaining perhaps the double of their capital and interest on it.*—London, 21 November, 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, entirely ciphered. pp. 4.

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* "Et davantaige la concubine que de pieça a conjure et conspire la mort des dites dames et que ne pense a riens tant que de les faire despecher. Cest elle que commande et gouverne le tout et a la quelle le dit roy ne sçauroit contredire. Le cas est fort dangereux et tres a doubter. Il vouldra, comme jay desia escript, faire participans voire auctеurs de telz meschiefz ceulx de son parlement et estatz da royaulme afin que par ce moyent perdant lespoir de la clemence et misericorde de vostre maieste tres tous fussent plus determinez a se deffendre quant il en seroit besoing."

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21 Nov. **230.** The Same to Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* $229\frac{1}{2}$, III. 30–4.

Monseigneur, the personage mentioned above, as well as in my despatch to His Majesty, has just sent me a message to the effect that four or five days ago, whilst speaking of the Princess with one [of his courtiers], the King was heard to say that shortly he would take such measures concerning her that she would no longer want either train or company, but should be set up as an example to the world that no one can with impunity disobey the law. He was (the King added) desirous to ascertain how far the prediction about himself was true, namely, that at the beginning of his reign he would be as mild as a lamb, but towards the end would become more fierce than a lion. He would have all those who were confined in the Tower at once despatched, and many more, who had not yet been sent thither.

The personage alluded to suspects he is one of those the King means to treat in that manner, and has sent to request me not to dissemble so much with the ladies as I have done hitherto, lulling them with hopes and fair words, but, on the contrary, let them know, now that there is a better opportunity for doing so, the danger in which both are, and warn them that they may advise what had better be done under the circumstances, and, if necessary, send an express messenger to His Majesty representing their position, &c.

*French. Original in cipher.**

22 Nov. **231.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S.E., L. 863, f. 49. B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 47.

Wrote on the 1st and 8th of September and 24th October, of the receipt of which I am ignorant. On the 14th the Imperial ambassador in England wrote, saying that both the Queen and the Princess were doing well. He had sent here one of his servants, who arrived on the 5th inst., and who has since departed with letters from the Queen, and despatches for Your Majesty. The former, the Queen says, are her last appeals to justice, and as it were her last will, since the state to which she has been reduced, and the Acts (*ordinaciones*) which are expected to pass Parliament in this very month of November, make us all fear that both she and the Princess, her daughter, will be sentenced to death; which martyrdom the Queen is ready to suffer as a testimony of our holy Catholic Faith, as did before her cardinal Fisher and the other holy martyrs. One thing above all afflicts her, that her life has not been so holy and virtuous as that of the Cardinal and the others, and likewise that she feels pity and commiseration for the many souls that are every day doomed to perdition.

The Princess is now staying at the same house where the daughter of the King's mistress is residing, and has only

* On a separate sheet, but headed P.S., as if it were a postscript to the preceding.

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three women (*mugeres*) for her service. The whole establishment is governed by an aunt of Anne (Boleyn); and though at one time the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys) was allowed to send twice a week to inquire about her health, and so forth, that permission has now been withdrawn. Having, moreover, asked that she might be allowed to live with her mother, the Queen, the ambassador has been told that it was highly inconvenient that the Princess should go and stay where the mother is, inasmuch as she would the more persistently refuse to obey the statutes of the kingdom;—which is very unlikely, considering the pains there established for the offenders. And they say that the King has promised his mistress that as long as he is alive the Princess will not marry, whilst the said Anne has repeatedly told him that it is she (the Princess) who wages war against them both, and that she ought to be treated in the same way and manner as Bishop (Fisher). Indeed, many a time has she said to the King, "The Princess will be the cause of my death unless I "get rid of her beforehand; but I will so manage that if "I die before her, she shall not laugh at me."

It is further related that the ambassador (Chapuys) having claimed certain arrears due to the Queen from the time she was in possession of the estates which constitute her dower, not only was his application denied, but he was also told that the Queen must look to reducing her household expenses, and be contented with the pension paid by the King.

The earl of Kildare, who, as stated in a former despatch, had gone to London at the solicitation of an uncle of his, who pretended that the King would willingly pardon him, after passing a fortnight at Court and attending the Royal hunts, and hearing many gracious words from the King's lips, has been confined in a dungeon of the Tower, where his own father died, and from which no one goes out except to be executed.

King Francis sent the other day to England, besides the resident ambassador, a relative of the Grand Master (Montmorency), named the Bailli de Troya, who visited Anne's daughter (Elizabeth) as if she were a real princess. The ambassador was afterwards heard to say that if he had visited the daughter it was merely by the wish of the mother, who had actually asked him to do so; and that the king of England sent the bishop of Excetre, who in former times had endeavoured to be counted among the good ones, and disapproved of the King's conduct, whereas now he is one of the worst.

In some of the English monasteries all good (*habiles*) friars have been forcibly removed, leaving only the bad ones (*inhabiles*), and these are left with such small means for their sustenance that they will be compelled to forsake their orders. All nuns under 25 years of age have received notice to quit their convent; and one of the commissaries who went for the purpose had addressed them in indecent language (*impudica-*

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mente), upon which the nuns had severely rebuked him, saying that their Apostolic privileges were infringed. To which the commissary replied that his power as representative of the king of England was greater than that of all the Apostolic chamber put together. And they say that when Master Cromwell, now the King's principal secretary, and the person through whose hands all these measures pass, heard of the allegation of the nuns, he exclaimed, "That is only the beginning of the end."

In the various abbeys they are actually appointing gentlemen's sons, though they may be mere infants, that they may receive the revenues thereof.

On the gate of London, I hear the three heads of cardinal [Fisher], of Thomas Moore, and of one Carthusian friar, who also suffered martyrdom, were affixed; but that of Fisher, I am told, which was in the middle of the other two looked every day fresher and fresher, although the others got black. Which being perceived, and that the passers-by noticed it, the head was removed and cast into the river.

The cardinals here, to whom His Holiness has committed the English cause, are giving out that they have orders to declare the king of England deprived of his kingdom, and his subjects absolved and relieved of obedience to him, as well as of their oaths of fidelity; but, after all, the draft that has been prepared, and which I have seen with my own eyes, is but a monitory brief.—Rome, 22 Nov. MDXXXV.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."
Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

7 Dec. **232.** VISCOUNT HANNAËRT to the EMPEROR.

P. *Ar. Nac.* Neg. & Pap. de'S., 1484, 137. Olim B. 322. B.M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 66.

Spoke to the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency), and communicated the letter he had received. The Grand Master's answer was that great was his amazement at seeing that after the frank and honest declarations made by his master, the King, the Emperor's answer should be so meagre and vague. He was sorry for it, for on Mr. de Noircames' assurances of the Emperor's goodwill and readiness to treat the King, his master, had certainly put off the proposed interview with the king of England, and promised most solemnly not to enter into any confederacy either with him or with other princes. During that time the Emperor had tried everywhere to make friends and had caused him to lose his, besides inducing the new Pope to join the Italian league which was tantamount to shutting the gates of Italy against him.

With regard to the marriage of the duke of Angoulême to the princess of England, the Grand Master observed that it was impossible without offending against the friendship and allegiance existing between the two countries. King Francis would on no account lose the friendship of England. In

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short, the Grand Master said, "I will get you to see the "King, and you will then hear what his answer is on each "of the three principal points."

Some days after he (Hannart) had audience of king Francis in his dressing room (*garde robe*). At first he was alone with the Grand Master, but afterwards came in his three sons,* who listened to what he had to say, which was to ask the King for a more explicit and categorical answer than the one given to Mr. de Nassau respecting the three principal points of the Emperor's memorandum; namely,—1°. What were his intentions concerning errors in Faith. 2°. The resistance to the Turk and Barbarossa. 3°. The peace between them.

Respecting the first, the King declared that he would punish rigorously all those who were found infected with heresy within his dominions. He had done so already, as most Christian King that he was, and would continue to do so in future. He had no objection to the meeting of a General Council, he wished for it as much as any other Christian prince, provided it were held in a secure place, not in one open to suspicion.

With regard to the resistance to the Turk and Barbarossa he said that he was always at the service of Christendom, as his predecessors had been; he was ready to keep and defend what might fall to his share, and be present at the head of his forces when required by the Christian princes, provided those same princes gave him free passage through their dominions. This he had offered many a time, though his offer had not been accepted. As to those who accused him of sending ambassadors to the Grand Turk, or receiving letters from Barbarossa, he had as much right to do that as the Emperor, or the king of the Romans, his brother, had to send agents to propose a truce or make peace, without consulting either the Pope or the rest of the Christian princes. Indeed, Pope Clement told him at Marseilles that the Emperor had sent a man to Constantinople to negotiate a truce without informing him (Clement) of it, or asking permission of the Church. The King further said that the Grand Turk (Soliman) had solicited his alliance precisely in the same way that the Emperor had done, and had promised to help him (Francis) with 100,000 men, if necessary; but that he alone would attend to his honour and reputation,† and if any one dared accuse him, he would appoint one of his knights against another of the Emperor's to answer the challenge.†

Respecting the third point,—that is, the general peace in Christendom,—he (Francis) was ready to treat of and to con-

* That is to say, the Dauphin (François), duke de Bretagne, the duke of Orleans (Henri), and Charles duke of Angoulême.

† "Tambien dezia que el dicho Turco le havia embiado [á] apuntar á él lo mismo que Su Magestad le havia embiado á pedir, y á offresçer demas dello cient mill hombres; mas que él usaria á su honra, y que sy alguno le queria cargar en lo contrario daria un cavallero contra otro para responder á ello."

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clude one so reasonable and advantageous to all the parties concerned, that the interests of his friends and allies should be equally safeguarded. Surely the Emperor would not propose a thing that he himself could not accept, if offered. He, the King, had many substantial claims on the duke of Savoy (Carlo II.), and in the case of a general peace, would demand that his claims should be discussed and determined "à l'amiable."

The marriage of the duke of Angoulême (Charles) to the princess of England (Mary) could not be made. After listening to what he (Hannaërt) had to say in virtue of the instructions lately received, the King said that his councillors objected that it was not in his power to do so*; neither did they think that the thing could be achieved during Henry's life; and if the marriage was contracted without his consent he might ruin or destroy the Princess. Besides, added the King, I am his friend and ally; I have received pleasure and assistance from him in the hour of need; and it is not for me to forsake and abandon him in the present circumstances. In fact, were I to accept the terms proposed, and give up my claims on Milan,—which, after all, is the inheritance of my sons,—it would be equivalent to leaving the certain for the uncertain, working against my friends and allies, and losing them when they might be most useful to me.

After this the King entered into a series of recriminations such as these: The Emperor (he said) did not want his friendship, since upon every occasion he had preferred strangers to him who was his own brother-in-law. Were his renunciation of the dominion [over Flanders and Artois], considering the time and circumstances in which it was made —he or his sons being detained prisoners—to be legally considered, it would be found that many doctors and lawyers considered the same as invalid and null, inasmuch as vassals cannot and ought not to demand such a thing from their superior without incurring pain of confiscation (*caso de commiso*). By similar means was the duchy of Guienne, which the English formerly held, lost to them. Since he saw that the Emperor gave no other answer, he considered himself at liberty to make friends and contract alliances wherever he liked. The king of the Romans and his ministers had given out that Mr. de Nassao had made a treaty with him to destroy the Lutherans. That report was spread, as is well known, for the purpose of making him lose the friends he has in Germany. The Pope and the Venetians were evidently not in favour of the pretended union. The latter wished Milan to remain in the hands of the poor Duke (Sforza), that they might, after his death, get hold of it, and prevent the Emperor or him from having any power over it. Sforza,

* "Que le ponian delante que no era en el arbitrio ni poder de su dicha Magestad."

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moreover, had done him great injury by causing Squire Maraveglia, his ambassador, to be executed.

The duchess of Orleans (Caterina) is still treated as usual. Some of her maids of honour had heard the King say that he had not been well advised when he made his son marry her.*

After writing, as he did the other day, that the Vayvod's man has at last been dispatched, he now finds that he has not, and that they still lull him with promises and words.

The King has not spoken on the affairs of Ireland; neither has the Admiral (Brion) returned from England. What his charge was he (Hannaërt) has not yet been able to ascertain. Nor has he been more successful with Barbarossa's man: the only thing is that they are sending a gentleman and captain Cazadiavolo to Barbarossa in a brigantine.

Queen Mary has presented this King with two gerfalcons (*gerfaults*) and falcons, at which he is much pleased, and she intends sending him hunting dogs.

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

233. The substance of various despatches of the AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE (HANNAËRT) addressed to MR. DE GRANVELLE.

P. Arch. Nat. Neg. et Pap. de Simancas, L. 1484, f. 139. Olim, B. 3. No. 17. B. M. *Add.* 28,588. f. 70.

That the English ambassador spoke to him again on the day of the great procession in Paris, and that he answered, "The military preparations now being made are exclusively "destined against Barbarroja and for the defence of Christen-"dom; towards which, by the way, no Christian prince "helps except the Pope." The English ambassador showed great pleasure at hearing such a declaration from Hannart's mouth, because (said he) there was a rumour that the armament by sea was for another purpose. He would not fail to apprise the King, his master, thereof. After this the English ambassador visited him (Hannart) at his lodgings, and repeated the same words, or nearly. He also stated that he had received an answer from a friend [in England], stating that in his opinion a way might be found of establishing a firmer and more lasting peace between the Emperor and the king of England, his master, and that many good Englishmen preferred peace with His Imperial Majesty and his dominions to war. Should a new peace and friendship be established, the Emperor could more easily resist the Turk and have Italy under his sway, as he has it now; the French would not then brag and boast so much as they do now, nor throw impediments in the Emperor's career. To this end the English ambassador inquired whether any honourable means could be found for insuring that neither during the lives of the two monarchs

* "Que la duquesa de Orliens es todavia tractada como solia, y que algunas de sus damiselas dezian que avian oydo dezir al Rey que no havia sido bien aconsejado en hazer el dicho casamiento." By the duchess of Orleans, Catharine of Medicis is meant.

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(the Emperor and the king of England), nor in any other way, should any innovation be made with respect to the King's second marriage, the sentences and all other Papal acts remaining in suspense, as they now are, until some expedient, more to the common advantage and contentment of the parties concerned, could be found. Meanwhile the good Queen, he said, would be better treated.*

The Imperial ambassador replied, that certainly both the Emperor and the King have always lived in peace and friendship,—a state of things which not only was very advantageous to the subjects of both, but which was most desirable in order to guard against the ambitious projects of other princes. He (Hannaërt) had written to some friends at home to know whether, on the part of His Imperial Majesty, there could be any objection to renew the mutual friendship. He was shortly expecting an answer, which he would communicate to the ambassador with all reserve. Hannaërt, therefore, begged him to keep the thing secret, and advised that if he had any overtures to make to proceed at once with them, for fear the King, his master, should proceed to meddle in other affairs.†

Hannaërt thinks that it would be advisable to divide and separate the two kings, but he is afraid that the English wishes to keep up a defensive league with the French, and not to declare so soon as might be wished against him.

French. Original. pp. 2.

6 Dec. **234.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S.E., L. 864, f. 37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 71.

Wrote last on the 5th inst.; since then no letter from His Imperial Majesty has come. The enclosed from Lope de Soria contains the intelligence that the duke of Urbino [Francesco Maria della Rovere] has applied for and obtained from the Signory [of Venice] leave to kiss the Emperor's hands [at Naples], and that ambassadors of that republic had already left for a similar purpose. They will not, as it appears, pass this way, at which His Holiness will be anything but pleased.

Has been told that both the archbishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay), and the bishop of Macon, resident ambassador at this Court,‡ have told His Holiness that Jean Renart, the ambassador, had promised the admiral of France (Brion), in His

* "Sy Su Magestad seria contenta de assegurar por algun honesto medio que no se haria ó attentaria mas adelante por via de hecho durante las vidas de uno y del otro, ny de otra manera innovar contra el nuevo casamiento, y que las sentencias y todas otras cosas quedassen suspensas, como agora estan, hasta tanto que se pudiesse hallar otro mejor medio en la seguridad y contentamiento de las partes y que entre tanto la buena Reyna seria bien tractada de su persona."

† "Por tanto que desseava que lo que dezia el dicho embaxador fuesse secreto y [que] le parescia que sy queria negociar en esto, lo mas presto lo mejor antes que el Rey, su amo, le metiesse mas adelante en otros negocios."

‡ Charles Hémard Denonville from the 20th of November to 1538, when he was transferred to Amiens, preserving, however, the bishopric of Macon. He was created cardinal in 1536.

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Imperial Majesty's name, that if king Francis agreed to forsake the friendship of the English king, he would give up to him the duchy of Milan; and that the French king had answered that on no account would he abandon his brother of England; that if the Emperor, nevertheless, chose to yield to him Milan and its duchy, he might, but without any compensation like the one offered. Such is the substance of what the Archbishop and ambassador reported to His Holiness, but they suggested that the best means for the fulfilment of His Majesty's wishes, and at the same time to safeguard their master's honour, was for His Holiness to deprive Henry of all his possessions, and excommunicate all those who gave him aid. When that was done, not before, king Francis might forsake that King's alliance and friendship. The Pope's answer was couched in general words; upon which the bishop of Macon replied, "Now is the time for Your Holiness to make all the Christian princes agree." Let all personal feeling be put aside with respect to the duchy of Camarino. Should Milan be given up to him, the King, our master, engages to compel the marquis of Saluzzo, whose right to Monferrato, a much larger and important estate, is indisputable, to make it over to Pier Luigi Farnese. To this proposition the Pope, they say, made no answer. He (Sylva) does not vouch for the truth of the report, said to come from Jean Renart; believes, on the contrary, the whole of it to be a French invention, and that the ambassadors went to His Holiness with the story in order the more to prejudice the king of England against His Imperial Majesty, and thereby gain in authority. As this report and others of the same kind might be injurious to Her Highness the queen of England, he (Sylva) hastens to inform the Emperor thereof, that proper measures be taken to counteract French malice. The more persuaded is he of the wickedness of their plans, that, in conversation the other day with one of the legates after they themselves had taken leave of His Holiness, he hinted, though with the greatest possible caution, at something of the above. Has likewise heard that on the arrival of the legates at the Imperial Court, orders shall be sent to Pier Luigi to return [to Rome] immediately. He himself has not positively said so to him, but if the Emperor wishes to know his (Sylva's) private opinion of the affair, it is this: Let Pier Luigi be kept amused (*entretenido*) until His Imperial Majesty's arrival; he will always be a good token of security in our hands.

His Holiness has this very day sent a message to ask whether he (Sylva) wishes cardinal Medici's cook to be delivered into his hands, as he was imprisoned on the charge of having poisoned his master. Wishes for instructions how to act, what is to be done with the culprit, and in whose hands he is to remain. He has been put to the torture and examined.

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Some time ago the count Fürstemberg went to France, and saw the King, after which some of his Privy Council gave him commission for Germany, to raise 6,000 German lanskenets, and keep them in readiness on the frontiers of Burgundy towards Italy. As this news did not come from a reliable quarter, and as, besides, if there was any truth in the report, His Majesty was sure to know of it through the Imperial ambassador at the French Court, he (Sylva) refrained to write about it; he does so to-day because the intelligence is now confirmed.

The legates were to leave to-day; they have not left, nor will they to-morrow either, according to report. The reason, they say, is that Sena is not yet ready.—Rome, viii. Decembris 1535.

Signed: "El Conde de Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

9 Dec. **235.** The Emperor's Instructions to Pier Luigi Farnese.

S. E., L. 863, f. 31. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 74.

Is to tell His Holiness that, considering the miserable state in which matters of Faith stand now-a-days, it is incumbent upon him, as Head of the Church, to provide an adequate remedy to such an evil. Let him, therefore, whilst we go and visit him at Rome, look out for the means of parrying the blow aimed at Christianity, at himself as the Vicar of God on earth, and subsequently at ourselves, since it is evident that many who ought to stay and counteract the evil are, on the contrary, fostering it as much as they can. To that purpose it seems to us as if two things were principally required: 1st, the convocation of a General Council, without which, in our opinion, no remedy can be applied in matters of Faith, and no definition made of the errors of Lutheranism and other worse sects. Nor would it be possible, in our opinion, to treat with the dissentient princes of Germany without convoking the Council, as otherwise our common efforts would be useless. Cardinal Campeggio knows very well, since he was present at both Augsburgh and at Ratisbone, that all our endeavours to adjust matters in those diets proved vain, and that all the excuses and evasive arguments used by the separatists (*desviados*) have been, are still, directed to one sole object,—that is, to live on in their errors without danger of correction of any sort, and in a situation that enables them to spread such errors with impunity. In this attempt they have been assisted by certain Christian potentates with a view to forward, in the midst of much obscurity and confusion, their own private ends. Even if there should be a hope of coming to terms with the Lutherans, and making them accept those proposed by us, the convocation and meeting of the Council would still be necessary; for it is probable that the said separatists, fearing their discomfiture and ruin in the Council, will sooner subscribe to it than wait

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for the help and assistance of those princes, who, by throwing impediments in the way of the convocation, are only serving their own interests.

The other point is to look out for the means of putting a stop in the meanwhile to the progress of heresy. His Holiness must be aware that all the princes of Christendom, excepting the elector of Saxony and the king of England, are well inclined towards the convocation and meeting of a General Council, and the remedy of the said errors. And, to tell the plain truth, the only impediment lies with king Francis,* who, without further reference to the past, has most probably done, and will do, all he can to prevent its meeting. On this account it would be necessary to know resolutely what that King's intentions are, and that His Holiness should urge him to declare himself. Since the King himself acknowledges that the Council is a necessity and a convenience for France, let him make a public declaration to that effect, and allow its convocation and meeting at Mantua, the city lately chosen by His Holiness, and likely to be approved of by Germans of all classes and conditions.† Let him send thither his proctors and lawyers, unless he himself chooses to attend with a moderate train. Let him agree that no business shall be discussed or transacted in that Council except that which relates exclusively to matters of Faith, and, all difficulties being thus removed, there will be no excuse for the delay. But at the same time His Holiness ought to write to the King, informing him of his full determination to have the Council convoked at once, and telling him that he hopes he (the King) will not directly or indirectly oppose it, but, on the contrary, will favour it as is his duty.

The better to ascertain the intention and will of the king of France in this particular, as well as remedy the great injury and offence that he of England has done to His Holiness, and to his Apostolic dignity, and that of the Roman See, such as the separation of the English kingdom from the obedience of the Pope and Roman Church, it would be necessary that His Holiness verily and truly should admonish king Francis to forsake all dealings and intelligences with the king of England, and to give securities for the future as to the offer he once made to His Holiness of remedying the evil in England as to the two above-mentioned points; because, should his Imperial Majesty's late answer be attended to, namely, that it was very doubtful whether king Francis would help in a case of that sort, but that, on the contrary, he would most probably throw impediments in the way, and, taking advantage of the proceedings instituted at Rome against

* "Y solamente queda por dezir la verdad redondamente, por el impedimento que sin hablar mas de lo pasado el Rey de Francia querrá poner en esto."

† Literally "Germans, good or bad: que buenos y malos de Alemania condescenderian mas presto que se hiciesse alli mas que en otra parte ninguna."

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the king of England, and of the assistance demanded of His Imperial Majesty, with which the king of France would not fail to advise and threaten, the latter would try to make his profit. Indeed, advices have come to the effect that France and England are now more friendly than ever, and prepared to contract still closer alliance. To this effect has the bishop of Ubicastro (Winchester) gone to France, and therefore let not His Holiness be deceived as to the intentions of those two Kings. Let him well ponder in his mind how much these two affairs—that of the Faith in general, and that of the English king in particular—the latter having separated from the Church in such a manner, and getting worse every day,—as well as the injury done to His Holiness, to the Apostolic See, and to the Roman Church,—import to the welfare of Christendom, &c.

Should the king of France consent to co-operate in good faith in the remedy of, and provision for, the above two points, it is very just that His Holiness should consider him as his son, and be a common father to him and to us;* if on the contrary, in no wise can he exercise the office in common, &c.

With regard to Camarino, the Emperor is only waiting for the arrival of the duke of Urbino, who has been summoned by express messenger. When the Duke's intentions and His Majesty's wishes are known, His Holiness will be informed of the result. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Emperor than to be able to serve the Pope in this particular.

The bishopric of Jaen, &c.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 16.

12 Dec. **236.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E., L. 864, f. 20.
B. M., *Add.* 28,588, f. 83.

The general of the Franciscans (Fr. Vincencio Lunel) has told him [Sylva] that the cause of his being summoned to Rome was that he had written to His Holiness from Palermo relating his conversation with the Emperor. As the conversation turned on the General's mission, and was couched in rather ambiguous terms, the Pope had sent for him to explain them. Such is the explanation he himself gives.

The news from France, as received by the Pope, says, in date of the 2nd inst., that king Francis is in good health, and enjoying himself at a place of the Admiral (Brion) two leagues from Lyons, which city he would not visit till after Christmas. That Langeais, whose journey to Germany had been put off, as the Pope himself had told him, had recently started for that country to attend the meeting of certain lords. The King, moreover, had sent money to the duke of Gheldres, and had conferred some time with the bishop of Winchester, Ambassador of the king of England, who had solicited him

* "Que Su S^{d} le deva tener por comun padre entre Su M^{d} y el dicho Rey de Francia."

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to make closer alliance with his master, to prevent the Council, and to make war. There was much talk of it at the Court of France.

The same letter said that the sister of the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency) had actually been dismissed from the Queen's household for the reasons mentioned in a former despatch, although it was rumoured that the Grand Master would recover his favour and influence over the King.

The above news is confirmed by letters which he (Sylva) has received.—Rome, xii. Decembris 1535.

P.S.—Besides the information furnished me by the Pope this morning, a message from him has this afternoon been received at this embassy to the effect that intelligence has arrived from France stating that England is now offering upwards of one million of ducats to Francis, and a large infantry force, if he will make war against the Emperor; and the king of France, I am told, has said this to the Pope, through his ambassador, and besides that he is in league with several free towns of Germany, and that he will cause a Turkish fleet to come and scour the Mediterranean.

His Holiness has to-day left for Hostia (Ostia), but will return on Thursday next. The General of the Franciscans says that before his departure the Pope said to him, "On my return to Rome you shall hear of great things."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **237.** KATHARINE QUEEN OF ENGLAND to DR. ORTIZ at ROME.

S. E., L. 865, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 86.

Doctor, your letter of the 13th ultimo came to hand, the contents of which were both a consolation and a comfort to me, since you exhort me to persevere in my firm purpose of resisting any temptation and danger of offending God, as well as continuing in my belief that justice will ultimately be obtained. Since His Holiness himself wishes it so, and tells you (Ortiz) that what is now and will in future be done on my behalf is the only efficacious remedy to prevent the evil and harm that I and my daughter, with other good souls in this kingdom, are suffering, I shall have patience and wait. But you, Doctor, ought there [at Rome] urgently to solicit from His Holiness that the good work to which you allude in your letter, and which he (the Pope) has commenced, should be promptly executed; for, should there be the least hesitation or delay, it will be tantamount to letting the Devil, who, hitherto, has only been half bound, entirely loose and at liberty to do mischief.*

I cannot, indeed dare not, write to you in clearer terms. It will be sufficient if, as a prudent and wise man, you under-

* "Doctor, lavuestra carta de xiii. de Nouiembre recebi, y me dió harto descanso lo que por ella me hazeis saber asi cerca de la constancia que devo tener en resistir a qualquier peligro por no ofender á Dios, como en ser cierta [de] conseguir la justicia como Su Santidad quiere hazer y da á entender. Lo que

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stand what I mean. I do not write to Count de Cifuentes, as I wish to spare him the trouble of a letter; but you will inform him, in my name, that by his letters to the Emperor, I learn what he is doing there [at Rome] for me, and that I did not expect less from him and those of his lineage. May our Lord [Jesus] give you good health for his holy service, and be sure that your have in me a good friend.*—From Quimbolton, 13 December [1535].

Signed: Catherina.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **238.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, I. 141.

I received one day, lately, Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd Oct.† and previously at various times those therein referred to. I have also from time to time imparted to this King the good news they contained, giving him to understand that I was sure of their being all pleasant and agreeable news to him, as Your Majesty has, no doubt, been informed by several of my despatches in answer, which I hope have reached their destination since the date of your last.

I will, therefore, add nothing more to their contents, except to say that since I last wrote to Your Majesty [on the 1st of November] *this King has not ceased to declare and show in public how pleased he was at the reported damage caused by Barbarossa at the island of Minorca, and his reconquest of Tunis, until a commander of Rhodes arrived here, and told him that the whole was a fable and an invention; that he himself had been present at the taking of Tunis by Your Majesty. The King having interrogated the commander as to the forces under Your Majesty, the latter magnified their quality and their number; so much so, that this King, finding he could not bite, began to say that, with all that, Your Majesty would be now more unprovided than before, since you had been obliged to take with you to Italy the whole of your army, who were doing incredible damage to the country, especially the Germans (added the King), which he said was a great shame. By which words, as uttered by the King, in the presence of his courtiers, Your Majesty will be able to judge how good and sincere his intentions are.*

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se haze y hará ser el verdadero remedio para impedir el mal y daño que yo y mi hija con otras buenas personas tanto tememos. Lo que por servicio de Dios debeis procurar es instar con toda diligencia á que se ponga por obra con toda brevedad lo que en vuestra carta dezis, que aflojar ay sera de todo soltar al Demonio, el qual aun hasta agora está medio atado.

* "No os puedo ni oso mas claramente hablar; bastará ya que como cuerdo me entendais. No escribo al conde de Cifuentes por no le dar pena con mi carta; mas dezir le [h]eis que por la que escribe al Emperador sé lo que haze, y que yo no esperava menos de él ni de los que vienen de su sangre. Nuestro señor os dé mucha salud para su santo servicio, y sed cierto teneis en mi una buena amiga—de quimbolton, xiii. de Deziembre.—"Catharina."

† See above, No. 216, p. 558.

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With respect to Dr. Adam, I must say that he left this shortly after I wrote to Your Majesty about him, but these people kept so vigilant an eye upon him that he was unable to communicate with me, as he had promised. Should he come back here, or should I find secure means of writing to him before matters in Denmark are finally settled, I will try and ascertain what foundation he has for the proposition he once made.

As to listening to any proposals of fresh understanding put forward by this King's ministers, I have taken all possible care to avoid it. It strikes me that Master Cromwell considers Your Majesty's important occupations at this moment a sufficient excuse for your delaying an answer; yet both the King and himself, seeing no appearance of Your Majesty granting their demands, as men without resolution, obstinately blind, and despairing now of any help on the side of France, are evidently trying to gain time, placing all their hope, as all bad payers do, in the demise of their creditors.† Cromwell himself no longer complains to me, as he once did, of the delay of that answer, though he never ceases sending me messages through a confidential friend of his, who has called on me several times for the last fortnight, to beg and entreat for my good offices in obtaining an answer to his propositions in the King's name. Whenever I have occasion to send one of my men to him, he never fails to admonish him to urge the matter on me; yet, with all that, as I say, there is no sign of any fresh proposal; and about a week ago he again, though incidentally as it were, brought forward the marriage of the prince of Spain [Philip] to this King's last-born daughter [Elizabeth].*

Having called upon him about ten days ago to solicit the payment of certain arrears due to the Queen, and at the same time hear news from the King's court, Cromwell told me that he had just despatched a man to inform the King of the indisposition of the Queen, who, he said, was very poorly. As I was not aware of that, I naturally was somewhat alarmed at the news, and asked for permission to go and visit her, or send one of my men thither. This he readily granted, authorising me at once to send someone to inquire, and signing letters to that effect; but as to his allowing me to visit her, that he could not do; he would, however, speak to the King about it, and on his return from Court would let me know the answer. He has not spoken to me since, nor have I again mentioned the subject to him; for, thank God, the Queen has recovered, and is now well. *As I was coming out of Cromwell's rooms, I received a letter from the Queen's physician,*

* "Au regard dentretenir laffaire de la practique de la nouvelle intelligence, qua este mise en avant par les ministres de ce Roy, ce y ay tousiours eu le soing et regard quil ma este possible."

† "ils serchent de gaigner temps ayant leur espoir en lancre (?) des mauvais payeurs."

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stating that, with God's help, there was no fear for the present; and that, should I not hear of her being worse, I was not to trouble myself with asking for leave to see her; I therefore have since desisted from the application.

Cromwell informed me that two days before, the Scottish secretary (Erskine?), returning from France, had dined with him, and had a long talk after dinner concerning the marriage of king James and the daughter of Vendosme. *He said to me that the secretary (Erskine) seemed in bad humour, and dissatisfied at the turn affairs were taking in France, saying that perhaps his master [of Scotland], hearing of the death of the duke of Milan, might be tempted to suspend all negotiations in the French quarter, in the hope of marrying the Duke's widow.**

On this same occasion Cromwell repeated what he had once said to me, namely, that the King, his master, had been informed that the count Palatine (Frederick) aspired to the throne of Denmark; *which (observed Cromwell) the King and I find very strange, for he (the Palatine) has no title whatever to it. He likewise told me that the King, his master, had received letters, informing him of an Imperial diet shortly to be held at Spires, in order to declare null and void the grant which the emperor Constantine once made to the Apostolic See of Rome and other countries, and that the Pope began already to perceive that Your Majesty's design in going to that capital was to seize the ecclesiastical temporalities. The report has caused great discontent at Rome. As since that time the French ambassador has told me the very same thing, Your Majesty will easily understand the nice inventions (bourdes) with which these people are daily fed.*

About ten days ago the bailiff of Amboise arrived here, accompanied by a son of his, and only one servant. Though rather old and heavy, he himself rode past. He, no doubt, imagined that his arrival would not be noticed, owing to the privacy of his travelling; but no sooner had he alighted at his lodgings than the French ambassador sent his own brother and some of his staff to visit him, and request he would call at the embassy. *After long excusing himself on the plea of the haste in which he was to call upon the King at Richmond, and his having nothing particular to communicate to the French ambassador, the bailiff at last consented to go, inasmuch as the road to Court passed by the French embassy. The bailiff, therefore, went thither, and gave him to understand that he had a mission from Madame d'Allebrecht (Albret), the widow of Henry, whom the French used to call "king of Navarre." His mandate was to tell this King that she wished to make a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury. And upon the French ambassador, suspecting that this was but a feint, and*

* The duke Francesco Sforza died at Milan on the 24 Oct. of this year. He had been married a few months to Christine or Kristierna, daughter of the king of Denmark (Kristiern II.).

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that, had the bailiff's mission been such, the said lady would not have failed to inform him, her particular and especial servant thereof, he sent next day one of his own men to Master Cromwell, to acquaint him with his suspicions concerning the said bailiff, who, he said, came no doubt under false pretences, at the same time begging him to retain him in England until the return of a man whom he had despatched to France, to ascertain, if possible, the object of his secret and mysterious mission. Cromwell, it appears, approved of the ambassador's plan, and suddenly dispatched some of his own servants to follow the bailiff wherever he went. The latter, however, went to Court, did his business, whatever it was there, came back, and has since returned to Richmond. I fancy he will remain there until a man whom Cromwell has sent thither in all haste comes back. Whatever may be the issue of this business, I shall not fail to apprise Your Majesty.

In conversation the other day with Cromwell I tried in various ways to learn from him something concerning the bishop of Winchester's late mission to France, but all in vain; I could learn nothing about it. Nor is the French ambassador himself, as I am told by one of his most familiar and confidential friends, less perplexed at it, making all manner of conjectures as to the nature of his mission. After a good deal of reflection on the matter, the ambassador has come to the conclusion that the object of his mission can be no other than to prevent the meeting of the Council, and persuade the Most Christian to appoint a head of the Church in his kingdom; on which point the Bishop has lately composed the oration which I am now sending to Monsieur de Granvelle. The ambassador is of opinion that to the first article people in France may perhaps listen, but that the second cannot be granted.

As soon as the news of the death of the duke of Milan arrived in this town, Master Cromwell sent to inform me thereof, though he might well know that I was already aware of it. Yesterday, in conversation with one of my men, who went to him with a message from me, he spoke of it by way of congratulation, extolling the nature of the duchy, and adding that it was so valuable that Your Majesty ought by no means to give it away.

To eradicate and do away entirely with Papal authority in this kingdom the King has lately issued letters patent enforcing the immediate abolishment of all indulgences, and using the same clemency in the case as was used with the books and writings of that holy martyr the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), as appears by the enclosed copy in print, of which I now forward a translation to Mr. de Granvelle.—London, 13 Dec. 1535. "Eustace Chapuys."

The present despatch being closed, I received a letter from the Queen, Your Majesty's aunt, which goes along with this. In addition to its contents, which are sad enough, she com-

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mands me to call your attention to her sufferings, and relates to you several particulars, which would move a stone to pity and commiseration; but having frequently written to Your Majesty about this, and knowing that in your prudence and wisdom you know better than anyone in this world what remedy can and is to be applied under the present circumstances, and, moreover, that you have those affairs more at heart than the Queen herself, I will abstain from troubling you further on that score.*

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp.

13 Dec. **239.** The Emperor to Thomas Cromwell.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 72.

Has heard by letters of Chapuys the good service which he (Cromwell) has rendered to the cause of the queen of England, his aunt, and to the Princess, her daughter, for which he (the Emperor) is as thankful as if it had been done to himself. Asks Cromwell to continue in such loyal service, and on his part will be glad personally to gratify him in anything that may occur, so that he (Cromwell) may know that he has not ill-employed his pains.—Naples, 13 Dec. 1535.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

13 Dec. **240.** The Same to Chapuys.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 73.

Was met on the road [to Naples] by the messenger, who brought his letters of the 13th and 15th of September, and 13th of October, and on the 6th inst. his despatch of the 6th ulto. was also duly received. After maturely weighing all their contents, he (the Emperor) decided to dismiss the messenger, and send him back with this present letter, and with instructions for the queen of Hungary (Mary), and the count of Roeulx conjointly; the substance of which instructions he (Chapuys) will hear from the messenger's lips.

Chapuys will be well rewarded for all he has done, but as matters are pressing, his messenger is sent off at once without further delay. Cannot, therefore, enter into more details for the present, but hopes to hear from him often. Is to leave for Rome on the 15th.—Naples, 13 Dec. 1535.

French. Original minute. pp. 2.

13 Dec. **241.** Eustace Chapuys to Nicolas de Granvelle.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 69.

The French ambassador suspects that this bailiff of Amboise is a heretic and a runaway from France. He was once a great friend of Mr. de St. Blancay. The bishop of Tarbes thinks that the bailiff is here for no other purpose than to offer his services to this King, and likewise those of a son of his, who

* "Sachant aussi que par vostre grande prudence cognoissez mieulx ce quest necessaire au remede de ces affaires que nulle personne, et que icelle [maieste] les a plus a cueur que la royne mesme, me depourteray de atedier vostre maiesté."

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has resided long in Germany. The Bishop, moreover, is afraid that this man, whoever he may be, may divulge something about the negociations now pending between Francis and the Emperor, our master, to the detriment of Henry. I am of a different opinion; I think that he has been sent here by Madame d'Albret, *who, being so good a Christian, is naturally desirous of receiving the blessing of the pope of England.**

The bishop of Winchester, who hitherto upheld the supremacy of the Pope, has now published a book against it. I hear he is again going to France to persuade and urge the people of that country to forsake the Holy See, though the pretence will be that the Bishop goes for the purpose of contracting a firmer alliance with this King.

A fine of 4,000 ducats imposed last year on the Venetian merchants for having contravened certain regulations of the Customs here, has been remitted, and the merchants allowed to export wool from this country. However, as the Secretary of Venice informs me, the merchants of his nation care little for that permission, and seem rather inclined to make no use of it, for fear a Papal decree should, one of these days, be issued against the English. In fact, I hear that the merchants of that nation have been advised to quit this country as soon as they can, as most of those of other nations have been.—London, 13 Dec. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, partly in cipher.

16 Dec. **242.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E., L. 863, f. 50.
B. M. 28,588, f. 87.

His last letter was the 22nd of November. Not having received any answer he (Ortiz) fears that it has miscarried, as did the three preceding ones.

News has just been received here that the Sophi of Persia has defeated the Grand Turk with a loss of 40,000 horse, prisoners and slain included, besides 40 large pieces of ordnance.

With regard to the matrimonial suite of Her Highness the queen of England, the cardinals in consistory have decided to make the declaration demanded, but they wish to give the King three months time to come round, and renounce the schism, heresy, and public adultery in which he is actually living. Ambassador Chapuys still writes that he is not allowed to call on the Queen and Princess, or send his secretary with a message. Those who attend on her deserve better the name of guards or spies than that of servants, for Anne [Boleyn] has made each of them swear that on no account are they to give her the title of Queen, or treat

* The sentence in italics is, as already observed, in cipher. As to Mad^me^ d'Albret, her name was Marguerite d'Orleans, sister of Francis I. She had been married to Charles IV., duke of Alençon, who died on 14th of April 1525, shortly after the battle of Pavia.

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her with royal ceremony. The Queen, therefore, not to give them occasion to infringe Anne's commands, has not left her room for the last two years. Perhaps too, if she wished, she would not be allowed. However this may be, she has not a ducat to spend, and of all her old servants, only her confessor, physician, and apothecary have been left. To all those who approach him, the King makes no secret of it, but engages them to weaken the authority of the Holy Apostolic See. Thus he, who in former times appealed (*avia apelado*) to a General Council, now-a-days laughs at it, and wishes that it may never meet.

Great dearth of all kinds of food in England, prices having everywhere doubled in consequence. Such, however, is the wickedness of the preachers that they go on publishing that it is those who still hold to the true Faith who are the cause of it.—Rome, 16 Dec. 1535.

Signed : "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

18 Dec. **243.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 74.

At the pressing request of the Queen, Your Majesty's aunt, I again called yesterday on secretary Cromwell for the purpose of soliciting her removal to other quarters, and also of asking for some money in advance on the rest of her arrears against these next festivals, as I had occasion to write to Your Majesty some time ago. Cromwell, as usual, gave me a favourable answer, and hoped that both my applications would be attended to. *I had, however, another object in view : I wished at the same time to know something respecting the doings at Court of the French gentleman who takes the title of Bailiff of Amboise, and likewise to inquire what the French ambassador himself had gone to him for.*

Though Cromwell was at the time engaged with the Vice-chancellor and several others, he sent to say, through the man who went forward to announce my visit, that he would be glad to receive me at any hour on that day ; and that, should he happen to be engaged at the time, he would certainly put all other business on one side, and attend to mine exclusively. After a reception, which was, as usual, most kind, Cromwell began to say that it was certainly a happy day for him, that in which he had the honour of receiving at his house the ambassadors of the two most powerful princes in the world. Then, after some talk concerning the Queen's affairs, he proceeded to say that there was late news from France of the most extraordinary and strange nature, to the effect that Your Majesty had proposed to the King of that country the conquest of England, and its subsequent possession for himself, on condition of his withdrawing all help and alliance from it now ;—which gift, observed Cromwell, was certainly the most important that one prince could make to another.

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Upon which, smiling, and looking him hard in the face, I replied, that if he (Cromwell) was amazed at such news, I was not the less so at hearing him repeat seriously such "bourdes et fabuleuses inventions" without anathematizing the fabricators of them. I did not hesitate to say that those who fed them with such ill-favoured and unfounded lies were not aware of the mischief they might cause by them, or else had a very poor idea of the wisdom and prudence of the King and all his councillors, and that the spreaders of rumours and reports likely to produce such dissensions and hatred should dispose of their merchandize to those who had but recently become acquainted with them and with their goods. That I did not hesitate to affirm, nay, would willingly lay everything I possessed in this world, that not only had Your Majesty never entertained a thought to his master's prejudice, but had, on the contrary been most careful and anxious for the King's honour, as well as for the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom. It would be found that all Your Majesty's solicitations, if any, had been always directed towards that end; and that you had always hoped, and went on hoping, that God would not allow affairs between you and him to come to such dire extremity, but would, on the contrary, inspire those who went astray to enter again on the right path. It was evident that the last reports about Your Majesty's hostile preparations against him were entirely devoid of foundation; for, certainly, far from your having collected troops and fitted up ships for the purpose of making war, you had licensed and paid up the whole. I was perfectly sure, that, instead of trying to diminish in any way his master's power, you would like to see it increased, and that, were it not for the wrong likely to be inflicted on the Queen and the Princess, whom Your Majesty held as your own mother and daughter, would never wish to see the king of England dethroned, holding it as certain that the said two ladies, through the inestimable love they bore him, would feel the King's dethronement as much as Your Majesty. After which, and other like arguments, which I omit for brevity's sake, I told Cromwell that I hoped ere long to be able to give him further proofs of my assertion, and unravel the mystery, as well as the report which last year had reached his master's ears, respecting the offer of the Princess's hand to Monseigneur d'Angolesme (the duke of Angoulême), which, it was said, Your Majesty had made to king Francis.*

To the above observations Cromwell gave full assent, both in countenance and in words. In fact he seemed so glad

* "Et que tels seminateurs de dissentions et tyrannies debvroient vendre leurs coquilles (?) a gens que ne cougnoistroient de longtemps les marchans et la marchandise."

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at having heard my formal declarations on that point that he begged me to repeat them once more in the presence of the Chancellor, for whom he sent; and when the Chancellor heard one portion only of what I had said to Cromwell he seemed quite satisfied and convinced, and began abusing the French, whom he called liars and impostors, adding that he firmly believed that, in spite of their malicious tongues and venomous shafts, the friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master, would remain firmly established. In his opinion it only needed the removal of certain scruples and causes for suspicion for that friendship to become as firm and advantageous to both parties as it was at first. And he ended by entreating me to make every endeavour, and continue the same good offices towards it, which Cromwell had always given me credit for, with the King and his Privy Council; Cromwell adding, shortly after, that there was no question, quarrel, or difference between Your Majesty and his master, except this second marriage; and that he and I had often conversed about it, fighting like two true and good champions, and trying to gain some advantage over one another.

After several such complimentary sentences Master Cromwell proceeded to say that such were Your Majesty's kindness and virtues, as he gathered from the frequent conversations he had held with me, that he had always declared and affirmed to the King, his master, and to the Privy Council, that Your Majesty would never undertake anything against the King, his master, unless positively compelled by circumstances. In answer to such assertion I failed not to declare that if they (the English) thought that Your Majesty, after the sentence in favour of the Queen, had solicited anything at Rome, they were very much mistaken: Your Majesty had delayed rather than pressed the whole affair, as could be proved by the executory letters not being yet acted on, and that even if the proceedings at Rome continued that would not be Your Majesty's doing, but the Pope's and the Sacred College, whose duty and business it was to provide for them. All present agreed with me as to that, adding that they supposed that His Holiness, whom the affairs of England concerned most particularly, would not omit soliciting princes in his favour.

Cromwell, no doubt, said all these things in the Chancellor's presence that he may hereafter bear testimony that he did not speak for himself, but expressed the sentiments of the King and his Council, and also that I might clearly represent his own views of the affair, without being suspected of partiality.

Having then inquired from Master Cromwell whether it was the bailiff of Amboise who had brought the above stupendous news from France, he answered that it was not, and that the King's own ambassador in that country was the author of the information above alluded to, having obtained

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it from one of the principal courtiers. I then told Cromwell, "If such be the case, why does not the King's ambassador "in France communicate on the subject with the Imperial "one? he ought to be written to to that effect."—"That has "already been done," answered Cromwell, "but by the very "first post he shall receive fresh orders."

On my way to Master Cromwell, I met the French ambassador returning therefrom. He told me that he had hitherto believed that the man, about whom I lately wrote to Your Majesty, was really and truly bailiff of Amboise, as he calls himself, but that now he had reasons to suspect that he was no such bailiff, but had come to England under an assumed name and title. The ambassador thinks he is an emigrant from France, on account of this new Lutheran sect, and asserts that his arrival in this country has been for him a source of trouble and anxiety; true it is that he also (he said) has had his full share of it, beset as he has been by fear and annoyances of all sorts. *Indeed, ever since the man's arrival in this country, the French ambassador has been heard to say that he was afraid his purpose was to reveal and denounce some secret negociation between Your Majesty and the King, his master.* The ambassador also said to me that Your Majesty was hastening to Rome and thence to Milan, to look after the affairs of that duchy, and make certain arrangements. And upon my inquiring what they might be, he answered: to appoint a duke according to the stipulations of the treaty made at Bologna, *and that the Venetian secretary went about stating openly that his Signory would help with all her powers in the execution of that treaty. To show me confidence and good fellowship—perhaps also for fear I might be already in possession of the information from another quarter—the ambassador further said that he had on more than one occasion driven the Venetian secretary to despair by telling him, by way of a joke, that Your Majesty was now thinking of regaining possession of those lands and territories in the Duchy which the Signory had once usurped, and successively all those that belonged by right to the house of Austria. And upon my remarking to the ambassador that the Signory of Venice knew long ago, by experience in various ways, that Your Majesty would not use violence against them or others, he replied that heretofore there had been no time or opportunity for that—Your Majesty having had great affairs in hand, which had occupied all your attention and care—but that now being, as it were, master of the situation, you would have a better opportunity for carrying out your plans. I have no doubt that the ambassador will persuade the Venetian secretary of this and other like things; but I am also sure that he will hold a very different language respecting his master's pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and at the same time assure the Venetians that in such an event king Francis will provide*

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*means and friends for the occasion, and at a better season and more convenient opportunity claim what he thinks belongs to France.**

I forgot to mention that when Cromwell lately communicated his *French news, I, by way of counterchange, and to pay him back in the same coin, thought of imparting to him the information I myself had, which was that in France they had tried to persuade Mr. de Likerke, some time before the arrival of the bishop of Winchester, that the latter was going thither with the sleeves of his robe filled with treaties for the renewal of friendship. Hearing which Cromwell shook his head, and said that the news was a forgery, as was also the preceding.* —London, 18 Dec. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Original, mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

18 Dec. **244.** The same to NICOLAS DE GRANVELLE.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 73.

Handed over to Cromwell a copy of the answer which the Emperor gave to the memorandum of French pretensions to Milan.

The French ambassador was some time ago very angry with Cromwell for his repeatedly refusing to see him, and has (he says) sent him a message to this effect: that he will no longer call on him unless he receives especial orders from the King, his master, to do so. Since then, however, I am told that he has often visited him. Yesterday, happening to meet the ambassador in the street, I failed not to chaff him about his late frequent visits to that Secretary; he assured me that he had strictly kept to his word, and that it was only at his master's express command that he had been induced to call. I do not believe it.

This King has had a letter written to Master Raynal (Reginald) Pole at Venice, strictly commanding him to state his opinion in writing on the primacy of the Pope (de primatu Pontificis), and send it to him forthwith. Please God, the King's solicitations were for the purpose of hearing from him the pure and simple truth of the matter, and not, as I strongly suspect, to have occasion to calumniate and do harm to the said Pole, who, as I have frequently written, is one of the most virtuous personages in the world, and would be most efficient and useful if there was a question of reforming the affairs of this country.—London, 18 Dec. 1535.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph, almost entirely in cipher. pp. 2.

* "Synon que le dict roy se furniroit de gens et amys, et venant meilleurs saison et opportunite, il se forceroit (s'efforceroit) de repeter (*sic*) ce que luy appertenoit."

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29 Dec. **245.** The Emperor to Chapuys.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 74.

Received on the 24th his letters of the 21st November. What he (Chapuys) says of the ill-will which king Henry bears the Queen and the Princess is so horrible and cruel that it can scarcely be believed, much less still that he may one of these days put them both to death.

Should the Queen and Princess take the oath demanded of them, there would be two evils to encounter. Firstly, by accepting, they might lose the goodwill of the English people; and then the King, after they had taken the oath, might turn round, and wreak his vengeance upon them for having so long refused to do it. Secondly, should they take it, it would be tantamount to admitting that their resistance had been unjustifiable.

For the above two reasons those good ladies must be advised not to take the oath except at the last extremity. He (Chapuys) is to do his utmost to maintain them in that line, and thus gain time; but should there be real danger for their lives, then let them take it.

At his meeting with the Pope (Paul III.) at Rome, he (the Emperor) will take measures to ensure both the safety and the rights of the Queen and Princess, as he is in duty bound to do.—Naples, 29 Dec. 1535.

French. Original draft. pp. 3½.

30 Dec. **246.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, II. 75.

On Monday last, the 27th inst., this King sent to request me to go and call any day I chose during these festivals, excepting on New Year's Day, adding that I should be welcome, and would give him great pleasure by going. Accordingly, this day, Tuesday, having been fixed upon between the gentleman of the Chamber who brought the message, and myself, as most convenient, I was preparing to go to Court, when a second message came praying me to suspend my visit until next Sunday.

Yesterday, Wednesday, having received a letter from the Queen's physician to the effect that she had had a relapse, and was much worse than a month ago, and that it would be a source of content and satisfaction for the said Queen, as well as of consolation for all the members of her household, if I would ask leave to go and visit her, I immediately dispatched one of my secretaries to Court to ask for the said leave. Cromwell sent me word that there would be no difficulty at all in obtaining it, but that I ought to go first to the King, who wished to speak to me on very important matters, and, therefore that I was to be in Greenwich without fail to-day at 1 o'clock p.m., as the King would go thither from Eltham, where he is at present residing. Yet, though Cromwell repeated several times the same injunction, and begged my man over and over again not to forget his

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message, he has this very morning sent me his own secretary to ask what my decision was, that he might let the King know, and prepare him for my visit at Greenwich; *thus showing the great desire the King himself and Cromwell had that I should go to Court on that particular day.*

Accordingly at the appointed hour I found on Greenwich pier Mr. de Chenay, who was waiting by the King's command to conduct me to the "place des lices," where I met the King. After a most courteous and kind reception, the King embraced me, and put his hands round my neck, walked for some time with me in the presence of all the courtiers, telling me many things which would take me too much time to recount or write down. *Among the things he told me, one was that, hearing from his secretary, Cromwell, that I wished to visit the sick lady, he had advanced the day appointed for our meeting, inasmuch as, the matter being important and requiring haste, all other business audiences might well be abandoned, or at least postponed. So important, moreover, was the matter of which he now wished to speak to me, that he did not hesitate to say at once what he thought of it. Certainly such was the trust and confidence he had in the amiable and flattering words which Mr. de Likerke and myself had from time to time addressed to his ministers respectively, that he was in hope of a satisfactory settlement of all matters with Your Majesty. He had, therefore, declined listening to the overtures of the French, who were importuning him with offers of very advantageous conditions, though he himself saw no appearance of the hope he had conceived. It seemed to him as if Your Majesty was only dissembling and gaining time to have your own affairs settled in the meantime, and then give the signal to all the world.* On the other hand, the French, since the death of the duke of Milan, had renewed their solicitations and eager practices, and had even improved on their conditions, offering "monts et merveilles;" so much so that he should be obliged at last to lend an ear to their proposals, unless he received very shortly a favourable and decisive answer from Your Majesty. Indeed, he doubted whether he should be able to wait for that answer, so pressing were the solicitations of the French. He was not such a fool as to be gulled by delays and simulations, which, after all, might ultimately turn out to his detriment, and make him lose Your Majesty's friendship, and likewise that of the French.* This was the time, added the King, *for attending to his own affairs, now that the French were so embittered against Your Majesty, and waiting only for an opportunity to declare war against you, especially in view of the great offers daily made to him—offers more advantageous and more solid than any they (the French) had hitherto made, since there was a talk of making him master of certain towns and districts on the continent.*

* "Et quil sembloit que vostre maieste alloit dissimulant les affaires pour cependant faire ses affaires et apres donner le signe (?) a tout la monde."

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As, however, he was an honourable, sincere, and straightforward prince, he hastened to explain to me the situation in which he was placed, and make a clean breast of it, thereby relieving his conscience, as well as complying with the laws of honour. This he did that I might do my best in informing Your Majesty as soon as possible of the state of affairs. I was in nowise to doubt his assertions; he was a man of truth; not one of those who, in order to render parties jealous of each other, and profit by their dissensions, were apt to make false representations, saying one thing when they really mean another. He was an Englishman, not a Frenchman nor a Spaniard, and unaccustomed to such stratagems.†*

After this, as I was preparing to reply, and explain to him in a satisfactory manner the causes of the delay in Your Majesty's answer, the King himself proposed that we should go up to his chamber, which he caused every one to quit. When we were alone, I told him that were there no other reasons for the delay he complained of than Your Majesty's serious engagements during the last voyage to the coast of Barbary; that alone was an excuse more than sufficient and legitimate for your not answering his letter immediately. All the time the expedition to Tunis lasted, you had necessarily postponed the affairs of England as well as those of other countries equally important to you. This assertion and excuse of mine the King would in nowise admit, saying that he knew very well that the contrary was the fact. My answer was that Your Majesty had perhaps *more reasons than he himself had to regret the delay and reserve, of which he complained, as it was for him to give a reply in writing to the overtures I had once made in Your Majesty's name, and such a reply was not forthcoming.* Up to that time (I said) I had been unable to draw from him or from Master Cromwell a decisive answer; for whenever the subject had been discussed between Cromwell and myself, that Secretary, not knowing, as he himself had owned to me, what answer to give to my representations, had invariably asked for time to consider the matter and consult him (the King). At last, perceiving that I importuned him too much and too often on the subject, and that I pressed for a definitive resolution, *at the same time giving him to understand that I suspected his communications with me to be calculated to temporize and make the French jealous rather than bring the affair to a conclusion, Cromwell had said, in order to free himself of my importunities, that he had written to Mr. de Valoux (Wallop) in France, to make a fit answer to Your Majesty's ambassador at that Court.* And yet, notwithstanding my very

* "Franc, rond, et dhonneur."

† "Et quil nestoit [pas] de ceulx que pour mettre jalousie et autrement en faire son (leur) proffit disoient une chose pour autre et pluseurs artificieuses grimasses, mais quil estoit anglois et non point françois ou espagnol pour user de telle ruse."

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strong impression, confirmed by the above signs and others, that English politics were wrapped up in dissimulation and delay, I had omitted no opportunity of asking Master Cromwell for an answer, and he had always answered in general terms. *Indeed, I could not imagine, whatever might be said to the contrary, that both he (the King) and the most Christian, being, as they were, most virtuous princes, could undertake anything against Your Majesty likely to bring on the ruin of Christendom, much less himself, who had no earthly excuse for such behaviour with regard to Your Majesty, who had always been his sincere and most attached friend; in doing which he would not only greatly offend God by the infringement of oaths and promises, but would do damage to himself and his kingdom by waging war on Your Majesty without the least hope of gain or advantage to himself; for he ought to know that those who allured him with the promise of lands and territories belonging to other princes* would rather keep them for themselves, as they did Guyenne and Normandy, than give them to another prince. *He also ought to know,* as Master Cromwell had often told me in conversation, *that, in order to get possession of Milan, the French would gladly renounce the friendship of all other princes,—nay, would renounce their own fathers and mothers, and even their God, as that Secretary had once told me.*

Here the King interrupted me by saying that he did not think Your Majesty would be so ill advised as to give up Milan to the French, for that would be equivalent to working your own ruin. And upon my replying, that, even if the French conquered that duchy, they would still do in all matters anything Your Majesty pleased in order to secure peace; and that, with regard to the total ruin to which he alluded, there was no fear at all, as the experience of the past has shown; for that when your arms were not so prosperous everywhere as they are just now, and when the French were more flourishing and powerful, you had got out of the difficulty and recovered what you had lost, the King had nothing to reply.

Again he interrupted me by saying, "All that is very "well, but were I now to throw my sword in the balance, "you would find the case very different. The Emperor's "affairs are not so flourishing as reported; there is no "great glory in chasing a pirate, even if he had had the "favour and assistance of the Moorish king, which he had "not; whereas it is a known fact—and I have it from my "ambassador with the Emperor—that to the Moor's exertions, "and to his valiant co-operation was your victory over "Barbarossa in a great measure owing." And upon my replying that he ought to consider that Barbarossa was the general-in-chief under one of the most powerful princes in the world, and himself king of two kingdoms, and that the dethroned king [of Tunis] had met with little or no favour on the part of his own subjects, the King seemed sorry to

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have opened the conversation on such points, and ended by saying, "As to my making alliance with the French, it is "entirely out of the question; England and France can "never be bound by the same ties. Should, however, war "break out between your Emperor and king Francis, and "should my subjects be hindered from trading with Flanders, "it will certainly be a great loss to this kingdom, and yet I "fancy that means could be found of obviating that loss, and "sending our merchandise somewhere else."

Having then, after a long conversation on various matters more or less connected with the subject, asked what other cause there might be for his joining the French in a war against Your Majesty, *the King answered that his own safety and your aggrandisement were the principal ones. The French (he said) were continually reproaching him that his dissimulation was the cause of it all, and that you had grown too powerful of late. Besides that, you had been most ungrateful towards him, soliciting and obtaining, merely to satisfy a woman's vengeance, all manner of hard measures against him, and causing him immense annoyance and many wrongs,* the greatest of which was your procuring, by sheer force and threats, the sentence from Pope Clement. So had the Pope himself owned to his ambassadors. My answer was, that Your Majesty, in return for so many hours of pleasure, had certainly had one bad one, in his complaining that Your Majesty had recommended the Queen's right to justice. If you had (I said), it was as much for his own as for the Queen's honor. Hearing which the King quickly replied, as he did once before, that Your Majesty had not done the same on behalf of the queen of Denmark, your sister.* My reply was the same I made on a previous occasion, namely, that you had done all you could for her two daughters, your nieces.† In short, to all his arguments I answered in the same strain, taking good care *not to wound his feelings or goad him on, especially at a time when French practices seem to be very rife, for I do really believe, notwithstanding all the King may say, that the French do not show much fear of his turning; and that if he himself has shown me such attention and favour in presence of his courtiers, it is merely for the purpose of exciting the jealousy of the French ambassador, who, no later than yesterday, went to Court at the King's summons.*

After much talking on various matters I asked the King what he wished Your Majesty to do. *He said to me that he wished Your Majesty would refrain from favouring* the two *ladies (meaning queen Katharine and the Princess), and have*

* Sur quoy me mist en avant, comme autresfois, que vostre maieste navoit ainsi fait pour la royne [de] dennemarke, sa (vostre?) soeur." Isabella, the sister of Charles, born in 1501. She was married to Christiern II. of Denmark, dethroned in 1513. She herself died in Flanders in 1526.

† "Luy remonstrant ce que vostre maieste avoit fait pour *les* filles, *ses* nyeces, et a tout la reste," &c. Thus in the deciphering, but the reading ought to be "pour *ses* filles, *uos* niepces."

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the sentence in favour of the Queen revoked. I represented to him that I saw no cause or reason for your doing so, and that even if Your Majesty felt inclined, it was not in your power to accede to his wishes, besides which I had no express mandate to debate on such matters. The only thing I could do to please him (said I) *was to inform Your Majesty of his wish. I assured him that you would do anything to please him as far as your honor and conscience would permit. The King then said, among other things, that he was pretty sure that the Pope had urged Your Majesty to do your worst against him. He also owned that the report of Your Majesty having offered to the king of France to conquer this kingdom of England, and give it over to him, seemed to be a regular hoax.*

At last the King said that he imagined Queen Katherine, whom he did not name otherwise than by the appellation of "Madame" would not live long, and *that once dead, he thought Your Majesty would no longer have a pretence for mixing yourself up with the affairs of England, and would refrain from further pursuits in the matter of the marriages. My reply was that the demise of the Queen could not profit any one, and that at all events the sentence was a necessity.*

I had already left the King's chamber, and was quitting the Royal palace altogether, when the duke of Suffolk overtook me with a message from the King to say that just at that moment news had come that the Queen was "in extremis," and that if I went to her lodgings I should hardly find her alive; *adding, on his own account, that with her death all impediments and scruples between Your Majesty and him would finally be removed.* I really believe that the danger is not so great as they represent, for otherwise her physician would have written to me that her condition was grave. However this may be, I am now going to mount my horse and go to Kimbolton. I have also asked the King's permission for the Princess to go and visit her mother; he at first refused, but on my representing the case duly, he said that he would consider about it, and let me know the result. *I must add that it was at the request of the Princess herself that I made the application.*—London, 30 December 1535.

French. Original, almost entirely in cipher.

247. INSTRUCTIONS of COUNT CIFUENTES to TELLO DE GUZMAN, going to the Emperor.

S. S. de G., Mar. y Tierra, L. 8. B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 95.

You shall first of all call on the High Commander (Covos), and tell him that on the 23rd ult., by a courier, who arrived here from Naples, I informed him of the arrival of Andrea Doria in this capital (Rome), and that His Holiness showed on the occasion very good-will concerning the 12 galleys. That the day after there was a consistory of cardinals, in which the subject was discussed; but that, notwithstanding all my efforts, no resolution was taken, nor anything done in

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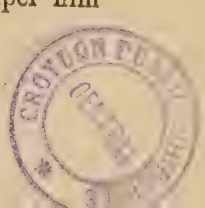
the affair, save inquiring whence the money was to come for the fitting out and payment of the said galleys, &c. That, perceiving the inconvenience of delay in matters of this sort, I complained to His Holiness, the Pope, and announced to him that I was about to send an express [to Spain] to represent the state of things at Rome, and their unwillingness to co-operate with their galleys in the African expedition. The Emperor, I said, could not fail to send some person to remonstrate against such a breach of promise. His Holiness's answer was that he was glad of such a person coming to Rome; whoever he was, he would see that it was no fault of his; he had often written to his Nuncio at the Imperial court (Poggio) that he was ready to please the Emperor in all matters, especially in this one of the galleys, as well as in that of the General Council; He had been the first to speak of it in conclave before his own election, and he was now about to write to the Christian Princes in general, exhorting them to throw no impediments in the way of it. To His Imperial Majesty, he said, he would send also, though he had not yet decided whether it would be a nuncio or a legate.

You will likewise inform the High Commander (Covos) that His Holiness is highly displeased at the disrespectful conduct (*desacato*), as he calls it, of the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo della Rovere) in having married the duchess of Camarino (Giulia Varana) without asking his permission. Their two estates (Camarino and Urbino) being, as it were, at the gates of Rome, and separating Romagna like a great wall thrown across it, the Pope fears that one of these days Guidobaldo, if he chooses, may become his enemy. The Duke's resident ambassador related to me some days ago that His Holiness had said to the gentleman who came to announce Guidobaldo's marriage: "Your master had better attend to his own estate, which is large and rich enough, rather than look out for other possessions; the French are not his friends." The gentleman had replied, "The French have no reason to be otherwise than friendly to us, and besides the Emperor is on our side." The Pope, they say, was so mortified at this, that he has been heard to say, "I see what it is; it is impossible nowadays to go out of the gates of Rome without treading on the land of some baron or other; the Church owns nothing, and yet I am Pope, and descended from Julius, who did so much for it (meaning no doubt, the acquisitions made by that Pope). I do not want the estate for Pier Luigi, nor others of my family; I want the Church to have its own."

In addition to what Aceves must have said respecting the Florentine "fuorusciti," you will tell the High Commander that the other day the Cardinal (Ippolito) went to Siena, and said that all the Florentine cardinals, as well as Philippo Strozzi, and many notable Florentines, were indignant at the conduct of the duke Alessandro. He said that he could not remain long there, as the people would soon rise and expel him



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from their city. That the Florentine deputies had come to offer him the ducal crown, and he had refused it; but that in the end, in order to prevent, if possible, the ruin of his own family, he would accept their offers conditionally, on the Emperor's consent being previously given.*

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 9.

248.

S. E., L. 2917, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 100.

A discourse by Monsignor Claudio Tolomeo, bishop of Corzola (in Dalmatia) on the question whether His Holiness (Paul III.) ought to lean towards the Emperor or towards the king of France, and what provisions ought to be made.

Italian. Original. pp. 3.

249.

E. sc., L. B.B., MSS. III. XII. f. 257.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 103.

Another discourse by the same, on the respective merits of the Emperor Charles V., and of Francis I. king of France, towards the Apostolic See, on their power and other qualities.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

250.

S. E., L. 2017, f. 97.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 104.

"Discorso sopra la corte di Roma, by Guicciardini."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

251.

S. E., L. 2017, f. 103.
B. M. *Add.* 28,588, f. 105.

"Discorso sopra la corte di Roma."†

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

* No date.

† In the same volume, the 17th of Bergenroth's collection, the following treatises are found in succession: Discourse upon the reform of the Court at Rome (fol. 105). Patrimony of St. Peter, or the donations of princes, under the name of Peter's pence, in Latin (fol. 106). Quod Petrus, a Christo princeps institutus et principatus munere functus est, et ei omnes subsunt (fol. 107).

SUPPLEMENT.

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8 Feb. **252.** KATHARINE OF ARAGON, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, to the EMPEROR.

Huth Library, Cat. vol. v. p. 1694–5.

Most high and most powerful Lord, it is but a little time since I wrote to Your Majesty, stating my opinion upon the articles which the ambassador of the King, my lord and husband, presented to Your Majesty; after which the ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) who resides here [for Your Majesty], showed me other articles, sent by His Holiness through his nuncio, to which I replied as well as appeared to me would for the time promote the good issue of this [my cause], and avoiding the delay which the said articles necessarily bring with them, as I believe the said ambassador (Chapuys) will by this time have notified to Your Majesty. And, to say the truth, considering what has taken and is taking place respecting the said delay, and perceiving that neither the daily offences against God here [in England], which go on increasing, nor my own continual complaints, nor Your Highness's power, are sufficient to induce His Holiness to do [me] justice—for I ask nothing else of him—I was almost determined not to trouble Your Majesty any more with my letters, but entrust the declaration of the truth of my right to God, and accept this [state of things] as a remedy for my troubles and a consolation for my life. Yet it seemed to me as if by so doing I should be tempting God, especially when I see that the sin wherein the King my lord lives brings about other sins every hour, as would appear from the attempt they have lately made, without fear of God, and to the great scandal of all Christendom, against the authority of the Holy See, as Your Majesty must have heard at length from other persons. I think, therefore, that I ought to return to my old importunity; for I do not occupy myself in this business with any other thing except to save my soul, at the same time certifying Your Highness that I would not, for anything in this world, have failed to acquaint His Holiness, as well as Your Majesty and all persons capable of applying a remedy to the evils which I am witnessing, and which, though ignorant in such matters, I have always had before my eyes. Having, however, done what I could, my conscience is tolerably quieted in spite of all the bad example [they give me]. Whatever their present doings may be, or signify that they will do in future, Your Majesty must know that lies entirely with His Holiness by his putting a termination and end to this affair, without slackening in the prosecution of my cause, but carrying it on to the end in accordance with the requirements of justice, and declaring to those who may speak to him on this matter that such is his voluntary determination. Such being the only remedy, I

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entreat Your Majesty, for the love of Christ and his passion, to be pleased to take action in this, since all Christendom awaits it, and you yourself are bound, as a Christian prince and protector of our Faith, to take the matter in hand without any other consideration but that of God's service and the tranquillity of Christendom at large. All other considerations, even that of my own person and my daughter's, ought to be put aside, unless it were for the sake of accomplishing such an act of mercy as to deliver us from the prison in which we are, like the most miserable creatures in the world. Indeed, there is no need for relating to Your Majesty the sufferings that I and my daughter undergo, as well as the treatment to which we are daily subjected, and the surprises and affronts which every day the King's councillors put upon us; for our troubles are matters of universal notoriety; and, indeed, if we did not fortify ourselves with God's help, and by looking upon our continual sufferings as undergone for His sake,—if the All merciful did not help us throughout,—the burden would be insupportable. However, as I do consider that my purgatory, in my daughter's, is in this world, we are both of us doing what we can in defence of our right. As to me, Your Highness may be sure that I shall not fail [in this task] till death, as otherwise I should imperil my soul; and I hope to God the Princess will do the same, as a good daughter should do. Further matters Your Majesty shall hear from your ambassador [Eustace Chapuys], and yet I think he will be unable to acquaint you with the whole of the mischief that is taking place [here]. Above all, I beseech of Your Highness quick despatch in the affair, for to lose a day at this juncture is worse than to have lost a year hitherto, as I have [before this] signified to Your Majesty, and especially in my last letter to which I refer myself. Just as I was writing this, Your Majesty's ambassador [Chapuys] sent to tell me that in his opinion it is not advisable to send anyone to this Parliament; and also that he has dispatched a special messenger to His Holiness to beg with all urgency and speed for a definitive sentence. Of the first measure [proposed by the ambassador] I fully approve; for unless the messenger could return with the determination and end of the affair, it would be of very little use, considering the present state of things in this country. With regard to the man whom Your Majesty has sent, I kiss the hands of Your Majesty; for, truly, besides the good which his coming is likely to do, it is high time for Your Highness to show yourself in other bearing than you have hitherto done, were it only to stand on good terms with the inhabitants of this kingdom, who think that the affair has come to this pass through Your Majesty not having shown yourself as you should and ought to have done. For my own part, I entertain some scruples that Your Highness might have done better, especially since there has been a good opportunity towards persuading His Holiness to do [me] justice, where-

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with the whole might have been brought to an end. However, with regard to this point each one's conscience shall be his judge; and God, who knows the truth, is enough for me, who have, as I declare, fully disburdened mine. I humbly beseech Your Majesty, if the charity hitherto shown to me and to my daughter has been somewhat cold, that it may be the warmer in future; for, even were we not both united in blood and relationship to each other, it would still be Your Majesty's duty to help persons so much oppressed and in such necessity [as we both are]. Your Majesty, indeed, is bound to help us to bear the cross which we have upon our shoulders for the sake of truth, otherwise there is no hope in this world, for the perpetration of such grave and multifarious sins is sure to bring a very severe punishment; from which I trust God will protect Your Majesty, and give you such a life and increase of estates as I desire you should have. Beseeching your Majesty to forgive my scribbling, for as my heart is troubled so is my hand stiff, and I have not written [this] my letter as I ought to have done. At Buxton the viii. of February.

Your Majesty's humble aunt,
KATHERINA.

Addressed: "To the most High and powerful lord, the Emperor and King, my nephew."

Endorsed: "To His Majesty. From the queen of England, 8 Feb. 1534."

Spanish. Holograph, pp. . . . . 5.

12 Aug.

Pap. de Granvelle, vol. II., pp. 136.

253. The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to HENRY COUNT OF NASSAU.

. . . . . .

With regard to the English marriage, you will discreetly seize any opportunity that offers itself of putting forward, in conversation with the King's ministers, the convenience as well as the great advantages of a union between the duke of Angoulesme, his son, and our cousin the princess Mary of England; for, in the first place, our Holy Father the Pope, as well as the Sacred College of Cardinals, have already declared her to be the legitimate heiress to the crown of England; and, secondly, the said marriage, if accomplished, will be the means of relieving king Francis and his children from the payment of the yearly pension which they are bound to make over to that country. Such a marriage, indeed, cannot fail to be of great advantage and profit for the king of England and his kingdom. Besides which, there is no prince or man living who can conscientiously and without open contravention to the authority of Mother Church, side with him in the present case, or fail to acknowledge his obstinate rebellion and wavering in matters of Faith, or who can believe himself bound by previous treaties to support him in his folly. On the contrary, every good christian must expect

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that our Holy Father, in view of the said obstinacy and rebellion against ecclesiastical justice and authority, and of his sayings, writings, and assertions against it, will be compelled in the end to make such a declaration as may be requisite. Not only, therefore, would it be advantageous for the king of England to be saved, by means of the said marriage, and of judicious treatment, (which might easily be done by common consent of the parties, and to the satisfaction* of his kingdom,) from the error and blindness in which he lies; it would also be a meritorious work in the eyes of God, and a most honourable one for those concerned in it.

These overtures are to be made with great modesty and discretion and in such a manner that, should king Francis disapprove of this plan, he may not use it as a weapon against us, and report your words to the king of England. You are to make the proposal as if it came exclusively from you, and keep the thing secret until the conclusion of the treaty.

Should this project of marriage be agreed to, and should there be a question as to how and by what means the thing is to be effected, and what help and assistance We purpose giving to it, you may answer that, as to the first, namely, the undertaking and conduct of the business in question, there can be no doubt that, should king Francis and We undertake it in common, no one could prevent us; adding, if you deemed it necessary, that whether the king of England consent to it or refuse, it is all the same, he will be compelled to assent in the end, the more so if the great discontent prevailing among the nobles, the clergy, and the people of England in general, owing to his second marriage, his separation from Faith, and his rebellion against the Church of Rome, be taken into consideration. As to the mode and form of the undertaking and its execution, you will let the King's ministers speak first, and see what they propose doing in that respect, that you may conform with their views according to time and circumstances, trying by that means to ascertain how far they would like to join in the said enterprise, and what conditions they would want on our part, whether for the retention of Calais, or for the payment of the interest of the sums we may have to spend for the enterprise . . . . . .— Palencia, 18 August 1534.

French.

24 Jan. **254.** The Emperor to Viscount Hannaert.

Pap. d'Etat du Card. Granvelle, vol. II., pp. 286–9.

. . . . . .

As to what you write concerning the ten thousand Englishmen who are to be sent against Gravelinghes (Gravelines),

* En le bien traictant comme faire se pourroit par commung advis, et aussi satisfaction à son royaulme."

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We cannot persuade ourselves that the report can be true, owing to several considerations, which We avoid specifying here, and which must be well known to you. Yet, should you hear any more about that, you must let Us know, as well as the Queen,* our sister, as you have done hitherto whenever there has been any important news from that quarter.

With regard to your conversation with the English ambassador at that court, as reported in your private letter to Mr. de Granvelle, We cannot but approve entirely of your discretion. Continue to act as you have done until you hear from Us, and learn from our ambassador in England what appearance of truth or what foundation there may be in the overtures that have been made to you . . . . .—Madrid, xxiii. Jan. 1534.

French.

26 Feb. **255.** The SAME to the SAME.

Pap. d'Etat du Card. Granvelle, vol. II., p. 299.

. . . . . .

In addition to the above statements We must inform you that the French ambassador (Mr. de Velly) has taken every opportunity to declare that the English marriage is a most difficult matter to bring about. We again explained to him our views according to the instructions you have received on the subject. We told him what means might be employed by the King, his master, and by ourselves, to conduct that affair in an honourable manner, and for the welfare of the king of England himself and the relief of his conscience. The ambassador objected, saying that the marriage might be the cause of reviving Francis' old quarrels with that country, and perhaps too bringing on discord between the King's sons. Our reply was that there was little fear of that, inasmuch as Francis' third son, the duke of Angoulême, would be well provided for; besides which, mutual securities might be given as to that through the marriage alliances of the other two brothers. Even in the event of our cousin, the princess of England, coming to grief, the Portuguese marriage might be negotiated and brought about, and the means found for his son succeeding to the Crown of England, which by the Princess's demise would remain without lawful heir.† The ambassador replied, that, nevertheless, he fancied that the King, his master, would wish for some security in the shape of land on the side of Italy; and in short, that, notwithstanding the reasons alleged by Us, his opinion was that the thing could not be done, or the proposition accepted, openly declaring

* Here Mary, the governess of the Low Countries, is meant, not Leonor (Elinor) the queen of France, both of whom were the Emperor's sisters.

† "Et que sil advenoit meains (?), comme que fût, de la princesse d'Angleterre, nostre cousine, l'on pourroit traicter de celluy de Portugal, et regarder moyen touchant la dite royenne (royaume?) d'Angleterre, que en ce cas demeureroit sans heirs legitimes."

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to Us that Mr. de Nassau's mission had disappointed and embittered the King, his master, as the hope he once conceived of a satisfactory arrangement between Us two had completely vanished . . . . . .
Madrid, xxvi. February 1534.

French.

26 Feb. **256.** The EMPEROR to his AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Pap. d'Etat du Card. Granvelle, vol. ii., p. 307.

In addition to what We have written before this, the object of this present will be to say that We have attentively perused your ciphered despatch addressed to Mr. de Granvelle, relating what passed between the English ambassador at that Court, and the declaration you made to him about the armament We are preparing against Barbarossa; and the conversation which the said ambassador held at your own house, after getting, as he said, news from one of his friends in England, showing a desire on the part of the King of that country to establish a firm friendship between him and Us, as contained in your letters which We have perused. We praise and commend the advice (*advertisement*) given by you to the English ambassador respecting our armaments, and approve also of your answer in what regards a closer friendship.—Madrid, 26 Feb. 1534.

French.

30 Sept. **257.** CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Wien, *Rep.* P.C., *Fasc.* 229½, No. 58.

As Sir de Usey (Lord Hussey), formerly the Princess's chamberlain, and before that, owing to his great wisdom and good sense, one of the principal councillors of the father of this King (Henry VII.), was about to leave a few days ago for his native place in one of the northern counties, he wrote to ask me for a secret interview, that we both might consult together. The hour and place being appointed, Sir de Usey came, and told me openly what he had already hinted to me on a former occasion, namely, that he and all the good people of this kingdom were greatly surprised and afflicted at Your Majesty making no show or appearance of remedying the existing evils, when there was such a good opportunity for it. Not only the question (said he) was one of life and death for the Queen and Princess, and involving also Your Majesty's honour, but one which regarded principally God, to whom Your Majesty, as Catholic prince and chief of others, was so deeply bound. Your Majesty (he continued) ought to take it up, were it for no other purpose than out of pity and commiseration for these poor people, the English, who are as sincerely attached to you as if they really were your own natural subjects. I showed him how desirous Your Majesty was of the peace and union of Christendom, and of the preservation of the amity and friendship with this King,

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and therefore that you could not have done better than press the declaration of the justice and right of the Queen and Princess, and wait for the other terms of justice. That once accomplished, you would consider yourself free from all engagements and oaths made to this King. That although Your Majesty might now have a better opportunity than ever of remedying the evils of which we all complained, either by rigorous action or by force of arms, yet you might be somewhat deterred by the idea of thereby annoying and injuring a people like the English, who were not to blame, and had committed no real fault against you. And, moreover, that, knowing him to be a wise and experienced man, who knew perfectly well the condition and resources of this country, I begged him to tell me how he would act, and what he would do, were he in your place. His answer was, that, as far as the political condition of the kingdom is concerned, he had no doubt I knew as much of it as he himself did; yet he did not hesitate to say that almost all the English wished Your Majesty to stir in the matter, and assist them. There was no occasion, he added, for Your Majesty fearing, in case of war, that you might cause molestation and injury to his countrymen, for their indignation was such that matters would soon be set right without any party in England offering resistance or daring to accept battle. As to the kind of warfare to be made, he said that Your Majesty ought to bring here* experienced soldiers having a knowledge of the country. He declined, however, entering into further particulars, on the plea that my lord D'Arcy, whom he calls brother, and who, he said, had greater knowledge of these matters than himself, having for many years followed the profession of arms, would soon furnish me with more ample details. One thing, however, he could not omit saying by way of a reminder, namely, that it seemed to him that Your Majesty ought to declare war almost immediately; that might be the means of remedying the whole, since the people, in his opinion, would immediately revolt, when the nobility and the clergy, who, though half disorganised, are still powerful, would join in the movement.†

The day after Mr. D'Ossey (Hussey) held the above conversation with me I sent one of my confidential men to visit Milord Darcy (D'Arcy) in my name, who, after a good deal of talking, began to explain the object of his visit, begging him to keep the thing a close secret, as otherwise his life would be in danger. Lord D'Arcy answered that he certainly considered himself one

* "Car voyant l'indignation du dit peuple le tout se rabilleroit incontinent sans que partie eust forme ni ardement dactendre bataille, et quant a la forme de la guerre que vostre maieste deuvoit yçi mener, &c.[a]"

† "Une chose ne voulait il oblier de dire que luy sembloit que Vostre Maieste deuroit prealablement faire et le plustot que seroit possible icelle guerre, et que cella pourroit estre cause a remedier a tout moyennant l'insurrection du peuple, a la quelle se jindroit incontinent la noblesse et le clerge aussi quest puissant et demy en desordre."

[a] R 7287.

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of the best and most loyal subjects of the King in such matters of duty as were not against his conscience and honour; but the present affair was such an offence against God and reason that he neither would nor could be called a right honourable gentleman or a good Christian were he to consent to such things against the Faith. He well knew that in the northern counties, from which he came, there were no less than 600 earls, knights, and other gentlemen, all of whom were of his opinion, though he had only addressed personally one or two of them on the subject. He had, moreover, kept the thing secret from his two sons, who were among the bravest soldiers in England,* the younger of whom had very lately been appointed captain and governor of the island of Jerce (Jersey). Mr D'Arcy further said that he intended to ask the King's leave to go to his county in the North. There was (he said) a talk of bringing forward at this next session a Bill for the introduction into England of the Lutheran sect; but he and his adherents would do their utmost to have opposition to this measure preached [in the churches] in order to encourage people [to resistance], and then would, with Your Majesty's intervention and timely assistance, raise the banner of the Crucifix and yours. Among the very first things which he would like to see was the arrest of some lords who countenanced such follies, such as the earl of Nortemberlan (Northumberland) and some more whom he named. The help which Mr. D'Arcy wished to obtain from Your Majesty was, in the first place, a perfect understanding with the king of Scotland, so that he might invade England whilst this King and his army were engaged elsewhere; that Your Majesty be pleased to send a small force to the mouth of this river in order to fight with and defeat the troops in the neighbourhood; also to send to the northern counties a small band of hackbutiers, with a suitable store of arms and ammunitions of war. Some money would also be required to enable some of the poor country gentlemen, who have not adequate means, to equip themselves, as well as bribe others and detach them from the King's party. There were, he said, in those northern districts many great lords with a considerable number of vassals, but little or no money to defray the war expenses of the rest. The lords themselves, far from taking money from Your Majesty, would willingly sacrifice all their substance for the cause. As to himself, he was ready to take the field with 8,000 men, taken from among his own vassals and those of his friends and relatives. He further begged me, for God's sake, not to be remiss in a work of this kind, so meritorious in the eyes of God and of Your

* "Mais que les choses que se traictent yçi sont tant exorbitantes contre Dieu et raison quil ne se tiendroit pour home de bien ny bon chrestien, sil consentoit mesmes en ce que concernoit la foy, et que au cartier du nort, dont il estoit, il sçavoit bien quil y avoit sez c. contes et autres gros messieurs que sont de son oppinion, bien quil ne se fut declaré que a ung ou deux, et mesmes nen avoit il fait semblant du monde a ses deux fils, que sont des vaillans en armes que soient en çe royaume."

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Majesty,—the greatest service, he said, which I could render you. Lastly, he said to my secretary that, before his departure for the North, he would certainly enter into more details, and let me know what he intends doing. I shall wait anxiously for the result; in the meantime, I am persuaded that there are lords innumerable who, if they could or dared declare themselves, would speak in the same terms. Among those whom he considers as of his party, and who are the most powerful in the kingdom, one is the earl of Derby, the other lord Dacres, who has good reason to be dissatisfied with this King and with those who have the administration of affairs; for, notwithstanding that he has been declared innocent of the charge brought against him, yet the King, after depriving him of all his offices, still retains, by way of sequestration, property of his, in money and furniture, to the amount of 50,000 ducats.

No news since my last despatch about Ireland, though I know for certain that the Court has some. I am told that part of the force Scheventer had with him left him without leave, and that this was his foundation for the delay in executing the King's orders and crossing over to Ireland. The King, they say, is not at all satisfied at this delay, and has sent him peremptory orders to sail with the very first fair wind, whatever may happen. One of the two ships belonging to the King, about which I wrote some time ago, has already gone down this river; the other will soon follow her; their object being, as I am informed, to spy out how many vessels go to and come from Ireland.*

The day before yesterday a German gentleman, accompanied by five servants, arrived in this city. The master of the *charrue*, on board of which he has come from Antwerp, says that he would not give his name when in that town. Some say that he comes on behalf of the duke of Saxony; others presume that he belongs to him of Luneburgh, for he speaks Low German. However this may be, the said gentleman was seen in the streets of this capital, accompanied by some of his own servants, of the doctors from Lubeck and Hamburgh. I will do my best to ascertain who he is and what he comes about. London, 30 September 1534.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Entirely in cypher. pp. 3.

* "Lautre ne tardera gueres, et va pour decouvrir sur ceste [riviere] qui va et qui vient en Irlande."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 1. The small tract, &c., that is, the "Book of the nine articles," issued at Christmas 1533, already mentioned by Chapuys in his despatch of the 27th Dec. 1533. *See* Gairdner, Vol. VI., p. 634, and Pocoke, ii. 523.

p. 3 note *. The Doctor was evidently Thomas Leigh, or Legh, as stated in Vol. II., pp. 818, 823; as to the other one mentioned lower down, who was to leave for Germany, there can be no doubt that his name was Nicholas Heath. Stephen Vaughan, the Chancery clerk, generally called Cromwell's man, was still at Brussels in December 1534, having started on a mission to John Frederic, duke elector of Saxony, as early as July 1533.

p. 20. "The Scotch ambassador," &c. His name was Sir Adam Otterburn, or Ottirborn, of Reidhall.

p. 26–1. *The good bishops of Durham and Rochester.* The former was Cuthbert Tunstall, formerly bishop of London; the latter, John Fisher. As to *Monseigneur D'Arcy* mentioned in the same line, his full name was lord Thomas Darcy, of Templehurst.

p. 30, line 40. *Respecting the estate and forces of count Desmond.* As early as 1530 a report, drawn by Gonçalo Fernandez, one of the Emperor's chaplains, purposely sent to Ireland to inquire into the state of that country and the forces of the rebellious earl, had been forwarded to Toledo. *See* Vol. IV., Part I., pp. 51–4. Chapuys, therefore, was instructed to ascertain how far the Chaplain's report of that date, and later ones made by Eric Goldscalk, could be relied upon.

p. 32. The English ambassador at the Imperial court, whose death caused Henry so much regret, was Dr. Thomas Hawkins, or Hawkines, archdeacon of Ely, who died in January 1534. The French ambassador's name must be Chastillon, for he was still in London, and did not return to France till April. His full name was Gaspard de Coligny, sieur de Chastillon or Châtillon.

p. 41. No. 14. 2 paragraph. The name of this bishop of Mâcon in Burgundy, and French ambassador in Rome, was Charles Hémard Denonville, *Denouville* being a misprint.

p. 46, line 2. "*The Viceroy* (*Monteleone*) *writes.*" From 1517 to 1534 Ettore or Hettore Pignatello, duke of Monteleone was viceroy of Sicily. He died in March and was succeeded by Simone Ventimiglia, marchese di Geraci. See *Historia Cronologica delli Signori Vicere di Sicilia,* by Vicenzo Auria, palermitano; Palermo, 1697, fol., pp. 31–3.

p. 53, last line. *And inform me that the Abbot and Secretary, whom king James sent as ambassador to France, as mentioned in my last despatch.* The Abbot was David Betoun, abbot of Abirbrothok (Abbroth), and nephew of James Betoun, abp. of St. Andrewes; the secretary, Sir Thomas Erskine, of Brechin; but there must be one of Chapuys' despatches missing, for in that of the 9th (pp. 30–1) nothing is said about this embassy, which was really sent on the 19th of February. *See* Gairdner, Vol. VII., p. 81, where king James' letters of credence to king Francis, as well as to his Chancellor, Antoine Duprat, the archbishop of Sens, have been printed.

p. 58. "As these people imagine that the war may turn out against Your Majesty and not against the count Danverain." As may be seen in the text, and note at the foot of the page, I was induced to believe that *Danveran* was a mistake for *Souverain*, the more so that there is no county so named among those of Holland, Zeeland, and Frise or Frisland, from A.D. 883 to 1556, when Philip II. of Spain became sovereign of those countries as son and heir of the Emperor Charles V. Mr. Gairdner, however, has got through the difficulty by making the word Danverain or Danveram the beginning of the following ciphered sentence, thus: "Dauveram one of the Steelyard." I still adhere to my former conjecture, as *Danveran* or *Danverain* do not seem to me to be Dutch or German names. As to the *Stilliards* or *Stilliarts* (also written *Scilliards* at page 74) they were merchants from the Hans-Towns, carrying on business in London.

p 98, second paragraph, line 3. "Cornelio must be with him." Of Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus or Schiperius mention has already been made in Vol. IV., Part II. of this Calendar, pp. 127, 904, 907, and 912. He was first sent on an embassy from Charles V. to his brother the king of Hungary (Ferdinand) in 1532-3; also to Switzerland (p. 297), and lastly to the Turk at Constantinople. In *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle* (II. p. 230), under the date of 12 Nov. 1534, are the "Instructions" for his mission to France, Flanders, and Germany, one of the paragraphs of which, relating to England, has the following:

"You will also inform our sister, the dowager queen of Hungary, that no intelligence has yet been received from Master Goscarke-Etricq (Eric Godscalke), whom We sent from Toledo to Ireland first and thence to Scotland; and that We begin to fear he has met with some accident, or hinderance in his journey, for, as We say, no news has yet come from him. Goscarke had charge to say [to king James] that, having determined to marry our niece, the princess of Denmark, with the Palatine Frederic. We cannot possibly bestow her hand elsewhere, and, therefore, that the most suitable marriage for him will be that of our cousin, the princess of England, provided that with the duke of Angoulesme is not carried out. Indeed, it seems to us that if king James will only communicate again with Mr. de Beures on the subject, an answer can be made to his overtures in accordance

with the instructions given to Godscalke, of which We now enclose a copy, lest king James should think that We are only entertaining him with mere words, and preventing his marriage in another quarter. In short, nothing definite can be said or done in this matter until an answer comes to the proposals of our cousin's marriage with the said duke of Angoulesme. Otherwise, should king Francis reject our offers, and not consent to the said marriage We know of no other more suitable for the king James, or more advantageous for us and our subjects—especially for those of the Low Countries—than that of our said cousin the Princess of England."

"You will also say that We presently send some one into Ireland for the purpose of encouraging the Irish to persevere in their rebellion against England, and to maintain the justice and right of our aunt, the Queen, and of our cousin, the Princess."

p. 109. In the note relating to Soliers de la Morette the reference to the page has been omitted; it ought to be pp. 75, 83, 91.

p. 113. In the note at the foot of the page the name of the marquis, afterwards duke of Mantua, has been misprinted *Gonraga*, instead of Gonzaga.

p. 115, par. 2, line 10. "Mr. de la Chaulz." His full name was Charles Poupet de Lachaulx, knight of Alcantara, who died in 1530. *See* Vol. IV., Part I., p. 773.

p. 138, line 5. "The affair of Don Juan de Foneseca, &c." *Foneseca* is evidently a mistake of the copyist for Fontseca or Fonseca, a noble Galician family, to which D. Alonso de Fonseca, archbishop of Santiago (1508–21), of Toledo (1524–34), and of the Emperor's Privy Council, belonged.

p. 154. In note † at the foot of the page, where the death of Sir Richard Wingfield is recorded, the date has been omitted. He died at Toledo in 1530.

p. 200. No. 69. The Cardinal of Jaen to the High Commander.

It has already been stated in various places of the present Calendar, and chiefly in Vol. IV., Part II., *Int.* pp. xv. and xvii., that Esteban Gabriel Merino was appointed to the bishopric of Jaen in June 1523. He had formerly been archbishop of Bari, in Naples, and bishop of Leon, in Spain. In 1526 he was appointed councillor of State, and three years later sent by Charles as extraordinary ambassador to Pope Clement. Of his differences with Count Cifuentes, the Imperial ambassador in ordinary, some account has been given in the Introduction to the same volume (pp. xxiii. and xxiv.) In 1533 he was promoted to the cardinalate. He returned to Spain in April 1534, but having soon after been appointed proveditor general to the fleet, which the Emperor was then fitting out against Barbarossa in Tunis, he had to leave his bishopric, and attend to his new duties at Malaga and other ports of the Mediterranean. He was again in Rome at the end of the

year when the death of Clement occurred, and attended the conclave in which Alessandro Farnese was elected under the name of Paul III. He himself died at Rome on the 1st of August 1535. A full notice of his life may be found in Ximena, *Catalogo de los obispos de las Iglesias Catredales (sic) de la Diocesi de Jaen y Annales ecclesiasticos de su Obispado;* Madrid, 1654, fol.; as well as in Gonzalez Davila *Theatro ecclesiastico de las Iglesias de España,* Vol. I., pp. 211–96.

p. 202, line 16. "The more to alienate the King, his master, from Your Majesty on the Navarrese quarrel." The whole of this passage, which is rather obscure, may be better explained by the minute of a letter from Granvelle to Chapuys, dated Nov. 1534, and preserved in the Archives of Simancas under No. 861, wherein that ambassador is informed that the hand of *Jeanne,* daughter of Henri d'Albret, the pretender to the kingdom of Navarre, had actually been offered by Francis to James, king of Scotland; but that in doing so, the French were not in earnest; they only wanted to draw the Scotch from the Emperor's alliance, alluring him with the hope of a kingdom, to which they themselves pretended to have a right since 1512, when Jean d'Albret, the last king of that family, was dethroned by Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Spain. Jean, the son of Alain, lord of Albret, was married in 1484 to Catharine, sister and heir of François-Phebus, and became ten years later, in 1494, king consort of Navarre. He left one son, named Henri II., who assumed the title of king, and whose daughter, *Jeanne,* married to Antoine de Bourbon duke of Vendosme, became the mother of Henri IV., king of France and Navarre; that being the reason why that king and his successors have since used the title of "Roi de France et de Navarre."

p. 225. "Some days ago the Sieur Dacrez." This was William, lord Dacre of Gillesland, Graystoke and Weme of Naward or of the North, warden of the West Marches, whose trial is published at full in Mr. Gairdner's Calendar, Vol. VII., pp. 368–70.

p. 239. "The king of Tunis," &c. Early in 1534 Hasan, sultan of Tunis, of the family of the Hafsites or Benu Hafss, was nominally dethroned by his brother Ráshid, or rather by Barbarossa, who took possession of that capital in his name. Hasan took refuge in Naples or Spain, and induced the Emperor to interfere, which he did effectually in 1535, taking that city as well as the Goleta. Ráshid is by some writers called Muley *Asis* or *Aziz,* but the former seems more correct.

p. 265. "The Grand Master of Rhodes," &c. Villiers de l'Isle Adam, for such was his name, died at Malta on the 21st of August 1534, and was succeeded, not by Fr. Perrin del Monte, as in the Count's letter, but by an Italian knight named Fr. Pierino del Monte, who held the mastership of the Order until the 18th of November 1535. See *Crónica de la Religion de San Juan Bautista de Jerusalen,* 1626, Vol. II., pp. 124 and 152. Fr. Pierino must be the same knight who, according to a letter of Micer Mai (13 Feb.

1531) to the High Commander Cobos, laid claim to a commandership of his order (that of Santofimia, in Spain). *See* Vol. IV., Part II., p. 55.

p. 270, par. 4. "Don Gaspar de Guzman has since gone." *See* above, p. 265, where Count Cifuentes in his letter to the Emperor, under date of the 25th of September (No. 91), says that *Don Gaspar de Mendoza* was sent to Lucca for the purpose of claiming from the people of that city their contingent in money towards the Italian league against France. As in the Count's letter to the High Commander of Leon (Francisco de los Cobos), dated on the 3rd of October, the same messenger is called *Don Gaspar de Guzman,* and it is said that he went to Lucca and obtained from the inhabitants a promise in money, I must conclude that there is some error on the part of the Embassy's clerk, or else that the messenger's full name was Don Gaspar de *Mendoza y Guzman,* two illustrious families of Spain.

p. 271. The count Guido, mentioned in line 18, must be Guido Rangone, a Modenese condottiero, in the service of France, about whom *see* Vol. IV., Part II., pp. 290, 324, 420–1.

Ibid., line 32. "Or for the hand of the sister of the king of Navarre;" that is of Marguerite, daughter of Charles and sister of Antoine de Bourbon, the father of Henri IV., king of France, and who, through his marriage to Jeanne d'Albret, took the title of king of Navarre.

p. 279. Between Chapuys' despatch of the 10th of September (No. 87, p. 252), and this one of the 3rd October, one more of the 30th of September has come to hand, though too late to be calendared in its proper place. It will, however, be found in the Supplement under No. 257.

p. 279. No. 97. "One of the counts of Hoy, brother-in-law, and, as I hear, enemy of the king of Sweden." There were at this time two counts of Hoya, Eric and John. Both were brothers-in-law of the king of Sweden (Gustavus Vassa), and, as reported, enemies of the King, whom one of them had offended. Count Eric came to London to treat on behalf of the Luebeckers, at that time hard pressed by the Duke Christian and the Danes.

p. 313. No. 106, line 9. "Garcilasso de la Vega with the despatch." Of the three *Lasso de la Vega,* mentioned at page 248, all of whom used the Christian name of *Garcia* or *Garci,* the one here alluded to is the celebrated poet, who, along with Boscan, is generally considered as the reformer of Spanish poetical literature. He was slain at Monay, near Frejus, in 1536. *Obras de Boscan y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega, repartidas en quatro libros,* Barcelona, Carles Amorós, 1543 4to.

No. 108. The Emperor to Hannaërt." In addition to the letter of instructions to the ambassador in France here abstracted, a copy of that portion relating to the English marriage proposed by the Emperor (*i.e.,* that of the princess Mary to the duke of Angoulême, Francis' third son,) was forwarded by Granvelle to Chapuys

together with a memorandum in his own hand, enjoining him to keep the thing secret, and try to ascertain if king Henry had any suspicion of what was going on. Granvelle's letter is not in Bergenroth's collection; it has since been found at Simancas together with several others bearing on the negotiations conducted in France by Nassau and Hannaërt. I have, therefore, deemed it advisable to include it in these Additions that so important a movement in French and English politics of the time may better be understood and explained. The letter runs thus: "It is the Emperor's wish and command that after carefully perusing the enclosed copy of the instructions sent to Mr. Hannaërt, you should try to ascertain in that country (England), whether king Henry does, or does not, suspect anything of our proposals to France, and in order that you may be better informed of the state of the affair, I will transcribe to you what I myself wrote in the Emperor's name to the Imperial Ambassador in France on the 7th. "In addition to this it seems to us as if our said cousin (Nassau) and yourself ought to make every endeavour in order to ascertain what are king Francis' real views and intentions respecting the marriage of the duke of Angoulesme, his son, with our cousin the princess of England, which he (Nassau) once proposed in our name; the more so that We hear that when the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency) was informed thereof, not only did he seem pleased, but observed [to Nassau] that the proposal was very acceptable, inasmuch as there was a rumour that king Henry had lately had a quarrel with Anne de Bolans (Bouleyn), and was much disgusted with her. For this reason We desire you again to bring forward the subject, and push it on as far as convenient, and in accordance with articles XXIV. to XXX. of your instructions. You might at the same time press upon the King and the Grand Master the importance of the said marriage, and remark how much it would help in future, not only towards the aggrandizement of the said duke of Angoulesme, but towards the acquittal of his father's debt to England, besides the security of his own kingdom, both of which objects are, in our opinion, far more important and advantageous for king Francis, for his kingdom and children, than his pretensions to Milan, since the project can be carried out without much difficulty, and become in future a source of power and aggrandizement to himself. However this may be, let your overtures to the King or to the Grand Master of France on the subject be made secretly and verbally, and by no means in writing. Should king Francis agree to our proposals, as in our opinion he ought, if he only attend to the above considerations, and to others more particularly detailed in our said instructions—it will be highly important to keep the whole a secret until the framing of the treaty, nor is there a necessity either, should the King refuse, for the proposals made in our name becoming public."

"Should the king of France or the Grand Master object that once aware of the negociation that is going on, Anne de Boulans might be driven to extremities, and the life of princess Mary, our

cousin, be endangered through it—which We can hardly believe, considering that the former could not so far forsake the duties of her conscience, or king Henry tolerate such conduct—you will say to them that in such an event (which may God forbid), and the proposed marriage being put aside, We shall be very happy to promote another between the said duke of Angoulesme and our niece, the Infanta of Portugal, and that besides bringing forward the paternal and maternal rights, which may belong and appertain to each of them respectively, We shall take care that they (the Duke and the Princess) do virtually inherit the kingdom of England, procuring to that effect every possible assistance from the Holy Father and others, as well as anything else that may be required, and previously agreed upon between us." [Madrid], Nov. 15, 1534.

p. 333. No. 113. "The said Cardinal and Duke." By the Cardinal Ippolito de Medici is meant. The Duke was Alessandro, about to be married to Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter.

p. 334, par. 3, line 4. "You did well in reassuring the Venetian ambassador," that is Domenico Venier, since 1531.

p. 344, par. 2, line 13. "I hear from the Grand Squire (Grand Ecuyer)." Guilford held no longer the charge; it was Sir Nicolas Carew who was at this time Master of the Horse.

p. 369. "Lastly We have written to the archbishop of Lunden (Lonen in Sweden) to sound the Duke's intentions." The archbishop's name was not Terbornus Bilde from 1532 to 1536, as stated in the corresponding note at the foot of the page, but John a'Vesa or Vesalius, who in 15 was expelled from Denmark, at the same time as King Christian or Kristiern. Since then he had been in the service of Charles, who had employed him on various missions. *See* Gairdner, Vol. II., pp. 272, 402, 453, and 476.

p. 400. No. 132. "D'Andalot to Hannaërt, ambassador in France." The name of this officer, who during this year 1534 was employed by Charles on various missions connected with the politics of France and Germany, is variously written in the *Papiers de Granvelle*, Andalot, Andelot, and Mr. D'Andalot or D'Andelot, as in his letter to viscount Lombecke (Hannaërt), the Emperor's ambassador in France. He was probably a native of Flanders or of the Low Countries, though he may also have been a Frenchman, perhaps one of the followers of the Constable Bourbon, who, after his death, took service with the Emperor.

p. 401. The reference at the bottom of the page to Hannaërt's report of his conversation at Paris with the English ambassador (Sir John Wallop) is wrongly given, as No. 131 is only a copy of the Emperor's general instructions to that official. Hannaërt's despatch, containing, as it is said, a summary of the overtures made to him by Henry's ambassador, is certainly not in the Archives of Vienna, though it may still be found in those of Simancas, where

the papers belonging to the XVIth century are not yet satisfactorily filed.

p. 403. It has been stated (p. 624) that notwithstanding Bergenroth's scrupulous search for papers at Simancas in connexion with the history of this period, several have since been found, which he had not the opportunity of abstracting or copying for his collection, now in the British Museum. Among them are a few letters from the Imperial Chancellor, Nicholas de Granvelle, or from his son Antoine, at that time the Emperor's secretary, and particularly one from the former bearing on the negociations with France, the substance of which he thought fit to communicate to Chapuys that he might in his conference with Cromwell steer his course safely amidst the shoals of English politics. It is dated Madrid, the 29th of February 1535, and runs thus :—

"Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, &c. That you may be better informed of the Emperor's views in the present emergency, I enclose the letter addressed in his name to the ambassador at the court of France (Hannaërt) in reply to his of —— December, reporting a conversation he had with the English ambassador, during which clear and distinct overtures were made, as it would appear, for a renewal of the old friendship existing between the two countries. I shall only transcribe those paragraphs which bear on the English business, leaving it entirely to your discretion and well-known sagacity to make such use of the information as you may think proper for the better issue of our master's affairs."

The Emperor to Viscount Hanaërt, his ambassador in France. "We have received your ciphered letter of the ———, giving us a full account of your conference with the English ambassador (Wallop) at your own house, where, after questioning you with regard to our armaments against Barbarossa, the former proceeded to say that he had received letters from a friend at home, indicative of a wish there was [in England] that a solid and firm friendship should be at once re-established between Us and the king of that country. We entirely approve of your answer concerning the first point. With regard to the second, and more important one, that is to say, the overtures of the English ambassador, We desire you to bear in mind the following considerations, and adhere strictly to the instructions, which our Privy Council shall forward to you hereafter. Meanwhile, and should the English ambassador introduce the subject again, you will shape your conduct in accordance with our interests in the matter. We need not tell you that under present circumstances, our wish being, as it has always been, to promote the peace and welfare of Christendom, We cannot do otherwise than take every opportunity of listening to proposals, however vague and undefined, working towards that desirable end. These premises once settled, you may easily conceive that any prospect of bringing on a firm peace between the Empire and England will be extremely welcome. Indeed, if through the English ambassador's overtures means could be found to stop king Henry's practices, and prevent his now bestowing favour and assistance on

king Francis—whose ill-will and animosity towards Us know no bounds—We shall be most happy to entertain and consider any proposals likely to secure that friendship and alliance of which the English ambassador spoke to you. But We strongly recommend you to ascertain as nearly as possible from him on what grounds the king of England intends to treat, so that our conscience and honour may be safeguarded; for if the ground be, as may be conjectured, the suspension for an indefinite time of the Papal sentence on the divorce affair, that, as you may guess, will be a weapon in our hands, for it is likely to engender suspicion, and lead to a final separation between the kings of France and England, and perhaps enable us in time to do in favour and to the advantage of our aunt and cousin in the latter country what could not otherwise be done as long as those two kings remain united and friendly. We scarcely need tell you that whatever may be said or treated on this matter must remain a profound secret between you and the person or persons appointed to treat with you; for should the negociation fall to the ground, or be unsuccessful, it would not do to have the thing published and commented upon, lest some inconvenience, harm, or danger should befall our said aunt and cousin, or the King himself should imagine that We could in any wise consent to their being ill-treated or otherwise deprived of their rights.

"Since the English ambassador speaks, as you say, in the name of a third person—a friend writing to him from England—you will take care to do the same, uttering your own sentiments in the matter, as if the thing came entirely from you without previous consultation. You will endeavour to ascertain as far as possible whether any effectual means can be found of making king Henry acknowledge his past errors, and the injuries he has inflicted upon our said aunt and cousin, promising the redress thereof, and at the same time emerging from the blindness and sin in which he lives. Should he, as may be feared, still persist in the suspension of the Papal sentence, you will ask his ambassador how long the King intends the said suspension to last, and whether he will or will not consent to its being deferred until the meeting of the future General Council; and if so, whether he is willing to take a formal engagement of faithfully and sincerely helping in the convocation and celebration of the same in the hitherto accustomed form, as well as abiding by its final determination in the matter of the divorce. Meanwhile, and during the said suspension, both the princesses, mother and daughter, to be honourably treated, as appertains to their quality and royal rank, the King declaring, if necessary, that neither of them shall be obliged to sign papers, treaties, or covenants without our special knowledge and approbation; and that our said cousin in particular shall not be married without our consent and that of her mother queen Katharine and other royal relatives. The king of England himself, not in any wise to help, directly or indirectly, the enemies, whoever they may

be, of our brother, the king of the Romans, and of our respective kingdoms, subjects, or vassals, but to prevent as much as may be in his power war being made upon him in conformity with the old treaties of defensive and offensive alliance between the Empire, the kingdom of Spain, England, Germany, and the Low Countries. The King, moreover, to refrain from all hostile practices in Germany and Denmark as well as in other Hanseatic towns, and to promise besides that no injury or harm shall be done to those who have hitherto maintained and defended the rights of the Princesses, our aunt and cousin.

"The above points and conclusions to be discussed and treated of as advantageously as possible for our interests, adding, however, another condition which, besides being for God's service, cannot fail to be profitable to the King himself, to his kingdom and subjects, as well as honourable for our aunt, our cousin, and ourselves, namely, that he be persuaded to return to the pale of the Roman Church and Apostolic See, even if it should be expressly stipulated beforehand that in that event We shall procure for him from the Holy See the means of getting from the churches in his kingdom more profit than he has enjoyed up to the present time."

"Although the suspension of the Papal sentence until the future Council must be a rather hard condition for our said aunt and cousin to bear under their present pitiable circumstances—above all, as justice is in their favour, and a sentence has already been gained—yet We consider this a lesser evil than the other, provided the General Council assemble quickly, and king Henry willingly consent to it. For, should the suspension be during that King's natural life, it would be tantamount to throwing into despair the said princesses and all their friends and supporters. If it were only for a fixed period of time, however short, and without the intervention of the Council, We might in the meantime expect something better; but this would, on the other hand, seem a dishonourable, and by far too grievous a condition for the princesses to accept. Should, however, the King insist upon the suspension being during his lifetime, or for a fixed period without the Council's intervention, We may ask time for consultation, and shape our answer according to circumstances, the state of public affairs in England, and the King's inclinations or intentions hereafter; but let it be well understood that the principal point of the negociations, if there be any, must be to prevent king Henry from helping and effectively assisting Francis; to make him relinquish his practices in Germany, Denmark, and the Hanseatic towns, and in case of king Francis declaring and making war by himself or others, and king Henry refusing to side with us according to the terms of the treaty of Cambray, that he at least remain neutral and forsake his ally. And let all these points and conditions be so clearly settled and defined that there be no need in future of further explanation.

"As it is highly important to gain time in order to secure king Henry's co-operation, or at least neutrality, it seems to us that if you see any likelihood of the English ambassador being in earnest,

you ought at once to commence the negociation, and request him to write home to his friends in England, whoever they may be, advising your acceptance, and at the same time encouraging those who have started the idea, to communicate with our ambassador in London, on whose zeal and discretion We rely implicitly. At any rate, you would do well to write to Master Chappuys and inform him of what has passed between you and the English ambassador in that Court. Madrid, 26 of February 1535."

p. 423. No. 141. Chapuys' letter to Antoine Perrenot, eldest son of Nicholas, the Emperor's Chancellor, is really indorsed, *A Monseigneur Anthoine Perreni, Secretaire d'Estat de l'Empereur.* It is to be presumed, however, that Perreni is for *Perrenin*, as he is called elsewhere; the scribe, whoever he was, having omitted to draw a line over the i, as generally done during the XVIth century.

p. 453, line 1. *The sudden ceremony of St. George's*, read "at St. George's Chapel, Windsor."

p. 466, line 37. *It escaped him that, were the affair*, &c. Insert "to say."

p. 467, line 4 of second paragraph. *Alleging as an example the case of Clothaire, the Emperor.* Clothaire is evidently a mistake of Chapuys' for Lothaire II, third son of Lothaire I., emperor of the West, who reigned over the greater part of France from 817 to 855. Lothair I. left three sons: Louis II., who inherited the kingdom of Italy with the title of "Emperor"; Charles, who ruled over Provence as far as Lyons; and Lothaire II., who had as his share all the country lying between the Rhine and the Meuse, then called *Lotharingia* or Lorraine, from his name, *Lotharius.* He it was who in 862 repudiated his wife Teutberge, to marry Valdrade, his concubine, although pope Adrian II. obliged him, under pain of excommunication, to take again his first wife. *See also* Part II. Vol. IV. p. 810, Chapuys' letter to the Emperor, of the 27th of September 1533, wherein he made use of the same argument at a conversation he had with Cromwell.

p. 462. The gentleman alluded to in line 4 of the second paragraph as about to be sent to Rome, at the Pope's solicitation, for the purpose of settling the Camarino affair, could be no other than Don Alonso Fernandez Manrique, marquis de Aguilar, of whom more will be said hereafter. The Marquis, however, owing to the resident ambassador (Cifuentes) having obtained from Paul III. a suspension of the suit for six months, did not arrive in Rome until some months after.

p. 466, line 9 from the end. *Indeed on one occasion it escaped him.* Add "to say."

p. 471. *Sir Reginald*, at the end of the page, last words in note †, are a mistake for Sir Richard, the christian name of De la Pole, surnamed "Blanche Rose," who was slain at Pavia in 1525.

p. 472, line 6. *The two doctors, who went once to Marseilles, and took with them all the writings and papers concerning the divorce.* The doctors alluded to were Edmund Bonner and Peter Vannes.

p. 479. The Emperor's embarkation for his Tunisian expedition must have taken place at the end, not at the beginning, of May, as stated in the note at the foot of the page. On the 1st of that month, Doria arrived at Barcelona with his 20 galleys; Don Alvaro Bazan with 12 from Naples; and a few days after the viceroy of Granada [count of Tendilla] with 50 ships and five caravals from various ports of Spain. The king of Portugal sent also a large galley. On the 3rd of June the Emperor landed at Majorca; on the 5th he was at Mahon, in Minorca. On the 10th the Imperial fleet met with a heavy storm and was dispersed, so that no one ship knew anything of the rest. Until the first week in July the coast of Africa was not reached.

p. 482, line 2 of the third paragraph:—"That Your Majesty had once, according to report, thought of going to *Naples* rather than to Tunis." Thus, in Chapuys' original letter; but there must be some mistake in the text, for what would the Emperor have to do in Naples at the time, and what danger would there be in going thither? If, instead of Naples, we read *Constantinople*, the meaning becomes more perceptible. In my opinion the paragraph ought to be altered thus: "The King added that Your Majesty, according to common report, had first thought of going to Constantinople rather than to Tunis, but that you had considered the matter over, and had decided for the latter, as the former would have been too hazardous an enterprise for Your Majesty," &c.

p. 495. The Spanish word "rebautizados" literally means the "rebaptised" or twice baptized, alluding to the Moriscoes of Granada and of other cities and towns in Spain, who, having been forcibly baptized pèle-mèle by hundreds, in the times of Ferdinand and Isabella, were again baptized under this reign. They are often designated by writers of the time as *moros ó judios conversos*, or *nuevamente convertidos de moros.*

p. 496, last paragraph of letter No. 175. *Prince Philip and the Infante, our sons.* At this time the Emperor had only one son, Philip, born on the 21st of May 1527, and one daughter, Maria, born on the 21st of June 1528, and married in the course of time to Maximilian II., the Emperor. The word *infante* (*Lat.* infans, *Fr.* enfant) had in former time no gender, and could be applied without distinction to a male or female. Nowadays we say *infante* and *infanta.*

p. 496, No. 176. The names of the Carthusians and other monks executed on this occasion for refusing to swear to the statutes are hardly recognizable in Ortiz' narrative. True is it that there is nothing more unsettled and perplexing than the English orthograpy of the XVIth century, when proper names were spelt and written in various ways; and that, as Dr. Ortiz derived his information chiefly from Chapuys,—who certainly was not over particular in that respect,—some confusion must have been caused by so many transcripts. So *Juan Howughton* is John Houghton, the prior of the Charter-house in London; *Roverto Lorenço, prior of the convent of Velle Vallis,* must be Robert Lawrence, prior of Bellville;

Augustin Vnester (r. Vuester), *prior of Ahlome*, is Webster, prior of Axholm; and *Ricardo Rainaldo* is meant for Father Reynolds, monk of Sion, a bridgettine, or of the Order of St. Brigittis.

p. 499, par. 2. "Recommends Tello de Guzman." I suspect *Guzman* to be a mistake of the writer, or of the scribe, for on the 16th of July count Cifuentes wrote recommending one Tello de Meneses for the very same commandery, said to be vacant by the death of Lanuça, who previously held it. *See* p. 517.

p. 508, second par. *Here the King's attorney interrupted More*, &c. His name was Richard Rich, then solicitor-general.

p. 512, No. 182. In Cifuentes' letter to the Emperor, of the 16th July, the name of Giovan Battista Savello, or de Savelli, the Pope's general, has been by misprint turned into Battisti Savella, and in the following page (p. 513, line 8) Baltista Savelli.

p. 514, last line. *That the English ambassador residing at the Imperial Court.* The ambassador was Richard Pate, archdeacon of Lincoln, and nephew of bishop Longland. It was not he, as Cifuentes erroneously states, but his secretary, who came to London with despatches. As early as September 1534, Chapuys announced the latter's arrival in London with a message from Pate (p. 264); and on the 10th of August 1535 he says distinctly, "On the 3rd inst. I wrote by the secretary of the English ambassador returning to those parts."

p. 521, line 3. *Since then the bishop of Tarbes*, &c. Gabriel de Gramont was no longer bishop of Tarbes in Gascony; he had been promoted to the see of Bordeaux in 1529, and made cardinal in 1531. It was his nephew, Antoine de Castelnau, who succeeded him in that former bishopric, and who in 1534 came to England as Francis' ambassador. *See above*, pp. 263, 562-3, 586.

p. 524, line 5. *For the hand of the princess Mary for his son, the dauphin Henri.* This is altogether a mistake. Francis was the name of the Dauphin, duke of Britanny, who died in 1536, on the 10th of August. Henri, duke of Orleans, the second son of Francis, had already been married in 1533 to Catherina dé Medici, daughter of Lorenço, duke of Urbino, and niece of Pope Clement VII. As to king Francis' third son, Charles, duke of Angoulême, he was only 13 years and six months old at the time, being born on the 22nd of January 1522. Therefore the Dauphin (Francis) ought to be understood.

p. 527, No. 193, line 2. *Ambassador returning to these parts*, "these" is a misprint for "those," since Chapuys alludes to Pate's secretary returning to the Emperor's court. *See above.*

p. 527. Again in the same page, note *, the reference given is altogether wrong; it ought to be No. 90, p. 264.

p. 538, last paragraph. *The former (Eleanor) was accompanied by the King's daughters, by his (the King's) daughter-in-law*, &c. Francis had only two daughters living at the time,—Magdeleine de France, who in 1536 was married to James V. of Scotland; and Marguerite, who in 1559 became the wife of Emmanuel Phillibert, duke of

Savoy. His daughter-in-law was Caterina de' Medici, Clement's niece, then married to Henri, duke of Orleans.

p. 539, last line of note. *Louis XI.* is a misprint for "Louis II.," son of Louis I., comte souverain de Neufchatel, who died in 1516.

p. 543, second paragraph. *Monsieur Leonard;* that is lord Leonard Grey, the brother of the marquis of Dorset (lord Thomas Grey); not as in the note at the foot of the same page, "Leonard Skeffington,"—a great oversight, which can only be accounted for by the fact that Sir William Skeffington, the lord deputy of Ireland, had really a son named "Leonard," who served under him, and was most instrumental in putting down the Irish rebellion. The circumstance often occurring of Chapuys calling him *Mr.*, which may mean *Master* or *Monsieur*, instead of *Sieur* or Lord, led to the compiler's involuntary mistake.

p. 545. The "Fetiplett" in the second paragraph, said to be Henry's chamberlain, or groom of the chamber, must be Fetiplace or Fetyplace, mentioned twice in Cromwell's Remembrances, under July 1534. *See* Mr. Gairdner's Calendar, Vol. VIII., pp. 418 and 443. In the latter (No. 1130) he is called keeper of Donnington manor and park, belonging to the duke of Suffolk. It must, however, be observed that Fetiplace's Christian name was *Edmund*, whereas Dr. Ortiz, who in another of his letters writes "Pepiplet," calls him *Thomas*.

p. 551, line 16. *That Baron Grammont, the ambassador's brother.* The ambassador, as stated at pp. 505, 511, 519, was Antoine de Castelnau, bishop of Tarbes. The Baron de Grammont (r. Gramont) must have been a nephew of Gabriel de Gramont, bishop of Tarbes, and Francis' ambassador at Rome, who was raised to the cardinalate by Clement VII. in 1530, and died in 1534. This Gabriel de Gramont had a brother named Guillaume, who was bishop of Aux, and afterwards of Bourdeaux, from Oct. 1529 to the end of 1530; another, named Charles, who was bishop of Conserans, in Gascony; and most likely a third, who inherited and held the family possessions in the Basse Navarre. Gramont was the name of this illustrious family, to which belonged, towards the end of the XVI. century the celebrated Philibert, comte de Guiche, the husband of "La Belle Corisande," to whom Henry IV. of France addressed several love letters. What connexion this Philibert de Gramont, count de Guiche or de la Guiche, may have been of Claude de la Guiche, Francis' ambassador in England in 1531, I cannot determine; but as, during the XVI. and XVII. centuries, embassies, like hereditary offices, used to run almost periodically in certain noble families, I am inclined to think that "the Baron" here named as brother of bishop Castelnau, belonged to the family of *Gramont de la Guiche*, who must not be confounded with the *Grammont de Bourgogne*. Castelnau, the ambassador, who is everywhere described as the Cardinal's nephew, succeeded him in the bishopric of Tarbes, and died in 1539. He had a brother, named Louis, who was also bishop of Tarbes, and died in 1549.

p. 551, par. 2. *Both the ambassador and the bailiff.* That is Antoine de Castelnau and his predecessor in office, Jean Dinteville, bailiff of Troyes, "who left London, rather dissatisfied," as Chapuys says, in October 1535. *See above,* p. 549.

p. 552, note †. *Monsieur Leonard.* Add "Lord Grey." *See above,* p. 625.

p. 556. The name of the writer of No. 214 has been omitted, but as it is signed "Comte de Cifuentes," there can be no doubt that it was Sylva's letter, and addressed to Francisco de los Cobos, high commander of Leon, in the military Order of Santiago.

p. 556, No. 214, last paragraph. *After the departure of the Venetian resident ambassador.* Antonio Surian or Suriano (also called Soriano) must have left Rome in August or September 1535, for on the 7th of October Lorenzo Bragadino was appointed in his stead. *See* Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Calendar, Vol.* V., p. 32.

p. 560, No. 219, Divorce, third line of first paragraph. *The disinclination there seems to be to pronounce censures against kings that may,* &c. The passage in Spanish stands thus:—"Las cosas en que se hazia dificultad de poner en las executoriales eran que no querian las censuras contra los Reyes para que asistiesen o diesen favor â la execucion de las executoriales." Thus in Bergenroth's copy (Vol. VIII., p. 22); but there is evidently error; perhaps, too, omission of one or more words, for the meaning is obscure and imperfect. I should say that one of the objections was the disinclination observed in the draft of the executory letters to decree ecclesiastical censures against those kings, who would not help in Henry's deposition, as specified in the Bull, and invite them to work sincerely for it; in one word, make king Francis join in the undertaking. Transcripts from Simancas, in Bergenroth's volumes, are not always faithful, and in many cases would require careful collation with the originals.

p. 561. Note at the foot of the page. Instead of *como es estillo* the reading ought to be *como se estila,* i.e., "as is the practice everywhere."

p. 564, line 1st. The blank is to be filled by the word *prolonged* or *extended* till, &c., but in Chapuys' original letter there is a gap.

p. 565. Ortiz' letter (No. 223) has no address, but from its tenour and wording it must have been addressed to the Emperor, who was then on the road to Naples, where he arrived on the 25th of November.

p. 565, in the same letter, line 9 of the second paragraph, beginning with the words *nor further declaration,* correct "nor is there any further."

p. 574, third paragraph, beginning with the words, *On the gate of London.* The very same words are to be found in a letter of the Venetian ambassador to the Signory, published by Rawdon Brown. See *Venetian Calendar,* vol. v.

p. 577, last line of third paragraph. *A gentleman captain and Cazadiavolo to Barbarossa, in a brigantine.* The gentleman may possibly be

Rincon, of whom enough will be said in the next volumes, under the year 1541, when he was murdered along with Cesare Fragoso, another spy or secret agent of Francis, near Pavia. As to *Cazadiavolo* or *Cacciadabolo*, as his name is otherwise written, he was a celebrated Turkish corsair of those days. Sandoval and others call him *Cachadiablo*, which seems a translation of the Italian *Cacciadiabolo*.

p. 585, last line. *From the Queen's physician.* Katharine's chief physician is said to have been Miguel de Lasco, a Spaniard or Italian.

p. 587, beginning of third paragraph. According to the best accounts Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, died on the 24th October 1535, as aforesaid (p. 586, *note*), although I have seen letters from a Milanese nobleman to count de Cifuentes, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, stating that it took place on the night of the 22nd.

p. 585. *With respect to Dr. Adam,* &c. This Dr. Adam is the same Dr. Otto Adam Pacæus mentioned at pp. 480, 524–8, 528, and 558. He is generally designated by Chapuys as "Dr. Adam" or "the secretary of Lubeck." He came to London as ambassador from that Hanseatic town at the beginning of 1534.

p. 585. The three first lines of second paragraph to be altered thus: "As to my listening to any fresh proposals that may be put forward by this King's ministers respecting the good understanding between the two countries, I can only say that these people will always find me as willing and ready as I have been hitherto, but that I shall, according to orders, avoid coming to any settlement whatever." The omission of one full line in the copy rendered the passage rather equivocal. What Chapuys was instructed to avoid was, "coming to any conclusion in the matter before consulting the Emperor." It is only by applying to Simancas that I have been able to rectify this and other errors of the copyists.

p. 587, last paragraph. No letter from Katharine later than the one of the 13th of December to Dr. Ortiz at Rome is to be found in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, and therefore Chapuys must allude to that which one of his own servants is said to have taken to Rome in November, *see* No. 224, p. 565. From the 25th of that month to the 22nd of March 1536 the Emperor staid at Naples. Katharine herself died in January 1536.

p. 588. In Chapuys' letter to Mr. de Granvelle, No. 241, mention is made of a certain Mr. de St. Blancay, which I take to be a mistake for St. Blancard. If so, he was a distinguished naval officer, much in favour with king Francis, who in 1537 gave him the command of his Mediterranean fleet. *See* Papiers de Granvelle, Vol. II., p. 5.

p. 611, third line in second paragraph. *Part of the force of Scheventer.* Scheventer is evidently a mistake of the writer or of the copyist for Skeffington (Sir William), who in 1534 was appointed lieutenant-governor of Ireland, and commanded the army sent against the earl of Kildare. *See* Chapuys' despatch of the 23rd Sept. and 3rd of Oct. 1534 (Nos. 90 and 97), besides others, in which he is generally designated under the erroneous appellation of "Scheventon."

As stated in the Introduction, this letter, a most important one from an historical point of view, came to hand too late to be inserted in its proper place, that being the reason why it was included in this Supplement. The same may be said of a few more papers from Simancas, copies of which are not to be found in Bergenroth's collection.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

amb. for ambassador.
abp. „ archbishop.
abpc. „ archbishopric.
bp. „ bishop.
bpc. „ bishopric.
cap. „ captain.
card. „ cardinal.
co. „ count and countess.
dep. „ department.
du. „ duke and duchess.
emp. for emperor.
imp. „ imperial.
let. „ letter.
k. „ king.
prov. „ province.
marq. „ marquis.
pres. „ president.
q. „ queen.
sec. „ secretary.
trea. „ treasurer.

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ERRATA.

p. 41, line 27, Demouville, *read* "Dénonville."

p. 154, *note ;* the blank to be filled thus : "on the 20th of August 1526."

p. 161, first par., premiss, *read* "premise."

p. 192, second par. of No. 66, line 17, Caracuolo, *read* "Caracciolo."

p. 219, No. 75, line 15, the official, *read* "that official."

p. 234, second par., line 14 (Berwick), *read* "Warwick."

p. 235, line 28 (Berwick) *read* (Warwick).

p. 331, *note* †, de dames, *read* "de danses."

p. 332, line 8, Richmond, *read* "Windsor."

p. 344, second par., line 26, as, *read* "was."

p. 344, *note* ||, duisaut, *read* "duisant."

p. 375, line 13, of the good will, *read* "if the good will."

p. 439, *note* *, viscount Hannaërt, *read instead* "Sir John Wallop."

p. 443, second par., line 20–1, Messieurs Pice and Batanson, *read* "Rye sieur de Balançon."

p. 448, *note* ‡, a la parte, *read* "à la partida."

p. 477, first par., line 6, their hands out, *insert* "clean."

p. 492, *note* ‡, Zuccaro, *read* "Zuccato."

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